



Università  
Ca' Foscari  
Venezia

Corso di Dottorato di ricerca  
in Scienze dell'Antichità  
ciclo XXXII

Tesi di Ricerca

## **Social History through Textual Patterns**

Study on the Social Organization at Ebla  
during the Age of the Archives (Syria, 24<sup>th</sup>  
century BCE)  
SSD: L-OR/01

**Coordinatore del Dottorato**

ch. prof. Luigi Sperti

**Supervisore**

ch. prof. Lucio Milano

**Dottorando**

Erica Scarpa  
Matricola 835553



# Table of Contents

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. <i>Status Quaestionis</i> and Goals for Research.....	5
1.2. Structure of the Work.....	6
1.2.1. Social Keywords Records.....	6
1.3. The Corpus .....	11
1.3.1. Archives and Documents .....	11
1.3.2. The <i>Administrative Behavior</i> .....	15

## CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Theory: Social History, Sociology, and History .....	19
2.1.1. The Lexicon of the Actors .....	19
2.1.2. The Modern Sociological Terminology .....	23
2.1.3. The Categories of Historical Analysis .....	29
2.2. Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns .....	31
2.2.1. Methods of Keywords Selection and Analysis .....	34
2.2.2. Textual Patterns Definition, Typology and Detection.....	38

## CHAPTER 3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT EBLA

3.1. Kinship, Households, and Families .....	41
3.1.1. Basic Concepts.....	41
3.1.2. Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units.....	52
3.1.3. Deaths and Purification Rituals as Social Indicators .....	58
3.2. The Kings' Families.....	62
3.2.1. Generations within the Archives: How Many Families of the King?..	63
3.2.2. The Kings.....	67
3.2.3. The Queen(s).....	69
3.2.4. The Mother of the King and the Ladies of the Court.....	72
3.2.5. The Sons and Daughters of the King.....	75
3.3. Organization and Structure of Eblaite Society .....	82
3.3.1. The Organization of Power .....	82
3.3.2. Life in the Palace and Administrative Organization.....	87

## CHAPTER 4. SOCIAL GROUPS TERMINOLOGY

4.1. Administrators and Supervisors.....	101
4.2. Army and Soldiers .....	149
4.3. Cultic Personnel.....	153
4.4. Entertainers.....	172
4.5. Producers .....	186
4.6. Kinship Terms.....	249
Appendixes .....	263
Indexes.....	277
References.....	297



## List of Tables

Table 1 - Positions and roles in the hypothetical family group	43
Table 2 - Parallel occurrences on PN <sub>1</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> PN <sub>2</sub> and PN <sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN <sub>2</sub> .	51
Table 3 - Coale and Demeney Lv.3 Life Tables.	66
Table 4 - Chronological data concerning the lists of dam en.	74
Table 5 - The groups of dumu-nita en identified in Archi et al. (1988).	77
Table 6 - Revised chronology of the kings' sons.	78
Table 7 - Sample from the dataset referred to the dumu-nita en.	79
Table 8 - Schematization of the delegations mentioned in the texts of the <i>ARET</i> I 1-9 type.	103
Table 9 - The individuals qualified as abba <sub>2</sub> in [75.2331 = <i>A</i> XX 19].	104
Table 10 - The occurrences of <i>ba-da-lum</i> and abba <sub>2</sub> .	136
Table 11 - The ugula GN mentioned in the administrative documents.	139
Table 12 - Occurrences of the delegations in which the abba <sub>2</sub> are mentioned.	147
Table 13 - The individuals qualified as aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub> (see sub prosopography).	150
Table 14 - [75.2022 = <i>M</i> 10 41 = Archi, in <i>Eblaitica</i> 1 (1987), pp.117–20].	158
Table 15 - [75.446 = <i>A</i> IX 53]	238
Table 16 - [75.537 = <i>A</i> IX 44]	238
Table 17 - [75.1743 = <i>A</i> XX 9]	239
Table 18 - Schematization of <i>ARET</i> IX 1-3.	240
Table 19 - Schematization of [75.229 = <i>A</i> IX 13].	240
Table 20 - [75.288 = <i>A</i> IX 1; 75.247 = <i>A</i> IX 2; 75.538 = <i>A</i> IX 3]	240
Table 21 - [75.351 = <i>A</i> IX 58]	241
Table 22 - [75.560 = <i>A</i> IX 59]	241
Table 23 - [75.346 = <i>A</i> IX 87]	241
Table 24 - Schematization of the food allotment fro the u <sub>2</sub> -a personnel	242
Table 25 - [75.1655 = <i>A</i> I 44]	242
Table 26 - [75.1655 = <i>M</i> 7 16]	243
Table 27 - [75.2096 = <i>M</i> 12 9]	243
Table 28 - The <i>ir</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>a-num</i> <sub>2</sub> of guruš in [75.1780 = <i>A</i> XX 14]	245
Table 29 - The personnel in [75.1780 = <i>A</i> XX 14]	245
Table 30 - The dam en list of [75.1770 = <i>A</i> XX 6] o.X:1-XI:9	256



## List of Figures

Figure 1 - Main tablets findspots. Adapted from Matthiae, <i>Ebla Trono</i> (2010), p.380, Fig. 207.	17
Figure 2 - The concept of position.	25
Figure 3 - A basic family structure.	26
Figure 4 - An example of analysis of group structure.	27
Figure 5 - The different <i>directionalities</i> which characterize the documents	31
Figure 6 - Graphical representation of the main concepts discussed	36
Figure 7 - Hypothetical reconstruction of the kinship relationships referred to (Ego-)Dusigu	45
Figure 8 - Network of the occurrences of the expression PN <sub>1</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> PN <sub>2</sub> .	51
Figure 9 - Distribution by pattern of the term e <sub>2</sub> .	53
Figure 10 - Example diagram.	64
Figure 11 - Network graph for the dumu-nita en.	80
Figure 12 - Social cohesion of the keywords	99
Figure 13 - Lord Yiqqī's family diagram.	118
Figure 14 - Network graph of the lugals	122
Figure 15 - Distribution by pattern of the term ugula (occurrences > 10).	134
Figure 16 - Lemmas composed with en	136
Figure 17 - Kings associated with a GN (occurrences > 10)	137
Figure 18 - Possible reconstruction of the administrative organization	151
Figure 19 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term dam.	195
Figure 20 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term dumu-nita	204
Figure 21 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term guruš.	212
Figure 22 - Distribution by pattern of the occurrences of the term maškim.	245
Figure 23 - Frequency of the most often mentioned PN <sub>2</sub>	246
Figure 24 - Network of the occurrences of the term maškim	247





## Acknowledgements

It has been a long journey. Looking back over the past three years, I realize now how this path influenced my academic and personal growth. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Lucio Milano, for his guidance, encouragement, and trust. I am deeply thankful also to Professor Manuel Molina, who welcomed me in Madrid and gave me the possibility to spend nine months at the Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas). The time I spent there gave me the chance to grow, both personally and professionally.

I am deeply thankful to Doctor Massimo Maiocchi, for all the countless discussions we had on Ebla, and for all the precious advice he gave me. I am also indebted to all the good friends who shared this journey with me. To Valentina, who traveled this path together with me: we laughed, we quarreled, we cheered and supported each other, but most importantly, we created a bond of mutual friendship, which I hope will last long. To Zeljko, whose constant support and wise advice gave me the confidence to challenge myself. To Alessandro and Nicola, my 'foster-brothers,' who took care of my family as if it were their own.

Last but not least, my deepest gratitude goes to my parents, Barbara and Pietro, for teaching me what unconditional love is; to Callisto, who after sixteen years is still by my side; and to Kobayashi, whose fluffy fur gave me comfort when nothing else could.



# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1. *Status Quaestionis* and Goals for Research

The purpose of the present study is to outline a model of the society that inhabited Ebla (mod. Tell Mardikh) during the age of the Royal Archives (mid-III millennium BCE) on the basis of its written record. The 3,500-odd cuneiform documents discovered between 1974 and 1976 shed light on the society, economy, and culture of a city whose name was still remembered by south Mesopotamian rulers years after its destruction. Since its discovery, more than fifty years ago, many aspects of the history of this important Syrian urban center have been investigated through an in-depth study of the epigraphic corpus, artistic production, and archaeological evidence. Very few attempts have been made, however, to the reconstruction of Eblaite society. A first preliminary sketch was outlined by Pettinato in 1979: the fifth chapter of his first book *Ebla. Un impero inciso nell'argilla* is entirely devoted to describing Eblaite society and its main features. In Pettinato's view, Eblaite society was divided into two classes: free citizens and foreigners, *i.e.*, the *dumu-nita dumu-nita Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>* ("sons of Ebla"), with full citizen rights, and the *BAR.AN-BAR.AN* ("foreigners"). Among the "sons of Ebla" were five professional categories: functionaries, merchants, artisans, farmers, and workers. Among the "foreigners" were priests, singers, scribes, and merchants coming from the centers surrounding Ebla. In Pettinato's view, to this latter social group also belonged mercenaries (supervised by a chief), war prisoners, and slaves. This preliminary sketch, however, outlined by Pettinato less than five years after the discovery of the Archives, is now outdated. A new synthetic representation of Eblaite society was published in 1990 by Milano in the ninth volume of the *Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi*: Milano's reconstruction, however, is mainly focused on the members of society mentioned in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712, and is therefore limited to a general assessment of the Palace G personnel from a social perspective.

In the case of Ebla, the greatest obstacle in the reconstruction of a model of society is the large amount of documents: the deep and intricate network of relationships documented in the texts cannot be analyzed for samples or through 'logic tight compartments.' These documents describe an accounting reality constructed on numerical and terminological 'metaphors' through which the scribes (and the Organization they worked for) depicted their interpretation of society and reality. In any organized collection of documents, abbreviations and synthetic graphic renditions are adopted to facilitate the accounting procedure: this administrative jargon can be deciphered, however, only if analyzed in its context. The repetitiveness that characterizes the administrative documentation of the Archives depends mainly on the use of a standardized jargon which records similar administrative circumstances through a finite number of textual patterns. The large number of documents has so far discouraged any holistic approach not only to society, but to any other aspect of ancient life represented in the documents: digital tools, however, allow data to be systematically and effectively collected, facilitating the recognition, collection, and analysis of recursive textual patterns.

The textual patterns can thus be defined as repetitive arrangements of words attested in the documents and corresponding to a specific administrative event or circumstance: what is, however, their informational value in the perspective of a study on society? Are there aspects which are more socially

relevant than others? According to French sociologist Bruno Latour, for example, there are no such things as ‘society,’ ‘social order,’ or ‘social phenomena:’ without entering into sociological disquisitions on what possesses or not a social nature, a fact is that society is composed of individuals and the interactions that take place between them. Two elements must thus be assessed to outline a model of society: the actors and the social relationships linking them.

The present research thus takes into consideration a specific set of keywords, *i.e.*, all the terms used by the scribes to describe the members of the society (words indicating a profession, a function, or a role that can be associated with an individual): through the use of digital tools, the textual patterns referring to these keywords are then collected and analyzed in order to highlight contextual associations between two or more terms and provide a model describing Eblaite society.

## **1.2. Structure of the Work**

In the first chapter a description of the corpus is provided: the fundamental data have been summarized in order to offer a detailed quantification of the material object of the present study. In the second chapter (§Chapter 2 Methodology, p.19), the methodology adopted is described, with particular attention to the definition of the different levels of interpretation. The present work does not consist in a catalogue of profession and function names, but in a socio-historical approach to the whole corpus: it has been thus necessary to adopt an adequate sociological and socio-historical terminology to mediate between the lexicon of the actors and the modern interpretative vocabulary. The definition of the main characteristic of the lexicon of the actors and of the modern sociological terminology is preliminary to the definition of the interpretative categories through which the historical analysis is then conducted. The practical methodological approach to the study of textual patterns is then described.

The third chapter (§Chapter 3 Social Organization at Ebla, p.41) contains the description of the actors and of the most important relationships between them that emerged from the data collected in Chapter four. The analysis of the material brought to the foreground some fundamental topics, among which the most important is the social value inherent in kinship ties: the network(s) of relationships attested in the documents heavily relies on the strongest among social bonds, *i.e.*, family ties. A detailed description is then provided of all the main topics that emerged from the keyword analysis.

The fourth chapter (§Chapter 4 Social Groups Terminology, p.101) contains the records referring to each keyword. The material has been organized into six thematic categories (Administrators and Supervisors, Army and Soldiers, Cultic Personnel, Entertainers, Producers, Kinship Terms): these do not represent an interpretation of the social structure, but a classification of the material according to a thematic principle. Each lemma has been analyzed according to a fixed set of parameters described in the following paragraph.

### **1.2.1. Social Keywords Records**

As it will be described in Chapter 2 (see §2.2 Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns, p.31), the seventy-nine keywords used by the scribes to describe the members of the society have been organized according to six semantic categories: Administrators and supervisors (§4.1), Army and Soldiers (§4.2), Cultic Personnel (§4.3), Entertainers (§4.4), Producers (§4.5), Kinship Terms (§4.6). These semantic categories do not represent an attempt to offer a social categorization of the data, but simply

a thematic organization of the material: in each category, lemmas are listed in alphabetical order. If reference is made to another social keyword, the lemma is preceded by an arrow (→).

Each social keyword has been analyzed according to a fixed set of parameters, described below. If no relevant data related to a particular section of the record have been collected, the section has been omitted.

**Lemma:** the keyword to which the record is referred is immediately followed by the number of occurrences; a translation of the term based on the socio-historical data gathered is then offered.

**Previous translation(s):** in this section all the translations of the term which have been offered up to date are collected. Only the translations given in the following volumes are considered in this section:

- those provided in the glossaries of the *Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi* serie;
- those provided in the volumes of the *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* serie; although these volumes do not contain glossaries, translations of single terms have been taken from the translations of the texts;
- those provided in the *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Eblaicarum*; note that only the volumes for the letters A and B are currently available.

Each translation is followed by the reference to the volume in which it has been published. Note that no specific reference to the page is made; the volumes are quoted as follows:

A <sup>I</sup> = Archi, <i>ARET I</i> (1985)	A <sup>XV</sup> = Pomponio, <i>ARET XV/1</i> (2008) and Pomponio, <i>ARET XV/2</i> (2013)
A <sup>II</sup> = Edzard, <i>ARET II</i> (1981)	A <sup>XVI</sup> = Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, <i>ARET XVI</i> (2010)
A <sup>III</sup> = Archi - Biga, <i>ARET III</i> (1982)	A <sup>XX</sup> = Archi, <i>ARET XX</i> (2018)
A <sup>IV</sup> = Biga - Milano, <i>ARET IV</i> (1984)	
A <sup>VII</sup> = Archi, <i>ARET VII</i> (1988)	M <sup>2</sup> = Pettinato, <i>MEE 2</i> (1980)
A <sup>VIII</sup> = Sollberger, <i>ARET VIII</i> (1986)	M <sup>5</sup> = Pettinato, <i>MEE 5</i> (1996)
A <sup>IX</sup> = Milano, <i>ARET IX</i> (1990)	M <sup>7</sup> = D'Agostino, <i>MEE 7</i> (1996)
A <sup>XI</sup> = Fronzaroli, <i>ARET XI</i> (1993)	M <sup>10</sup> = Mander, <i>MEE 10</i> (1990)
A <sup>XII</sup> = Lahlou - Catagnoti, <i>ARET XII</i> (2006)	M <sup>12</sup> = Waetzoldt, <i>MEE 12</i> (2001)
A <sup>XIII</sup> = Fronzaroli, <i>ARET XIII</i> (2003)	T <sup>IE</sup> = Pettinato - D'Agostino, <i>TIE A/1</i> (1995); Pettinato - D'Agostino, <i>TIE A/2</i> (1996); Pettinato - D'Agostino, <i>TIE B</i> (1998); Pettinato - Seminara, <i>TIE D</i> (2005)

**Lexical:** all the occurrences of the keyword in the lexical documents have been collected in this section. Although the main focus is centered on the local lexical compositions (divided in unilingual and bilingual), also occurrences of the keyword in other ED lexical compositions is offered. Local unilingual and Mesopotamian lexical compositions are arranged by text (ED lexical material is further organized by geographical provenance). References to the bilingual local lexical compositions are listed according to the numbers of the *Vocabolario di Ebla* established by Pettinato: note that references to all manuscripts are listed, also when the lemma is not glossed. The aim of this section is to provide immediate reference to the lexical material and facilitate the socio-historical analysis of the lexical occurrences of the keywords. The references to non-Eblaite lexical material emphasize the (dis-)continuity with the Mesopotamia lexical tradition. All the available lexical information has been gathered mainly through the

**Bibliography:** in this section, all bibliographical references to articles, essays, or books containing comprehensive discussions or substantial information on each keyword have been collected. Particular attention has been paid to recent and significant bibliography: note that reference is made, when possible, to previous reference lists collected by other scholars.

**Contextual association(s):** in this section the terms most often associated with a given keyword are listed. This section is divided into three parts: ‘Social position/role,’ ‘Places,’ and ‘Persons.’ Sub ‘Social position/role’ are listed other keywords characterized by a high *degree of cohesion* with the record lemma (see §2.2 Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns, p.31). Sub ‘Places’ and ‘Persons’ are listed GNs and PNs often mentioned in association with the record lemma. See Figure 12, p.99 for a visual representation of the data collected in this section.

**Accounting model(s):** this section offers a selection of the most relevant textual patterns referred to the record lemma. As it will be described in Chapter 2 (§2.2 Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns, p.31), textual patterns are abstractions of recursive accounting circumstances. When possible, textual patterns are organized by accounting circumstance, *i.e.* textual patterns showing similar characteristics are grouped together. As will be explained in paragraph §2.2, p.31, textual patterns have been collected using the *EbDA* database.<sup>2</sup>

**Prosopography and Group(s):** in this section all the PNs to which the keyword is referred are collected. Note that references to unpublished material are limited: the available prosopographic repertoires based on unpublished tablets have been rigorously mentioned.<sup>3</sup> However, given the fundamental importance attributed in the present research to the context (*i.e.*, the ‘document’), references to the material accessible in its entirety have been preferred: contextual associations, in the case of partially published texts, might be attested but cannot be systematically checked.

**Discussion:** the lemma is discussed on the base of the data gathered in the preceding sections. Note that this section aims at providing new information, discussing the most relevant data and features, characterizing the lemma from a socio-historical perspective.

In order to obtain a balanced cataloging of the material, the following guidelines have been followed in the realization of the records:

- In translations and discourse, PNs have been normalized according to Pagan’s interpretations (*i.e.*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* > Yibbi-Ḍikir).<sup>4</sup> If a PN is not attested in Pagan, or its interpretation is still dubious, the name is simply transcribed and left uninterpreted (*Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>* > Dusigu). Similarly, GNs have been normalized according to Bonechi’s interpretations.<sup>5</sup> The normalizations of Pagan and Bonechi have been adopted in order to avoid the repetitive mentions of terms in transliteration outside quoted passages and the systematic use of approximate normalizations. Therefore, the two volumes just mentioned act as a stable (although not always up to date) reference tool for the normalizations adopted in

<sup>1</sup> Veldhuis, *DCCLT* (2003–), url (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/>) (last visit: 2019-9-9).

<sup>2</sup> Milano and Maiocchi, *EbDA* (2011–), url (<http://ebda.cnr.it/index>) (last visit: 2019-9-9).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Archi et al., *ARES I* (1988).

<sup>4</sup> Pagan, *ARES III* (1998).

<sup>5</sup> Bonechi, *RGTC 12/1* (1993).

the present work.

- As just mentioned (see above, sub ‘Prosopography and Group(s)’), the use of unpublished material has been limited, especially during the process of textual patterns collection. All published documents have been considered in the present study: those published in *ARET* and *MEE*, as well those published through other means; unpublished quoted passages have instead been collected by Baldacci in a volume updated to 1993.<sup>6</sup> Texts are quote according to the excavation and edition number ((TM.)75.(G.)0000; A= *Archivi Reali di Ebla*; M = *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla*): texts published elsewhere have been quoted by excavation number and bibliographic reference.

### General Abbreviations:

EBK = eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> = Picchioni, *MEE* 15 (1997) and *MEE* 4, 115 (unilingual lexical lists)

ESL = Ebla Sign List = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987)

ERR = Ebla Royal Ritual = Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1993)

A = *ARET*

M = *MEE*

MAT = Monthly Account of Textile

AAM = Annual Account of Metal

VE = *Vocabolario di Ebla* = Pettinato, *MEE* 4 (1982) (bilingual lexical lists)

GN = Geographical Name

PN = Personal Name

DN = Divine Name

Akk. = Akkadian

Ug. = Ugaritic

Eb. = Eblaite

Heb. = Hebrew

Sum. = Sumerian

### Abbreviations in Genealogical diagrams

- Male
- △ Female
- Direct kinship relationship
- Indirect kinship relationship (deduced from the documents)
- · · · Reconstructed (deduced, but not attested in the documents)
- ≡ Marriage
- ∞ Occurrences of kinship relationships in the documents
- † Event/Fact
- EGO** Ego of the diagram (the individual to whom all kinship relationships are addressed)
- MOTHER** Modern description of the kinship relationship (refers to Ego)
- ? Unknown identity

All digital material is available on-line at the following links:

- <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/social-history-through-textual-patterns>

<sup>6</sup> Baldacci, *Partially Published Texts* (1992).





### 1.3. The Corpus

The Ebla Royal Archives are the oldest organized collection(s) of documents in the history of ancient Near East: dated to the 24<sup>th</sup> century BCE, they consist in one main archival room (the Great Archive L.2769), and several smaller rooms where documents were kept but not organized according to a precise criteria. The language in which these documents are written – an archaic northern Semitic – has been studied since its discovery in 1974, but only in recent years its grammar and morphology have been delineated in a satisfactory way.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the administrative jargon used by the scribes largely adopts Sumerian logographic writing: Sumerian native speakers, however, did not permanently inhabit the regions surrounding Ebla, and the lexical shift between the Sumerian and the Semitic lemmas that characterized the administrative jargon often makes the interpretation of texts difficult. An overview of the documents found in the Archives will be offered here: as will be evident from the approach adopted in this research, the Archives are here considered as the product of the administrative activities of an ‘organization,’ *i.e.*, an organized group of people. Hopefully, the definition of a model of society will allow in the future to highlight the (absence or presence of) relationships between the different textual groups: the descriptions of the corpus are generally focused on two different interpretative keys - archaeological and epigraphic - without taking into consideration the true administrative nature of the Archive, the physical spaces in which they were kept, and the purpose for which they were drafted.

#### 1.3.1. Archives and Documents

The first epigraphic documents were found in 1974, in a room (L.2586) of the so-called (Royal) Palace G located north of the Ceremonial Staircase. The following year, the Great (L.2769) and the Small (L.2712) Archives were located: lastly, in 1976 the Trapezoidal Archive L.2764 and the ‘vestibule’ L.2875 were unearthed. Epigraphic findings can be summarized as follows (see Figure 1, p.17):<sup>8</sup>

- Room L.2586: the first epigraphic findings consisted in 42 lenticular tablets, most of which record silver and gold objects; all these documents are presently unpublished.
- Great Archive L.2769: more than 10,000 excavation numbers have been recorded between 1975 and 1976. The tablets originally kept in the Great Archive were probably between 4,000-5,000:<sup>9</sup> in this room were kept mainly administrative records concerning the monthly distributions of textiles and the annual accounts of metals, as well as lexical texts, literary compositions, and ca. 60 chancery and diplomatic documents.<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to quantify exactly how many documents have been published so far: with reference to the administrative texts, numerous MATs and administrative documents have been published in *Archivi Reali*

<sup>7</sup> See Tonietti, *Sistema preposizionale* (2013); Catagnoti, *Grammatica* (2012); Huehnergard and Woods, in *Ancient Languages* (2006); Krebernik, in *Albright Centennial Conference* (1996); D’Agostino, *SSNS* 7 (1990).

<sup>8</sup> For the data here presented see Archi, in *RAI* 30 (1986); Archi et al., in *ARES I* (1988); Matthiae, *Archivi Reali* (2008); Matthiae, *Ebla Trono* (2010).

<sup>9</sup> Different estimates have been proposed: Matthiae, *Archivi Reali* (2008), p.80 suggests 4,000-5,000; Bonechi, in *EBR* (2013), p.248, suggests 3,000–3,500.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed description of the documents kept in the Great Archive, see Archi, in *Ancient Archives* (2003).

*di Ebla, Testi and Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla*;<sup>11</sup> the editions of the lexical texts currently available have been published by Pettinato and Picchioni;<sup>12</sup> most of the chancery and diplomatic documents have been published by Fronzaroli and Catagnoti.<sup>13</sup>

- Small Archive L.2712: the ca. 1,000 excavation numbers recorded probably correspond to ca. 211 complete tablets; these documents mainly refer to food rations and can be dated to the last months before destruction; 115 tablets have been published by Milano,<sup>14</sup> while 170 still remain unpublished.
- Vestibule L.2875: ca. 100 documents (reconstructed from 655 fragments); this room might have been used as writing/reading room, since fragments of bone styluses and a stone sleeker have been found:<sup>15</sup> the spatial relationship between this vestibule, the Great Archive, and the Audience Court is, however, not clear. Ca. 28 tablets correspond to letters and “royal decrees:” the letters do not mention vizier Yibriyum, but only his son Yibbi-Dikir and grandson Tubuḥu-Hadda.<sup>16</sup>
- Trapezoidal Archive L.2764: ca. 600 excavation numbers were recorded in 1976. Most documents concern deliveries of livestock. All the documents found in L2764 are presently unpublished.<sup>17</sup>
- Audience Court L.2752: 22 documents found in 1976 on burnt wooden planks in the center of the Audience Court. All documents have been published by Sollberger and re-edited by Pettinato.<sup>18</sup>

Other epigraphic findings were the discovery of five tablets in the southern wing of Palace G between 1982 and 1984,<sup>19</sup> and the unearthing in 2004 of ca. fifteen fragments and tablets in the Throne Room L.2866.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, most of the published material belongs to the Great and Small Archives, where the majority of the documents were kept: L.2769, however, is the only one that can be considered a real ‘archive.’ The room, measuring 5,10×3,55mt, housed on its northern and eastern walls three wooden shelves, on which the tablets were stored and organized. The documents were placed with

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<sup>11</sup> Pettinato, *MEE* 2 (1980); Edzard, *ARET* II (1981); Archi and Biga, *ARET* III (1982); Biga and Milano, *ARET* IV (1984); Archi, *ARET* I (1985); Mander, *MEE* 10 (1990); D’Agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996); Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12 (2001); Lahlou and Catagnoti, *ARET* XII (2006); Pomponio, *ARET* XV/1 (2008) and Pomponio, *ARET* XV/2 (2013); Archi, *ARET* XX (2018). Note that, with the exception of Pettinato, *MEE* 2 (1980), all documents have also been published in Milano and Maiocchi, *EbDA* (2011–). The nineteenth volume of the serie *ARET* appeared too late to be included in this work; see Samir, I. (2019), *Monatliche Buchführung über Textilien aus Ibriums Amtszeit (Archiv L. 2769) (ARET XIX)*, Wiesbaden.

<sup>12</sup> Pettinato, *MEE* 3 (1981); Pettinato, *MEE* 4 (1982); Picchioni, *MEE* 15 (1997). Note, however, that most lexical compositions have been published in Veldhuis, *DCCLT* (2003–).

<sup>13</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003); Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010). As for literary compositions, hymns and incantations have been published by Edzard, *ARET* V (1984); the Ebla Royal Ritual (= ERR) has been published by Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1993).

<sup>14</sup> Milano, *ARET* IX (1990).

<sup>15</sup> This small room has been also described as «the scribe’s ‘writing room’»; see Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.211. See also Veenhof’s remarks: «Room L. 2769 in Ebla was a typical archival room, designed for systematically filing texts, not for writing or consulting them on the spot. This may have been done in the connecting room L.2875, perhaps a *scriptorium* or scribal office, provided with low benches along the walls.» See Veenhof, *RAI* 30 (1986), p.6.

<sup>16</sup> For a list of the proper names attested in the documents of the vestibule, see Archi et al., *ARES* I (1988), p.293–9.

<sup>17</sup> For a list of the proper names attested in the documents of the Trapezoidal Archive, see Archi et al., *ARES* I (1988), p.302–4.

<sup>18</sup> Sollberger, *ARET* VIII (1986); Pettinato, *MEE* 5 (1996). On these documents see also Viganò, in *Ebla Accounting* (1996).

<sup>19</sup> Published in Archi, *SMS* 5/2 (1993).

<sup>20</sup> Published in Archi, *AfO* 53 (2015).

the obverse facing the center of the room, but rotated 90° counter-clockwise: the first case of the first column was thus located for the observer in the upper right corner. The collapse of the wooden structure during the fire which put the life of the City to a temporary halt, partially preserved the original disposition of the documents. In the Archive were kept ca. 500 monthly accounts of textiles (MAT), in which the scribes registered the deliveries of textiles and precious objects for the Palace élite as well as for high officials, and ‘foreign’ sovereigns with their retinues. These monthly documents were probably drafted at the end of the month on the basis of the information collected by the scribes in small lenticular tablets, where single transactions (or small groups of transactions) were recorded: the smaller tablets were probably kept in baskets and later destroyed or recycled. Noteworthy is the fact that these documents, as well as most of the texts found in the Archives, are not dated: the scribes did not consistently adopt any year formula, and generally indicated only the month to which the document referred to. The dating of these documents thus relies on cross-references between monthly and annual accounts: the annual accounts of metals (AAM) are large tablets where deliveries of precious metals were recorded. These documents do not present, like the MATs, any internal dating formula, but are all characterized by the same *incipit*, since they all begin with an expenditure of “1 mina of silver for the silver head of Kura” (1 ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / sag ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / <sup>4</sup>KU-ra).<sup>21</sup> The incomes were instead recorded in the so-called mu-DU documents:<sup>22</sup> these mainly consisted in silver and gold, and were delivered by the lords (→ lugal, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).<sup>23</sup>

In the Great Archive L.2769 were also kept the lexical compositions: these are generally divided into two sub-groups, *i.e.*, unilingual and bilingual. The most important unilingual lexical compositions are the so called eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> ‘vocabularies’:<sup>24</sup> these tablets present a list of Sumerian words arranged according to an acrographic principle, and their purpose would seem to be to provide a complete list of Sumerian logograms. The modern name of this composition is based on its first line, eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>, which has been translated as “to make a decision,” and perhaps refers to the decision that the scribe had to take in choosing the most appropriate logogram. The tablets of the eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> group are fourteen: of these, five can be considered ‘extracts’, and since two are duplicates of the same text, eight are the available manuscripts of this lexical composition. The bilingual lists are closely related to the eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> lists, since the so-called *Vocabolario di Ebla* follows the most complete and detailed manuscript of the eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> (EBK-A, [75.2422+ = MEE 4, 115]; see also §Appendix, Concordances and nomenclature of lexical compositions, p.267).

Veldhuis classified the cuneiform lexical tradition into three main branches according to a geographic criterion: all-Babylonian, regional, and local. The ‘all-Babylonian’ are the lexical texts dating back to the fourth millennium which have been inherited, almost unaltered, by the scribes of the third millen-

<sup>21</sup> Most AAMs are still unpublished. The list of the annual accounts associated with each king/vizier has been published in Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), pp.8–9; for correspondences between AAMs and MATs see Biga and Pomponio, *JCS* 42 (1990); Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993). Three MATs have been published by Waetzoldt ([75.2428 = M 12 35], [75.2429 = M 12 36], [75.2508 = M 12 37]), two by Mander ([75.1860 = M 10 20], [75.1918 = M 10 29]), one by Sollberger (76.534+ = A VIII 534), and two by D’Agostino ([75.1771 = M 7 47], [75.1730+ = M 7 34]).

<sup>22</sup> For a possible reading mu-ku<sub>x</sub> of mu-DU, accepted by many scholar, see Krecher, *ZA* 77 (1987). The use of the sign DU at Ebla is, however, still unclear.

<sup>23</sup> The mu-DU documents are extensively quoted but not published in Archi, *VO* 12 (2000). The following mu-DU have been published to date: [75.1219 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.77–78], [75.1226 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.75–77], [75.1267 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.81–82], [75.1293 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.67ff.], [75.2022 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp. 117–120].

<sup>24</sup> For an overview of the Ebla lexical corpus see Archi, in *LLLE* (1992). A concise overview of the Ebla lexical material, and its relationship with the Mesopotamian tradition, is provided in Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014), pp.129–39.

nium.<sup>25</sup> The ED III lexical corpus is instead divided into a northern and a southern tradition, while the local tradition refers to lexical compositions typical of a given area and time.

According to this subdivision, the Eblaite lexical corpus belongs to the ED northern tradition: all the three branches, however, are represented within the Eblaite lexical corpus, since the scribes of the Archives copied texts such as the ED Lu E, but also composed syllabic versions of some all-Babylonian lexical compositions, and realized unprecedented lexical texts, such as the eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>, the Ebla Sign List, and the *Vocabolario di Ebla*.

Another important group of documents is that found in the Small Archive L.2712: this archival room was 2,50×2,50m wide and located south of the Ceremonial Staircase, on the north western corner of the Audience Court. According to the data collected by Pettinato, in this room were kept ca. 1,000 tablets and fragments:<sup>26</sup> as already stated, of all the texts found in the Small Archive, 115 have been published by Milano in 1990 (*ARET IX*). The texts kept in this room are mainly concerned with the distribution of food rations and can be dated to the very last months before the destruction of Ebla: furthermore, epigraphic evidence suggests that the scribes responsible for this sector of the administration were not the same scribes working in the Great Archive L.2769. Milano subdivided the texts published in *ARET IX* in six typological categories:

- food rations for the Palace and its personnel (texts 1–36): in this group of texts are recorded the deliveries of cereals (še) for the preparation of ‘beer’ (ŠE+TIN) and bread (ninda). The recipients are the “house of the king” (e<sub>2</sub> en), the women (dam), and three groups of functionaries (→ ib-ib, → a-am, → u<sub>2</sub>-a, §4.5 Producers, p.186), as well as other individuals who probably lived or worked in the Palace.
- rations of cereals for the Ladies of the court (→ dam en, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249) and the female personnel (texts 37–59): the recipients are always women, listed by name in subgroup (A), or sorted by task in subgroup (B).
- deliveries of cereals from/to the overseers of the Palace (texts 60-73);
- rations and allotments of oil;
- travel provisions;
- miscellanea.

As this typological subdivision demonstrates, the documents of the Small Archive refer mainly to the personnel who worked for and lived in the Palace. It should be emphasized, however, that the scribes of this administrative sector gave an extremely detailed account of the activities in which the female personnel was involved: male personnel is not, instead, described in similar detail. Furthermore, since this administrative sector was probably separated, from an accounting point of view, with respects to that the Great Archive L.2769, the two offices behave like two closed systems: there are no correspondences in the accounting practices nor in the terminology, and the data of the Small Archive are difficult to compare with those of the Great Archive.

The administrative and lexical documents found in the Great Archive L.2769 and the ration lists found in the Small Archive L.2712 just described represent the corpus taken into consideration in this work. It must be emphasized that, as just mentioned, the Archives were almost exclusively analyzed typologically or topographically: the archival rooms have been studied separately, and likewise the documents contained therein have been analyzed by typology. An example are the lexical texts, which are often considered as a sub-corpus of the Great Archive L.2712, but were kept in the same room where the administrative texts were stored. Unfortunately, the Royal Palace G has been only partially

<sup>25</sup> Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014), p.60.

<sup>26</sup> Pettinato, *MEE 1* (1979), p.xvi.

investigated: every observation is therefore preliminary, but must take into consideration the fact that these documents are the accounting product of an organization with a precise goal. The documents cannot be separated from the reality (physical, social, economic) that produced them. In her re-reading of the function of Palace G, Porter, after considering the circulation within the ‘Administrative Quarter, observed that

«Palace G did not have its origin in what many understand as its prime feature, the administrative sector – viewed as housing an essentially materialist enterprise, the control of Ebla’s wealth in order to cement the prestige and power of its elite – but rather in its ritual/religious associations.»<sup>27</sup>

Porter’s observation that the administrative quarter of Palace G, which constitutes only a portion of the building, does not represent neither the “origin” nor the “prime feature” of the social group that lived there stands true also for its written production. The set of documents written at Ebla ‘represents a representation,’ in most cases administrative, of a much more multi-faceted social reality: this ‘reality’ cannot be assessed without investigating the actors who built it and the network of relationships that bound them together.

### 1.3.2. The *Administrative Behavior*

Administration has to do with both “deciding” and “acting.” In modern discourse, the ‘art of getting things done’ – as administration is sometimes referred to – is concerned with the decision-making process as much as with the actions stemming from this very same process. Organizations need order as much as they need an action policy. Organizations are not, however, mere groupings of individual actors or contexts which influence the actors’ lives; rather, an organization can be interpreted as a *collective* actor. An organization is a “social structure created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals.”<sup>28</sup> to properly work, an organization thus needs a goal, the individuals whose acts are directed towards the achievement of the objective, the technology to perform the work, and a system of authority through which the proper working flow is established.<sup>29</sup> Among the principal characteristics of an organization, Scott lists *durability* (the capability to last over time), *reliability* (ability to repeat sets of actions over prolonged periods of time), and *accountability* (records are created and kept to give accounting of past behaviors).<sup>30</sup> Administrative activity, which is the main activity in which the scribes of the Archives and the members of society were engaged, is *par excellence* a group activity: as Simon wrote,

«simple situations are familiar where a man plans and executes his own work; but as soon as a task grows to the point where the efforts of several persons are required to accomplish it this is no longer possible, and it becomes necessary to develop processes for the application of organized effort to the group task. The techniques which facilitate this application are the administrative process.»<sup>31</sup>

Within an organization pursuing a specified goal, the organization itself deprives individuals of part of their decision-making power, and assigns them specific functions and duties, allocates authority

<sup>27</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.206.

<sup>28</sup> Scott, *Organizations* (2003), p.11.

<sup>29</sup> Leavitt, in *Handbook of Organizations* (1965), pp.1144–45; Scott, *Organizations* (2003), pp.18–19, and pp.26ff..

<sup>30</sup> Scott, *Organizations* (2003), pp.24–25.

<sup>31</sup> Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (1997), p.7.

through specialization, and establishes behavioral rules to coordinate the group's activities.<sup>32</sup> This brief description, based Herbert Simon's study on the dynamics of cognitive processes related to administrative decision-making, perfectly applies to the 'organization' responsible for the production of the administrative documents that constitute the object of the present study. Modern literature on accounting, administration, organizations, and organizational behavior shed light on aspects of ancient administrations that have often been neglected. Accounting, for example, is one of the main activities in which the scribes of the Archives were involved. The product of their work constitutes the raw material on which historical discourse is based and developed: accounting activity should thus be analyzed as «the art of recording, classifying and summarizing in a significant manner [...] transactions and events which are, in part at least, of a financial character, and the results thereof,»<sup>33</sup> and not only from an economic, historical, or social perspective. Accounts are products, and accountants are “constructors of reality:”<sup>34</sup> the apparent importance of some sectors of society with respects to others is thus the product of the way data have been collected and registered, as well as the aim of the accountants. As Carruthers and Espeland stated with reference to double-entry bookkeeping:

«Economic accounts are ordinarily considered a form of neutral, technical information. They allow the precise measurement of assets and liabilities and profits and losses that businesspeople need to make their profit-maximizing decision [...]. Accounts appear to have more to do with the rationality of decisions than with the rationalization of decisions.»<sup>35</sup>

The authors argue the existence of a rhetorical purpose of double-entry bookkeeping as an instrument not only of information, but also of persuasion: one of the aspects of double-entry bookkeeping is that it morally legitimized a given business, especially in the case of dubious activities such as usury.<sup>36</sup> Despite the chronological distance between 15<sup>th</sup> century Italy, where Luca Pacioli 'invented' double-entry bookkeeping, and the administrative records from 24<sup>th</sup> century Ebla, the authors observations on the documents rhetorical aspects suggest that administrative documents are characterized by a rhetoric which influences the accountants, the accounting reality, as well as our interpretation of the socio-historical reality.

In light of the above, it must be noted that the concept of *process* is, from the administrative point of view, often ignored or invisible. The Archives offer a unique chronological perspective on accounting and administration intended as 'devices'. The cuneiform script was probably introduced at Ebla via Mari and, although difficult to establish, a certain amount of time had elapsed between the introduction of the cuneiform writing system and the drafting of the oldest document preserved in the Archives. Although any consideration on the early stages of writing at Ebla is still premature, the continuity which characterizes the administrative production suggests that administration and accounting are progressive processes: society is never static, nor are its main constituents (*i.e.*, actors) or any of its products. Unlike other social products, however, administrative documents accentuate this sense of stasis: the idea of society that can be drawn from administrative documents is much more static than the reality it aims to describe.

Nevertheless, numerous clues suggest that at some point a renewal (or at least a substantial change) of the administrative system took place: the break between Arrulum's and Yibriyum's vizierate is clear

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<sup>32</sup> Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (1997), p.7.

<sup>33</sup> AICPA, *Accounting Research Bulletin* 7 (1940), p.58.

<sup>34</sup> Morgan, *Accounting* 13 (1988), p.480.

<sup>35</sup> Carruthers and Espeland, *Am. J. Sociol.* 97 (1991), pp.35–36.

<sup>36</sup> Carruthers and Espeland, *Am. J. Sociol.* 97 (1991), p.35–39.

under many perspectives, from the transformation of the group of the lords (see sub → lugal, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) to paleography and lexical production (see sub §2.1.1 The Lexicon of the Actors, p.19).<sup>37</sup> A similar kind of process to that depicted by Carruthers and Espeland, where the documents is created by the accountant, whose perspective is, in turn, altered by the account itself, should probably be considered a normal process when extensive and detailed collections of documents, such as administrative archives, are created. The Archives, as many other ancient archives, were characterized by an accumulation and dismantlement process, where new documents were drafted, while old or useless texts were destroyed. This diachronic and cyclic perspective is, for the modern scholar, completely altered.

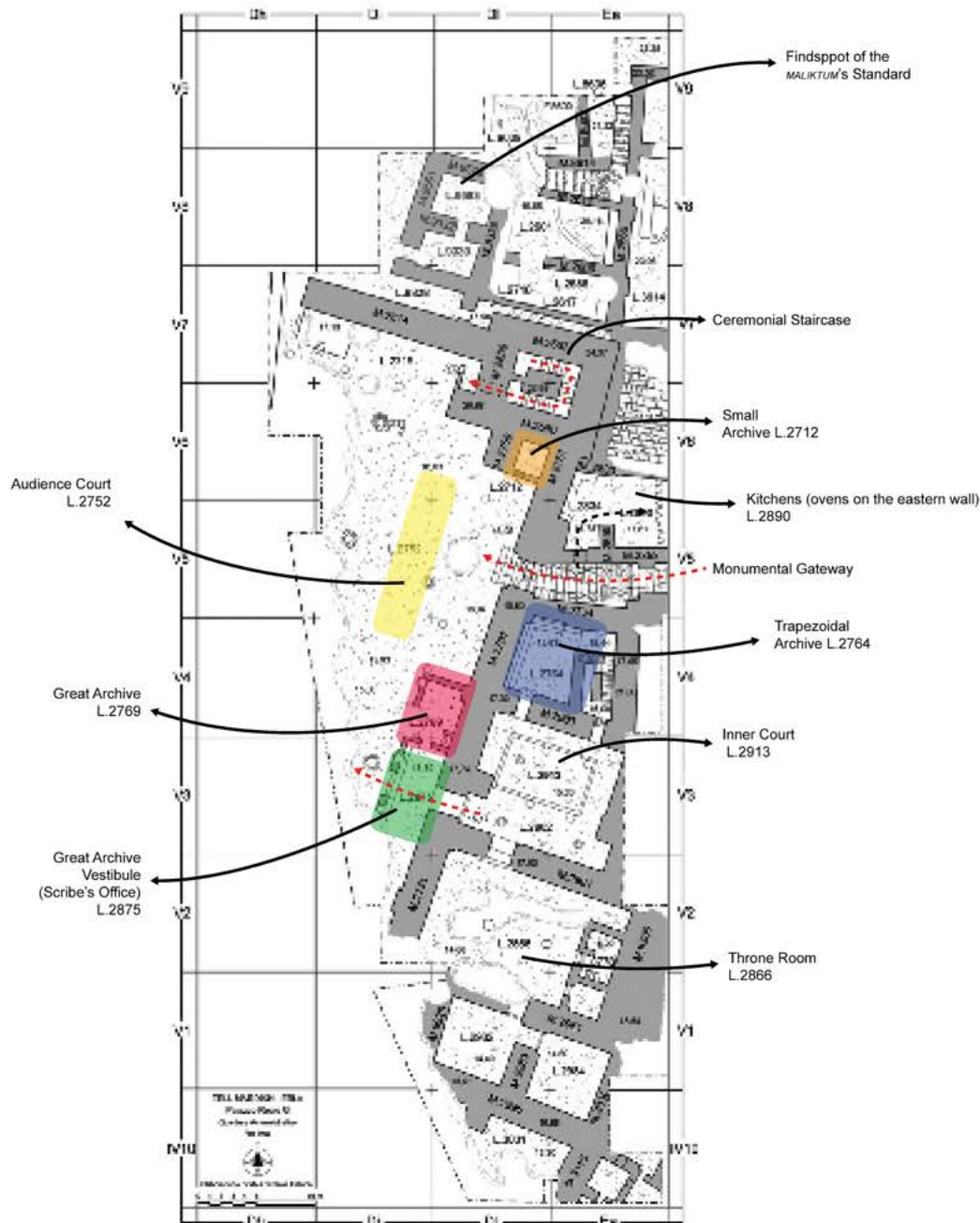


Figure 1 - Main tablets findspots. Adapted from Matthiae, *Ebla Trono* (2010), p.380, Fig. 207.

<sup>37</sup> See → lugal, sub §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101. According to paleographic data, the development of Eblaite cuneiform script can be divided into two phases: Phase I (archaic, Arrulum's vizierate) and Phase II (Yibriyum/Yibbi-Dikir). See Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001), Paoletti, *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015), and Paoletti, in *Materiality of Writing* (2016).





## Chapter 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Theory: Social History, Sociology, and History

Sociology is the study of humans as members of social structures, with a particular focus on how these structures are constituted, how they develop, and the means through which they can be analyzed, described and accounted for. History is the study of persons, events, and facts which took place in the past. Ancient history, however, lacks what makes contemporary history more suitable for the sociologist: direct contact with the individuals who experienced these facts and events.<sup>38</sup> The ancient social reality is filtered by the ancient observer, by his/her needs and goals, as well as by the randomness of archaeological and epigraphic findings. Theory in historical analysis is fundamental because it is the mean through which the historian makes sense of the data: defined as «a set of logically consistent sentences about some subject,»<sup>39</sup> theory partly bridges the gap between the historian and the unobservable past events, persons and facts which constitute the object of his study. Social history, more than any other ‘history,’ cannot but make use of a methodological approach inspired by sociology. The debate advocating the collaboration between sociology and history has distant roots:<sup>40</sup> this need has been stressed above all by Braudel – the famous *dialogue of the deaf* – but also by eminent sociologists such as Giddens, who stated that «there simply are no logical or even methodological distinctions between the social sciences and history.»<sup>41</sup>

As it will be demonstrated in the present chapter, the historical analysis of third millennium Syrian society cannot disregard, for the reasons that will be described below, a theoretical approach: the methodology here adopted is thus based on modern sociological theory as well as, to a lesser extent, on the digital approach to the scouring of large datasets. In the case of Ebla, as well as of many other corpora and historical themes, the gap between the historian and the past constituting the object of his study is widened by a terminological shift and by the difficulty of managing large amounts of data. As the title of Ginzburg’s essay on this very same topic suggests, the divide between “our words” and “theirs” needs to be filled to accurately describe a society like the one which developed at Ebla during the age of the Archives.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the large amount of data must be adequately assessed to obtain accurate and complete information: with this respect, digital tools allow data to be systematically and effectively collected, as it will be shown in the following paragraphs.

#### 2.1.1. The Lexicon of the Actors

The *lexicon of the actors* can be defined as the set(s) of words and expressions used by the scribes in the administrative documents of the Royal Archives. In the frame of the present research,

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<sup>38</sup> Momigliano, *History and Theory* 55 (2016 [1974]), p.39.

<sup>39</sup> Murphey, *Truth and History* (2009). See also the remarks in Horan, *Soc. Sci. Hist.* 11 (1987) on Murphey’s theory-laden historical research described in Murphey, *Our Knowledge* (1973).

<sup>40</sup> See the brief outline given in Burke, *History and Social Theory* (1992), esp. pp.1–17.

<sup>41</sup> Braudel, in *On History* (1980 [1958]); Giddens, *Central Problems* (2000), pp.230–33.

<sup>42</sup> Ginzburg, *Cromohs* 18 (2013).

it refers to all the terms that define professions, functions, or roles attested in the documents and relevant for a socio-historical analysis. This lexicon is extremely varied, and is above all characterized by a certain degree of bilingualism: Eblaite is a Semitic language,<sup>43</sup> but the scribes of the Archives made extensive use of ‘foreign’ words to the point that, excluding proper names, geographical names, and some prepositions, most of the administrative lexicon is not Semitic, but Sumerian. It is reasonable to assume that the presence at Ebla and in the neighboring areas of native speakers coming from Mesopotamia was sporadic, or at least not permanent.<sup>44</sup> The Sumerian terms adopted by the scribes in the administrative practice were therefore not used in the daily spoken language: furthermore, Sumerian and the cuneiform writing system were introduced at Ebla through Mari, and not directly from Mesopotamia.<sup>45</sup>

The reasons for this (maybe) apparent bilingualism dates back to the introduction of writing in III millennium Syria: although this topic is still a matter of debate, it can be safely assumed that the scribes chose the Sumerian administrative ‘jargon’ over their own language for practical purposes. Most of the diplomatic and chancery documents are written in Semitic: the reason why most ‘letters’ are plentiful with Semitic spellings,<sup>46</sup> while administrative documents are mostly drafted in Sumerian is difficult to ascertain. A first hypothesis is that different scribes were in charge of recording different sectors of the administration: as a matter of fact, the different spellings of proper and geographical names between the Great Archive L.2769 and the Small Archive L.2712 suggest that (at least) two (groups of) scribes were drafting the documents.<sup>47</sup> Another possibility is that the lexicon adopted by the scribes depended on the purpose of the document: the Semitic spellings found in diplomatic and chancery documents are often extremely precise, while Sumerograms (and Eblaitograms) may be differently interpreted depending on the contexts, but are also more manageable in everyday scribal practice. Semitic spellings were thus more precise than Sumerian logograms, but probably only experienced scribes were able to use them and read them. Several scribes were certainly active at Ebla during the age of the Archives: one group is that of the scribes frequently mentioned in the colophons of the lexical compositions, but several other scribes are mentioned in the administrative documents.<sup>48</sup> Simple as this observations may seem, knowing how the scribe’s work was carried out is of fundamental importance, since the scribes are – or rather, were – the direct observers of the ad-

<sup>43</sup> Tonietti recently described Eblaite as part of a «continuum dialettale che potremmo definire semitico arcaico settentrionale.» Tonietti, *Sistema preposizionale* (2013), p.21. For the discussions related to the classification of Eblaite, see the bibliography collected in Catagnoli, *Grammatica* (2012), pp.3–4.

<sup>44</sup> A clear indication of the presence of Sumerian-speaking people are onomastic and prosopographic data. Only two social keywords (cfr. §2.2.1 Methods of Keywords Selection and Analysis, p.34) are referred to individuals bearing Sumerian names: the scribes (→ dub-sar, §4.5 Producers, p.186) and the musical performers (→ nar, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153). However, some clarifications are required. Sumerian PNs referred to scribes are mentioned in the colophon of [75.2658+ = A V 21] which, according to Archi, is a “scribal joke”. As for musical performers, Tonietti suggested the hypothesis that in some cases they adopted stage names. Also in Pre-Sargonic Mari, however, Sumerian PNs were rare: Tonietti has been able to identify less than fifteen Sumerian PNs in the Mari Pre-Sargonic corpus. On the Sumerian names of the → nar from Mari, see Steinkeller, in *Fs Hallo* (1993), p.240; Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.89ff.

<sup>45</sup> This is suggested by the presence in Eblaite cuneiform script of Sumerograms and of the so-called ‘eblaitograms,’ *i.e.*, crystallized Semitic spellings, which were also sometimes used logographically. See the discussion sub → MA-LIK-TUM, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101, with bibliography. For the hypothesis that Sumerian and cuneiform script were introduced at Ebla via Mari see Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001). It must also be stressed that some Sumerian texts/words were possibly read in Semitic, as the *-um* endings attached to Sumerian signs attested in the ESL suggest. It is not known, however, in which language Sumerian was read in administrative documents. See Civil and Rubio, *Or* 68 (1999); Rubio, *OIS* 2 (2007), pp.41–42.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, the letters published in *ARET* XVI, texts 1–20.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, the graphic variants in female proper names collected in Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), pp.140–41.

<sup>48</sup> See the data collected sub → dub-sar, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

ministrative reality described in the documents. Unfortunately, little information is given in the texts on the profession of the scribe, and the duties, training, or wage related to this social position. The Fāra scribes, for example, were in certain cases high officials: they were responsible for high quantities of barley, and usually received a monthly allocation between  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 gur of barley.<sup>49</sup> In the Ebla administrative documents there is no direct mention of food allocation for individuals who are also explicitly identified as scribes: although no direct information is provided with regards to the scribes' office, a calculation of the scribe's workload similar to the one done by Tanret for the Old Babylonian period can be attempted for the Great Archive L.2769.<sup>50</sup>

The number of the tablets originally kept in the Great Archive before the destruction – as well as the life-span of the Archive itself – are still object of debate: for this reason, calculation must be restricted to a shorter chronological period in which scribal production can be safely quantified. ArrULUM probably held the office of vizier for 5 years during the reign of Yirkab-Damu: fifty-eighty monthly accounts of textiles (= MATs) dated to his vizierate have been published (*ARET XV*).<sup>51</sup> There is not, at present, the possibility to confirm that ArrULUM actually held the title of vizier for exactly five years, that the fifty-eight accounts are the entirety of the MATs produced in that time-span, nor that these also had an exact monthly frequency. Nevertheless, if we assume that these accounts were produced once a month, they cover a period of almost five years.<sup>52</sup> The MATs published in *ARET XV* are characterized by a minimum of 38 to a maximum of 178 sections, with an average of 52 sections (= transactions) for each monthly account. Assuming that each month is made up of thirty days, during the ArrULUM vizierate an average of ~89 transactions per month (~3 per day, ~1,078 each year, and ~5,393 in five years) is attested. As Tanret noted for the Old Babylonian period, the scribe had not only to write the report: Eblaite scribes had to keep daily records of the transactions, file them, retrieve the correct information for the monthly report, and draft the monthly or yearly balances. Although three transactions per day might seem a reasonable workload for an accountant, some months were of course busier than others. One example is [75.1585 = *A XV 31*] (iti *i-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa*): of the 178 sections recognized by the Editor, 175 refers to different kind of transactions (~6 transactions per day).<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, this calculation does not take into consideration all the other scribal activities, like the lexical compositions, the ERR, the chancery and diplomatic documents, or other administrative sectors such the Small Archive L.2712.

To address the complexity of the use of foreign words, the scribes of the Archives created unilingual and bilingual lexical lists containing more than 1,400 words in Sumerian, a part of which present a Semitic 'translation.'<sup>54</sup> The eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> (EBK) unilingual composition consists in a list of words mainly arranged according to an acrographic principle: many words are then 'translated' in Semitic in the so-called *Vocabolario di Ebla* and a few other bilingual lexical compositions (also called 'extracts'). It must be stressed that, as Veldhuis noted, the local lexical compositions found at Ebla

<sup>49</sup> Visicato, *Power and Writing* (2000), pp.47–48.

<sup>50</sup> Tanret, *RA 98* (2004), studied the scribal production of Šumun-liši, a man from Sippar who worked for the galamat archive. Šumun-liši's career lasted 18 years, during which, according to Tanret, he was able to produce a minimum of one text every eight days, or a maximum of one every five days.

<sup>51</sup> Pomponio, *ARET XV/1* (2008); Pomponio, *ARET XV/2* (2013).

<sup>52</sup> There is no way at present to prove that two texts dated to the same month should be considered as two 'pages' of the same monthly report (*i.e.* as referring to the same month of the same year).

<sup>53</sup> Totals (šu-nigin<sub>2</sub>) and sub-totals (AN.ŠE<sub>2</sub>.GU<sub>2</sub>) have been omitted in the sections counting.

<sup>54</sup> Note that lexical compositions such as the EBK and VE are dated to Phase II (Yibriyum/Yibbi-Ḍikir). See Paoletti, in *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015), p.51, Table 1. For the subdivision of the cuneiform script evolution in stages/phases, see Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001).

(EBK, ESL, VE, extracts) were «not produced to learn a foreign language, but rather to document the writing system, with its local use of Sumerian logograms.»<sup>55</sup> The lexicon of the actors used in the everyday administrative practice is thus a repertoire of words closely linked to the administrative sphere and characterized by many terms that are not typical of the linguistic and cultural context in which they are used: when a scribe adopts a Sumerian term or an Eblaitogram we must therefore distinguish between a *proper* use of the word (which retains its original meaning), and one that we could define as *improper* (which therefore implies a reinterpretation). As for Sumerograms, some terms have certainly been reinterpreted by the scribes, since their original meaning does not fit the contexts in which they are used: similarly, some terms have, in bilingual vocabularies, Semitic glosses that do not correspond to the meaning that the word takes on in its proper context. As for the terms presenting a gloss in bilingual lexical lists, Civil identified two types of *lexical shift*, *i.e.*, the phenomenon according to which some discrepancies exist between Sumerian words and their Semitic translations. Civil distinguished between an *apparent* and a *real* lexical shift: in the first case, the lexical shift is evident because the Semitic glosses are not precise translations, but rather paraphrases or synonyms; in the second it may be due to the dialectal and diachronic variations that characterized Eblaite and Sumerian respectively.

As Veldhuis observed, we must not assume that Eblaite scribes were unaware of many aspects of Sumerian as a written and spoken language; they were, however,

«distant enough from the Sumerian heartland to experience the freedom to experiment with this material, and introduce, for instance, syllabic versions. They showed much initiative in compiling entirely new kinds of lexical texts that made practical sense in their context and that were not bound to the long traditions of lexicography in Babylonia.»<sup>56</sup>

These considerations on the lexicon of the actors and on the interpretative difficulties that derive from it for the contemporary scholar, bring to the foreground a long-standing problem in historical research, namely whether to replicate the actors' lexicon or introduce a non-native terminology.<sup>57</sup> If the translation of → *nagar* as a “carpenter” poses no problem, how to translate terms such as → *lugal* (“lord”) or → *abba*<sub>2</sub> (“high representative”)? Broadly speaking, the more common a given term, both from a chronological a geographical perspective, the higher the possibilities that its meaning at Ebla differs from the meaning it takes in Mesopotamia.<sup>58</sup> Eblaite lords, for example, cannot be compared to Mesopotamian *lugals*: this is one of the frequent cases in which both the adoption of the lexicon of the actors (→ *lugal*) and the introduction of a non-native terminology (“lord”) might lead to misinterpretation. Furthermore, the translation or paraphrase of ancient lemmas into modern and more widespread terms might lead to «the most unpardonable of sins in a time-science»:<sup>59</sup> anachronism. As for Ebla, the translation/paraphrase process has been criticized by Porter, who stressed the inadequacy of terms such as “king” and “queen” as equivalents of → *en* and → *MA-LIK-TUM*, since these terms «conjures up models of monarchy that are simply inapplicable.»<sup>60</sup> Terms such as “lord,” “king,”

<sup>55</sup> Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014), p.138.

<sup>56</sup> Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014), p.139.

<sup>57</sup> See Ginzburg, *Cromohs* 18 (2013), p.98.

<sup>58</sup> In addition to the examples just mentioned, other terms are for example → *en* (“king,” Sum. “high priest,” §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), or → *dam* (“woman,” Sum. “spouse (of both genders),” §4.5 Producers, p.186). Other terms, however, retain their original meaning, such as → *nagar* (“carpenter,” §4.5 Producers, p.186), → *simug* (“smith, metalworker,” §4.5 Producers, p.186), or → *muḫalḏim* (“cook,” §4.5 Producers, p.186).

<sup>59</sup> Bloch, *Historian's Craft* (1953 [1949]), p.173.

<sup>60</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), pp.201–2. Porter prefers to leave terms, such as *en*, untranslated: if “king” implies

“elder,” etc., are ubiquitous, in the sense that they are often encountered in the modern historical discourse and each time adapted to different contexts: the ‘king’ of a III millennium BCE Syrian political entity cannot be certainly compared to the king of a European kingdom of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it must be noted that most of the terms through which history is made are modern constructs. Notions such as ‘politics,’ ‘economy,’ ‘reign,’ and also ‘society’ are relatively recent historical concepts.<sup>61</sup> This problem of *nomenclature*, as Bloch defined it,<sup>62</sup> is further aggravated by the fact that modern scholars often lightly adopt different terminologies to describe the same distant past. The problem lies not in the use of different terminologies, but in the fact that modern terms are often affected by the same problematics exposed with respect to the lexicon of the actors: the meaning of a term can change depending on context. Concepts such as *profession*, *role*, *social function*, or *social position* can thus differ in meaning depending on the theoretical framework adopted.

### 2.1.2. The Modern Sociological Terminology

As just explained, the problem linked to the choice of lexicon is articulated on two levels: the ancient and the modern one. There is a more or less marked asymmetry between the lexicon that the actors use to describe themselves, and the terminology adopted by the historian to describe them and their historical reality. As it will be cleared in the final paragraph of this chapter (§2.1.3 The Categories of Historical Analysis, p.29), the solution to this problem is quite simple: accurate definitions.<sup>63</sup> Consider thus, for example, the following definition of society:

«A society is a system of structured social relationships connecting people together according to a shared culture.»<sup>64</sup>

Basically, what is needed, from a theoretical point of view, to make a society are at least two individuals and a set of relationships linking them. The *dyad* (a group of two actors) is often considered the basic unit of society, being the smallest human grouping possible above the single individual. Many relationships are often referred to as *dyadic* (“mother–son,” “master–slave,” etc.), but the dyad as a unit of analysis demonstrates its limits, especially when complex concepts such as *social position* and *role* are introduced. Not all relationships and social groupings can be measured adopting the dyad as a unit of measurement: even in the case of kinship relationships, which are the most fundamental among the kinds of ties linking one individual to another, are sometimes too complex to be described by dyadic pairs. Households are, for example, social groupings characteristic of many ancient societies: not only kinsmen, however, belong to the same household, since large households are basically socio-economic units where individuals are tied together by kinship relationships as well as by other types of social links. As Netting wrote, households have «an emergent character that makes them more than the sum of their parts [...]; they are a primary arena for the expression of age and sex roles, kinship, socialization, and economic cooperation where the very stuff of culture is

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a concept of monarchy, however, en does not imply any concept for the untrained reader.

<sup>61</sup> See the discussion in Bourdieu and Chartier, *Sociologist and Historian* (2015), pp.11–12.

<sup>62</sup> Bloch, *Historian’s Craft* (1953 [1949]), p.173.

<sup>63</sup> This is in fact Bloch’s solution to the nomenclature problem. Bloch formulates this solution in one of the most important paragraphs of the chapter on nomenclature which, unfortunately, is omitted in the French and English editions: «[b]isogna che lo storico faccia a meno di allontanare dal loro significato, senza pensarci, i termini già accolti [...]; che si vieti di respingere, per capriccio, quelli che hanno già dato buona prova di sé; che ricorrendo a definizioni accurate lo faccia con l’intento di rendere il suo vocabolario costantemente utile a tutti» (p.129 of the Italian edition).

<sup>64</sup> Giddens, *Sociology* (2009), pp.1133–34.

mediated and transformed into action.»<sup>65</sup>

As just explained, therefore, the dyad represents the lower limit below which a social group cannot exist: the household example, however, shows that the upper boundary is more difficult to define, since there is no theoretical definition that sets a limit beyond which a group cannot be considered as such.<sup>66</sup> According to the aforementioned definition of society, the minimum component of a society is the individual, the *actor*, and the interaction between two or more actors leads to the formation of *groups*, the whole of which constitutes a *society*. This simple definition does not explain, however, how the interaction between the actors develops; when the interaction between the actors gives rise to a social group and when not; or where these interactions should be placed from temporal and spatial points of view. As it has been stressed in the previous paragraph, the actors' lexicon is the mean through which the actors themselves offer their description of reality: modern terminology must be just as specific to describe the multi-faceted social reality which it aims at studying. Therefore, the following discourse aims to provide a coherent theoretical framework consisting of a set of terms, theories, and definitions, proper of sociology, to efficiently describe the social reality of the actors. As just stated, sociology provides a very flexible set of theoretical frameworks, each of which has its own strengths and weaknesses: however, as Morley wrote, «[the] important issue here is that there is no universal system for interpreting social structure, but a number of competing theories, each of which represents society differently and raises different questions.»<sup>67</sup>

The theoretical framework here under consideration is that outlined by Frederik L. Bates:<sup>68</sup> the scholar has exhaustively dealt with the concept of *social position* and *role*,<sup>69</sup> widely used in sociology as much as in social history, and took into particular consideration many problematic aspects which characterized the concept since its initial formulation by Linton.<sup>70</sup> Particularly important is Bates' observation that Linton's original concept of social position can be hardly applied to extended social groups, since it is based on reciprocated pairs of dyadic relationships:<sup>71</sup> consequently, the social structure so described is extremely static. According to Bates' reinterpretation of Linton's concept of social position, within each group an actor takes a specific position, defined as «a location in a social structure which is associated with a set of social norms.»<sup>72</sup> A *norm* is a model of conduct, a predictable behavioral response shared by the members of a social group. The norms are determined by the *roles* that characterize a given position: the social role assumed by an actor in a given position is defined as the set of rules that regulate his behavior in association with that specific role. Social positions are

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<sup>65</sup> Netting et al, in *Households* (1984), p.xxii. For a definition of household see 3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52.

<sup>66</sup> Bates, *Soc. Forces* 36 (1957), p.103. See also Latour's remarks on the term 'group' in Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (2005), p.29.

<sup>67</sup> Morley, in *Companion to Ancient History* (2009), p.117.

<sup>68</sup> Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956); Bates, *Soc. Forces* 36 (1957); Bates, *Pac. Sociol. Rev.* 3 (1960).

<sup>69</sup> The concept here called (social) *position* is often also called *status*. The adoption of this latter term has led to confusion between the use of status as a synonym of rank, and status meaning a position within a social structure. For this reason, the term social position is preferable: note, however, that some authors still refer to the same concept as social status. See also Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956), p.314, fn.1.

<sup>70</sup> Linton defined a social status (= position) as «a collection of rights and duties. [...] The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role.» Linton, *Study of Man* (1936), p.113–14.

<sup>71</sup> One of the fundamental concepts in Linton's theory is that behavior is reciprocal, *i.e.*, the actors' positions (or statuses) are conceived as opposed poles linked by reciprocal patterns of behavior ("father–son," "master–servant," etc.). See Linton, *Study of Man* (1936), p.104–5 and 113.

<sup>72</sup> Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956), p.314.

thus composed by different roles, each of which is characterized in turn by a set of norms (see Figure 2, p.25). Consider the following example: the social position of ‘king’ is composed by different roles, such as ‘cultic leader,’ ‘legislator,’ or ‘military chief.’ Each of these roles is characterized by a set of norms, and for each one a predictable behavioral response is expected: the ‘king’ must, for example, fulfill his cultic duties, legislate appropriately, and lead his army to victory.

One of Bates’ postulates is that a limited numbers of roles are available in a given society:<sup>73</sup> these roles can be thus combined to create a limited set of social positions. The roles of ‘legislator’ and ‘military chief’ may be shared by more than one position: each role will adapt to the other roles characterizing the actor’s social position. Consequently, the role of ‘cultic leader’ associated with the position of king is not perfectly equivalent to that characterizing the position of ‘high priest.’ The different combinations, however, may lead to cases in which the actor’s position is characterized by contrasting roles. When two roles which are part of the same position are in conflict they produce tension in the actor who, in turn, will try to adapt his/her role with the precise aim of reducing the state of conflict. The same role can therefore be declined in slightly different ways within different social positions, since it is fundamental for the actor to maintain a certain degree of *consistency* between all the roles that characterize his/her position: the fundamental aspect that guarantees coexistence of multiple roles within a position is the degree of *internal consistency*. We can therefore distinguish between *dominant* and *recessive* roles: a dominant role is characterized by rules subject to less flexibility than others, and therefore determines the internal structure of a position. Likewise, a recessive role changes and adapts to a dominant role.

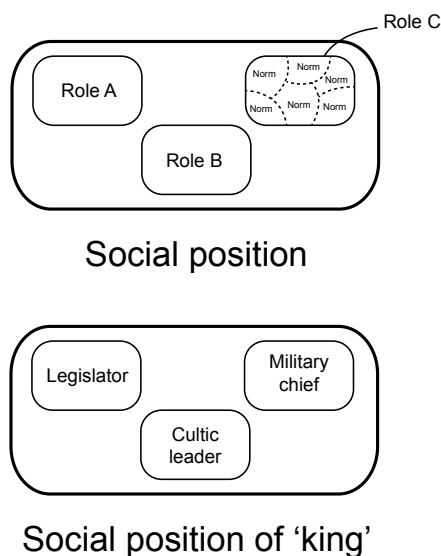


Figure 2 - The concept of position. Adapted from Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956), p.314 Fig.2.

Bates thus re-elaborates Linton’s concept of reciprocal behavior attributing this characteristic to roles, and not to positions: it is therefore between roles that dyadic relationships are established. This theoretical interpretation allows greater flexibility and, while still taking into consideration dyadic relationship, solves some of the problems inherent in Linton’s theoretical framework. Among these are the fact that if relationships are conceived as reciprocal pairs between two positions, any analysis of social structures characterized by more than two positions proves to be difficult. Taking into consideration, for example, a basic family structure such as that depicted in Figure 3, p.26, a set of six reciprocal behaviors can be recognized. According to Linton’s theoretical framework, these six sets

<sup>73</sup> Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956), p.315 (Postulate 1).

imply the existence of twelve social positions: if the dyadic relationships characterize the roles which, in turn, define the positions, the scheme represents four positions, each of which is characterized by three roles. The relationship “brother–sister” is characterized by a reciprocal pair of roles, and belongs to positions in which also roles such as “son of mother” and “daughter of father” are present.

As a consequence, the members depicted in Figure 3 belong to the same group, in which at least one role of each position is reciprocated by at least one role belonging to another position. A *group* can thus be defined as a set of at least two actors occupying just as many positions, and united by at least one reciprocal relationship.<sup>74</sup> As already stated, however, the number of members beyond which a group can no longer be considered as such cannot be defined.

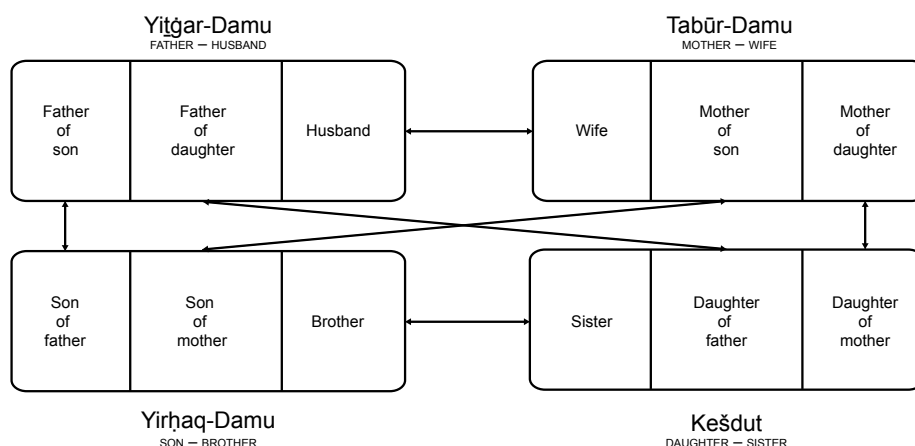


Figure 3 - A basic family structure. Adapted from Bates, *Soc. Forces* 34 (1956), p.319, Fig.5.

Nevertheless, a boundary must be identified which allows to distinguish situations in which the mutual interaction between two roles creates a group, and when on the contrary this does not happen. According to Bates, actors are members of a given group when one of the roles of each individual finds at least one reciprocal role in the other individuals. Not all the roles of a given position needs to be reciprocated by all the roles of another position: it is nevertheless fundamental that there exists at least one *functional relationship of reciprocity* for at least one of the roles that characterize the position of each member of a given group.<sup>75</sup> Considering again, as an example, the social position of king, the functional relationship of reciprocity simply states that the role of cultic leader needs a follower the legislator needs subjects, the military chief needs an army, as much as a father needs a son, a sister needs a brother, and a wife needs a husband.

The scheme depicted in Figure 4 represents an example of the social groups to which Yilsī, the chief steward of the Palace, was part of (see sub → BAD(-mi<sub>2</sub>) e<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101). He was probably, along with his brother Du<sub>8</sub>-damu, the son of judge Yir'am-damu:<sup>76</sup> the three actors (Yir'am-damu, Yilsī, Du<sub>8</sub>-damu) constitute a group in which each individual is linked to the others by a reciprocated tie (father–son, son–brother; marked by a red circle). Yilsī, however, also belonged to another group: he is in fact frequently mentioned with the queen and several other ladies of the court (marked by a blue circle). Although the role of each actor in this group is not easy to identify, the contextual associations of Yilsī and the ladies of the court clearly demonstrate the its

<sup>74</sup> Bates, *Soc. Forces* 36 (1957), pp.103–4.

<sup>75</sup> Bates, *Pac. Sociol. Rev.* 3 (1960), pp.59–60.

<sup>76</sup> See sub → di-ku<sub>5</sub> (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101). The following reconstruction is based also on the data collected by Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016).





groups are characterized by an irregular temporal evolution, but the actors constantly move from one social group to another: it follows that a society cannot be identified as a given object with space-time coordinates, since at any given moment only a portion of it is actually existing.<sup>80</sup> What is observable are a number of relationships that take place at a given time and in a given place: it is in part this relativism that drives sociologists as Latour to criticize the very existence of a social nature.<sup>81</sup>

The theoretical framework here described accounts for one of the most important characteristic of social position as they are described in ancient records: *social relativity*. Actors are in constant motion and, as Schloen wrote, «the same man could be a master or overseer with respect to one group of people and a subordinate or dependent with respect to someone else.»<sup>82</sup> But, as Monroe stressed:

«[...] the same individual may occur in one role in one document, and in a quite different role in a text of another genre. This is a fundamental point without which we will continue to misinterpret ancient written records.»<sup>83</sup>

Having therefore defined the constituent elements of a given society (the actors) and the nature of the relationships that binds them, it is possible to proceed to a further level of interpretation: organization and social stratification. Some scholars start from the assumption that no society is devoid of social stratification, since in every social system individuals are distributed in social positions in order to induce them to perform specific tasks.<sup>84</sup> The system must therefore not only push its members to occupy these positions but also induce them to perform the duties connected to these positions. *Social stratification* can therefore be defined as the differential distribution of individuals that constitute a given social system through categories of superiority and inferiority based on socially relevant aspects. Social stratification is not based on biological inequalities (sex, physical strength, intelligence, age) or, at least, these can be considered secondary factors and are not sufficient to explain the social status of an individual: biological aspects become relevant only when they are recognized and integrated into the evaluation system of a given society.<sup>85</sup> The key concept is therefore that of *evaluation*: as Barber observes, in the animal world, even when there is some kind of differentiation, there is no kind of evaluation. The need to evaluate characteristic of human being is justified by the fact that:

«[...] as men go about their perennial business of setting themselves goals and trying to achieve them, they find that each man is a means to other men's ends. Carpenters need kings, and kings, carpenters. [...] Therefore men are necessarily bound together in their various purposes in society. [...] But [...] if they were only means to one another's ends, if there were no common values defining the proper use of various means, men would be in endless conflict among themselves, for nothing would put a stop to the calculating of proximate utilities each might get from another's activity.»<sup>86</sup>

Social stratification is therefore the product of the coexistence of a social differentiation and an evaluation system. The roles that characterize a given society can themselves become criteria for evaluation: the social roles which are considered functionally essential are likely to be characterized

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<sup>80</sup> Dudley and Brown, *Sociol. Quart.* 22 (1985), p.315–16.

<sup>81</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (2005), pp.3–4. See also the following paragraph.

<sup>82</sup> Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001), p.282.

<sup>83</sup> Monroe, *JAOS* 122 (2002).

<sup>84</sup> Davis and Moore, *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 10 (1945); Tumin, *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 18 (1953).

<sup>85</sup> Tumin, *Social Stratification* (1967), p.25.

<sup>86</sup> Barber, *Social Stratification* (1957), p.2.

by a high level of evaluation, and generally require full-time participation.<sup>87</sup> Every society has, for example, the need to adopt an internal regulation, carried out through forms of social control, as well as the need to maintain internal order and protect itself against external attacks. It is therefore not surprising that, generally speaking, political and military roles are characterized by a high level of social evaluation, since they are functionally essential and usually characterized by full-time participation.

The questions raised through the present research are mainly related to the actors' identities and the sectors of the society they are representatives of. The documentation describes, however, only a portion of the social reality in which the actors move: its predominantly administrative nature makes it impossible to systematically and uniformly investigate all the fundamental sectors needed for the reconstruction of a social stratification. The identification of the main actors involved and the definition of their respective social positions is, however, a mandatory step in the understanding the structure and organization of any society.

### 2.1.3. The Categories of Historical Analysis

French sociologist Bruno Latour, promoter of a new theoretical and methodological approach to sociological analysis known as *Actor-Network Theory* (ANT), is extremely critical of what he calls “sociology of the social” (*i.e.*, traditional sociology):<sup>88</sup> one of its major flaws lies in its terminology or rather – according to Latour – in the tendency to replace the actors' terminology with the sociologist's, leading to a confusion between two meta-languages.<sup>89</sup> For this reason, Latour prefers «to use the most general, the most banal, even the most vulgar repertoire so that there will be no risk of confusing the actors' own prolific idioms.» While, on the one hand, our actors' lexicon is the language of a direct observer, it is undeniable that this language is subjective and that the categories used by the actors are limited and sometimes (apparently) incoherent.<sup>90</sup> On the contrary, the categories of social theory allow to describe a society through a common modern lexicon that opens the micro-analysis to comparative studies. However, it is worth emphasizing that neither of the two choices (maintaining the terminology of the actors, or adopting modern translations/paraphrases) is free of dangers, both from the sociological and historical perspective: Marc Bloch has already extensively described the risks for the historian, analyzing in detail the effects of what he defines the practices of “reproducing/copying” or “translating” the lexicon of the actors.<sup>91</sup>

The first possibility (*i.e.*, maintaining the actors' lexicon), closer to Latour's theoretical framework and opposed to the characteristic tendencies of the ‘sociologist of the social’, could be considered desirable also for the ‘historian of the social,’ since no other term is more descriptive of the

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<sup>87</sup> Parsons, *Am. J. Sociol.* 45 (1940), pp.842–44; Parsons, in *Essays* (1964), pp.386–387.

<sup>88</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (2008), pp.8–13. Generally speaking, ANT advocates that in the study of society both humans and non-humans are equally relevant as agents. In his book *The Pasteurisation of France* (London, 1988), Latour argues that Louis Pasteur's scientific achievement (the discovering a successful method of food treatment and preservation) was also ascribable to the microbes responsible for the pasteurization process (thus defined not as *actors*, but as *actants*). However extreme this theory might seem, it poses some significant methodological prompts also for ancient social history. On the application of ANT in the field ancient history, see the observations in Taylor and Vlassopoulos, in *Communities and Networks* (2015), pp.10–11; for a general overview on ANT, see Jackson, *JAH* 4 (2015).

<sup>89</sup> Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (2008), p.30.

<sup>90</sup> The degree of incoherence is difficult to ascertain. As Veldhuis noted (see §2.1.1 The Lexicon of the Actors, p.19), the scribes were not unaware of the use of Sumerian as administrative jargon: the apparent inconsistency in the use of many terms is perhaps due more to our lack of knowledge than to the scribes' incoherence.

<sup>91</sup> Bloch, *Historian's Craft* (1953 [1949]), pp.156ff.

original term adopted by the actors. As already explained, however, the interpretative problems that characterize the lexicon of the actors make the adoption of their vocabulary in the historical description extremely problematic: one of the most important social and political roles, for example, is that defined in modern literature as ‘vizier.’ This term, however, is completely absent from the lexicon of the actors: the three individuals who held this role (ArruLUM, Yibriyum, Yibbi-Dikir) are always referred to by the scribes through their proper names. The term *vizier* is therefore not a reproduction or a translation of an ancient term, but a modern interpolation: in this case it is not possible to reproduce, and neither translate, the lexicon of the actors.

Even when the ancient term is explicitly indicated and its meaning clear, its *reproduction* is problematic in historical discourse. As Bloch wrote, «changes in things do not by any means always entail similar changes in their names:»<sup>92</sup> the timing of social change does not coincide with that of linguistic change; the latter is slower than the former because the actors passively experience the change and do not immediately perceive its effects. Consequently, the actors do not feel the need to make a corresponding change in their vocabulary. As a matter of fact, part of the administrative lexicon adopted at Ebla is Sumerian: as described at the beginning of this chapter, the social and geographical change has thus been more rapid than the timing of linguistic change. The Sumerian terminology has developed in Mesopotamia for decades, after which it was introduced and adopted in a completely different social context: especially in the case of fragmented socio-political entities, as is the case for Ebla and its surrounding areas, the same social feature can thus be described through very different terms.

Following the approach characteristic of the ‘sociology of the social’ (criticized by Latour), a second option is thus to translate the lexicon of the actors: however, as already stressed, all the modern terms would be inevitably anachronistic. As just stated, the solution to this problem is, according to Bloch, quite simple: terms must be accurately defined. The categories of the socio-historical analysis, some of which have been illustrated in the previous paragraph, and the lexicon of the actors (collected in Figure 12 Social cohesion of the keywords, p.99) have been thus systematically explained and contextualized: the aim of this methodological choice is therefore not only internal coherence, but a study of Eblaite society through categories allowing future comparative developments. The solution to the nomenclature problem here adopted is this that hypothesized by Bloch: “reproducing” and/or “translating” according to the specificities of each term, but explaining and defining with precision the words and categories used.

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<sup>92</sup> Bloch, *Historian's Craft* (1953 [1949]), p.159.

## 2.2. Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns

The goal for research is to outline a model of society based on the epigraphic documentation of the Archives. The administrative corpus is certainly not the only lens through which Eblaite society can be observed: architecture, material culture, and artistic production are equally essential elements of any society. Each of these elements can be considered a “social product,” one of the multiple forms through which a society manifests itself, and describes a particular aspect of the society which produced them. Artistic production, such as for example the precious artifacts appreciated by the élite, their circulation, and mobility can provide information on a given society.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, textual documents contain a high degree of information referred to particular sectors and aspects of society. Just as the artifacts which belong to the élite and those that belong to the lower class population document two different components of a given society, also textual documents describe different components of the society which produced them.

Most of the documents found in the Archives are administrative: in the Great Archive L.2769, however, also diplomatic and chancery documents, as well as lexical texts, have been found. Diplomatic documents (*i.e.*, those relating to ‘negotiations’ between two or more political entities) have a different geographical, social, economic, and political horizon than the MATs or the AAMs. Diplomatic and chancery documents are thus characterized by different *directionalities* with respect to administrative ones, and are oriented from the City towards the outside and vice versa (see Figure 5 below): as it has already been noted, letters and other documents drafted in other cities were often kept in the Great Archive; similarly, letters, documents, and dossiers drafted at Ebla, but describing events which took place outside the City, were stored in the Archives, sometimes even for decades. Thus, both diplomatic and chancery documents are characterized by a broad political and social landscape: this landscape is both local and non-local, *i.e.*, also characterized by elements which do not belong to Eblaite society.

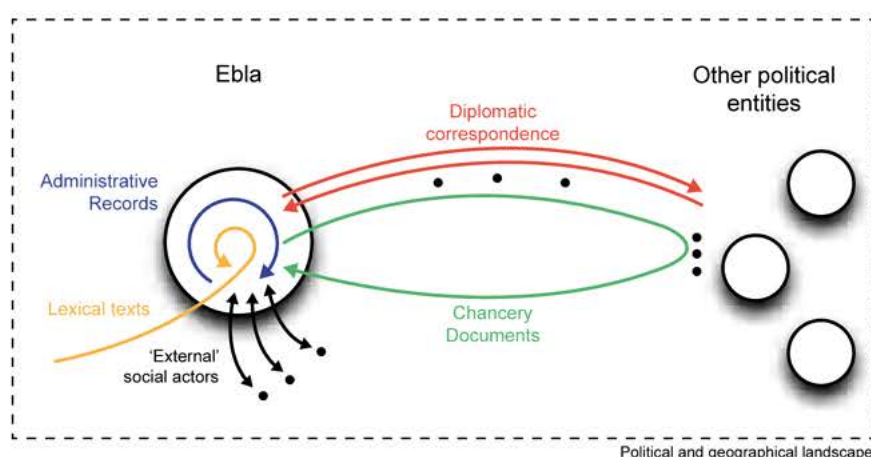


Figure 5 - The different *directionalities* which characterize the documents

Lexical texts contain as well valuable information on society: both the unilingual and the bilingual documents contain an extremely rich repertoire of terms, many of which are used in administrative documents to describe not only the actors but also the circumstances and the events in which the individuals are involved. However, as it has already been stressed (see §2.1.1 The Lexicon of the Actors,

<sup>93</sup> Consider, for example, the social implications of the circulation of objects belonging to the so-called “International style” studied by Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design* (2006).

p.19), the lexicon adopted by the actors to describe their social environment needs to be properly contextualized. The lexical compositions found at Ebla were both local and non-local: both provides useful information on the lexicon although, as it has already been noticed, many words commonly attested in the administrative practice are not glossed in the VE and in the bilingual extracts.<sup>94</sup>

Unlike diplomatic and chancery texts, which mainly provide information oriented towards the outside, administrative texts are entirely centered on the life of the Palace and are the most widespread type of document found in the Archives. The documentation related to the management of the Palace is therefore far more detailed and exhaustive than that related to the management of international relations: it is not easy to make an estimate of the number of administrative documents stored in the Great Archive, but they probably constitute more than 80% of the entire corpus. Since the texts are not only numerous, but very often repetitive, there are very few documents focused only on society or particular aspects of it: furthermore, the high number of interconnections between actors, events, and places present in the documents makes it difficult to grasp a holistic view of the social, economic, and political history of the city. To study Eblaite society through the lens of administrative documents, it is thus necessary to identify the actors who are its fundamental constituents. Without knowing who the actors were, it is not possible to study their interactions, and thus unravel the complex system of exchanges (of goods, information, knowledge, culture) and interactions (political, economic, social) which constitute the foundation of any historical analysis

For this reason, the present research is based on a set of keywords which constitute the common thread through which a systematic analysis of the corpus is conducted. These keywords are the terms used by the scribes to describe the members of the society, *i.e.*, the words that indicate a profession, a function, or a role that can be associated to an individual. These keywords include terms related to professions, such as “carpenter” (→ *nagar*, §4.5 Producers, p.186), or “physician” (→ *azu*, §4.5 Producers, p.186), and terms related to functions or temporary roles, such as the “statue bearers” (→ ŠEŠ.II.IB, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153). As the keywords just mentioned demonstrate, the category ‘profession’ is inappropriate to describe the selected set of keywords. Not only some keywords are clearly not professions, but it is not always possible to ascertain if a term should be considered a profession or a function: a profession can be described as an occupation which involves in most cases a period of training and the mastery of a set of skills. In this sense, a profession may also be characterized by remuneration: however, in the case of Ebla (and generally speaking, before the introduction of coinage), it is difficult to discuss the presence, amount, and typology of wages with reference to professions, and to which extent wage can be considered or not a characterizing feature of a profession.

In the following paragraphs the processes of selection and analysis of the keywords on which the research has been conducted will be described. These processes have been largely inspired by two sets of methodologies which belong respectively to the fields of sociology and computer science: *Social Network Analysis* and *data mining*. *Social Network Analysis* (SNA) is a set of methodologies for the investigation of social networks: a *social network* is a structure characterized by one (or more) set(s) of social actors and the links existing between them. SNA analyzes patterns of relationships that connect the social actors, and applies graph theory to obtain a visual representation of the social network, analyzing it from a statistical point of view.<sup>95</sup> While in mathematics graph theory studies the

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<sup>94</sup> Archi, *SEb 2* (1980), p.83.

<sup>95</sup> The fundamental concepts of SNA, with a particular reference to Assyriology, have already been summarized in Waerzeggers, in *Documentary Sources* (2014), Wagner et al., *Akkadica* 134 (2014), pp.120–22, and Maiocchi, *SMEA N.S.* 2 (2016). The reference manual for SNA is Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis* (1994). For a less technical approach to the methodology, see Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (2000).

properties and patterns that characterize the graphs as mathematical object, in sociology graph theory is used to graphically represent, study and analyze social networks. As a statistical and sociological method, SNA has its limits when applied to the study of ancient societies, since it analyzes patterns of relationships that connect social entities focusing on the structure of relationships among a set of actors, but it does not show the effectiveness or quality of the relationships between them. However, this methodology is particularly effective for visualizing complex data (see Figure 11, p.80; Figure 12, p.99; Figure 14, p.122; Figure 24, p.247), and above all for the definition of a methodological approach to large datasets.

The second technique which inspired the research is *data mining*. This technique can be defined as follows:

«Data mining is the process of automatically discovering useful information in large data repositories. Data mining techniques are deployed to scour large databases in order to find novel and useful patterns that might otherwise remain unknown.»<sup>96</sup>

As this definition states, data mining is applied to extract information which would remain hidden: for this reason, is considered a form of ‘intelligence amplification’ – a tool for «increasing the capability of a man to approach a complex problem situation, to gain comprehension to suit his particular need, and to derive solutions to problems.»<sup>97</sup> Data mining can in fact be described as a process: first a goal – a research question – is set, on the base of which the process of data mining can be developed.<sup>98</sup> This technique also allows to carry out a sort of ‘distant-reading’, a term coined by Stanford literary scholar Franco Moretti: ‘distant-reading’ consists in the automated search for patterns across a corpus too wide to be read and absorbed via traditional humanistic methods of ‘close reading’.<sup>99</sup> In this sense, data mining is not a way to avoid reading texts, but a powerful tool to identify the implicit connections among different sources, and speed up the process of identifying the crucial passages in a given corpus.

In a paper published in 1967 Gelb wrote that approaches to the study of ancient society can be summarized in three steps:

1. Collection of data
2. Primary interpretation of data
3. Secondary interpretation

In Gelb’s view, data is the original source as preserved in ancient languages. When collecting data, «the first point to consider is the question of completeness versus selectivity; in other words, should every bit of information be collected automatically, or should the data be collected in selection and in accordance with subjective judgment as to the degree of their relevance or importance?».<sup>100</sup> Completeness, in Gelb’s opinion, is impossible considering the great amount of sources, and the fact that many of them are still unpublished: in his words «completeness is ideal, but in the case of Mesopotamia, it is unachievable.»<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the completeness in collecting the data depends on the endurance of the collector, and its relevance and importance is unpredictable at the moment of the collection.

The process described by Gelb does not differ much from a data mining solution: the huge digital

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<sup>96</sup> Tan et al. (2006), *Introduction to Data Mining*, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Engelbart, *Augmenting Human Intellect* (1962), p.1

<sup>98</sup> Khabaza, in *From Animals to Robots* (2014), p.193ff.

<sup>99</sup> Moretti, *Distant Reading* (2013).

<sup>100</sup> Gelb, *JAOS* 87 (1967), p.3.

<sup>101</sup> Gelb, *JAOS* 87 (1967), p.3.

repositories which have been built and developed in the past years, however, offer a digitized version large quantities of data which can be successfully analyzed through computer-aided analyses.

### 2.2.1. Methods of Keywords Selection and Analysis

A preliminary survey of the indexes present in the editions of the documents has revealed the presence of more than one hundred terms referring to professions, functions, and roles potentially useful for a socio-historical analysis. As will be explained, the relevant information under a socio-historical perspective derives from the *contextual association* of two or more terms: the degree of understanding referred to each term is, however, unequal and the attestations of the terms within the documents uneven. The terms referring to professions, functions, and roles are not uniformly distributed within the documentation: some are frequently cited, while others are rarely mentioned; some have been extensively studied, while the interpretation of others is still a matter of debate. For these reasons, the *productivity* of a term in the perspective of a socio-historical analysis, as well as its understanding, is not predictable and it is not related to its frequency. The number of occurrences of a specific term, as well as the documents in which it is attested, are the results of different causes, some of which are characterized by a social nature: it is not surprising, for example, that the “flute player” (→ lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di), §4.4 Entertainers, p.172) is mentioned only eighteen times, while a term like en (“king”, → §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) occurs more than two thousand times. At a first glance, the importance of the “flute player” for the reconstruction of society can be questioned, while the function of the king can be rightly considered more relevant. It must be stressed, however, that the documents considered in the present analysis (*i.e.*, all the administrative documents and, to a lesser extent, the data present in the lexical texts) are the byproducts of administrative transactions which constitute the real social ‘act.’ The practical purpose of the administrative documents produced not only at Ebla and in III millennium Syria, but also in Mesopotamia and thorough the history of the Ancient Near East, is still a matter of debate.<sup>102</sup> This means that only a portion of society, of its actors and actions, have been preserved in the documents. Furthermore, the social and administrative reality described by the documents of the Archives is the one revolving around the Palace: as a consequence, social actors who did not participate in the social life of the Palace for a period of time long enough to leave a trace in the documentation are virtually nonexistent.

To illustrate the consequences of these observations and their relevance for the study of society, a fitting example are the sons of the king (→ dumu-nita (PN/en [GN]), §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249): the dumu-nita en were not the sons of the reigning king, but the descendants of the royal kin. However, crossing the prosopographical and chronological data with an estimate on the generational duration (see §3.2.1 Generations within the Archives: How Many Families of the King?, p.63), it appears that the children (especially males, but also females) never appear in the administrative documents before puberty, the only exception being their premature death. This peculiar absence, also observed by Ziegler for the harem of Zimirî-Lîm,<sup>103</sup> can be explained by the fact that the children (both male and female) were taken care of by the ladies and women of the court. If even the sons of the king, who probably lived in the Palace, could be administratively invisible, the same stands even more true for actors who did not exhibit strong bonds with the Palace society.

This situation modifies the intrinsic relevance of a given term: not only, as just stated, the *productivity* of a term is not predictable and it is unrelated to its frequency, but it depends on factors and

<sup>102</sup> See esp. Van De Mieroop, *Klio* 79 (1997), and Steinkeller, in *Creating Economic Order* (2004).

<sup>103</sup> Ziegler, *FM* 4 (1999), pp.8–9.



circumstances which cannot be inferred from the documents. A preliminary analysis of the keywords demonstrated the presence of different *degree of cohesion* referred to each term: the *cohesion* of a given term can be described as its property of being ‘attracted’ to other terms. A term distinguished by a high degree of cohesion is attested in association with other terms: the more a term is contextually associated with other terms, the higher its degree of cohesion, and clearer its position in the social fabric with respects to other terms. The “flute-player” mentioned above, for example, accompanied the dancers with his instrument, and was probably a dancer himself (→ NE.DI, §§4.4 Entertainers, p.172): the ability to play the flute can thus be considered a role related to the profession of dancer. This is demonstrated by epigraphic data: Yiptur-’il and Rabba, two flute players, are also mentioned among the dancers. Despite being rarely attested, the *degree of cohesion* of the term lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di) with respect to NE.DI (“dancer”) is high, since a strong link based on prosopographic data is demonstrated by several contextual associations. Consider for example the following passages:

[75.1275 = A IV 6] o.VIII:2-IX:11: 26 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / Ni-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub> / Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub> / U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub> / NE-NI-ḤAR / En-na-ma-lik / En-na-ma-lik-II / Zi-mi-na-a-ḥu / Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik / En-na-be / Šu-ma-lik / Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub> / Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub> / Ša-wa-ra / NE-gi-sa-ti / Iš-la-da-du / Du-bi<sub>3</sub>-zi-kir / De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu / En-na-i<sub>3</sub> / In-ma-lik / **Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>** / **Ra-ba** / A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik / Il<sub>2</sub>-da-ma-ḥu / Ni-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub> / Zi-kir-ra-a-ba<sub>4</sub> / I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> / A-TAG<sub>4</sub>-NI<sup>ki</sup> / NE.DI NE.DI; «26 embroidered waistbands for NP<sub>1-19</sub>, Yiptur-’il, Rabba, NP<sub>22-26</sub>, the dancers.»

[75.3521 = A III 457] r.II:7-10: 2 gu-dul<sub>3</sub><sup>tug2</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-III gun<sub>3</sub><sup>tug2</sup> / **Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>** / **Ra-ba** / lu<sub>2</sub>-gi; «2 cloaks (of low quality), 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands for Yiptur-’il and Rabba, the flute players»

The dancers are the most frequently mentioned professionals related to entertainment: the contextual association of a rare term like lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di) and a common lemma such as NE.DI is thus particularly productive in the analysis of society. From this example, another distinction can be outlined: contextual associations may be *direct* or *indirect*. In the case of the flute-players, the association is *direct*, i.e., it involves two specific actors: Yiptur-’il and Rabba. The association may, however, be *indirect*: two or more professions, functions, or roles are contextually associated, but this association cannot be link to one (or more) specific individual. This is the case for example, of three different functions which describe three kinds of Palace personnel: the water-bearers (→ a-am, §4.5 Producers, p.186), the provisioners (→ u<sub>2</sub>-a, §4.5 Producers, p.186), and the ib-ib (→ ib, §4.5 Producers, p.186). These three groups are often mentioned together:<sup>104</sup> however, only the names of several ib-ib are mentioned in the texts, while no prosopographic data is available regarding the a-am and the u<sub>2</sub>-a. The association is thus demonstrated, but linked to a group rather than an individual.

On the contrary, the function of king is far more attested in the documents with respect to the flute players: the term en is used not only to indicate the sovereign, but also in syntagmatic expressions, such as e<sub>2</sub> en (“house of the king” = Palace), or → dam en (“lady of the king,” §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). While the importance of this function cannot be negated, its cohesion degree with respect to other functions or roles is connected to the textual patterns in which it is attested: the degree of cohesion of the term en is thus based on the *contextual associations* with other terms, but only in the cases in which the term explicitly indicates the king, and not other social actors (the ladies of the king) or features (the Palace). For these reasons, a term which is highly attested in the documents might lead to overestimate its *degree of cohesion*.

Contextual associations are also characterized by a level of *proximity*: in the example mentioned above,

<sup>104</sup> See the data collected sub → a-am, → u<sub>2</sub>-a and → ib (§4.5 Producers, p.186), esp. Table 20, p.240.

the direct contextual association between the flute-players and the dancers is based on prosopographic data. However, the textual proximity (*i.e.*, the proximity of two terms within the same document) of the two passages is low, since they are mentioned in two different texts: without the prosopographic link, no connection would exist between the two keywords. In the case of the three kinds of Palace personnel mentioned above (water-bearers, provisioners, and ib) the proximity is high, since the keywords are mentioned not only in the same texts, but sometimes in the same contexts, as is the case for the following terms:

[75.2590 = A I 6] o.VII:3-9: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 i[b<sub>2-IV</sub><sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub>] / ba-da-lum / Ḫa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup> / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2-I</sup> 5 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2-III</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> 3 ib<sub>2-IV</sub> gun<sub>3</sub><sup>tug2</sup> / abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> / wa / ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 [embroidered waistband], for the deputy (of the king of) Ḫarran; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics(-i?), 5 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, 3 embroidered waistbands, for his high representatives, and his watchmen»

In [75.2590 = A I 6] the proximity of the three keywords (*ba-da-lum*, *abba<sub>2</sub>*, *ma-za-lum*) is higher since they are mentioned in the same passage. The level of proximity in contextual associations depends on different factors, such as administrative circumstances, but also timing. This is the case, for example, of the cultically clean priest (→ 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153) who performed the purification of the house of the king (→ a:tu<sub>5/22</sub>, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153): this ritual took place every first month of the year, and involved also the valets of Kura (→ pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), an invoker (→ gu<sub>3</sub>-di, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), and a scribe (→ dub-sar, §4.5 Producers, p.186).

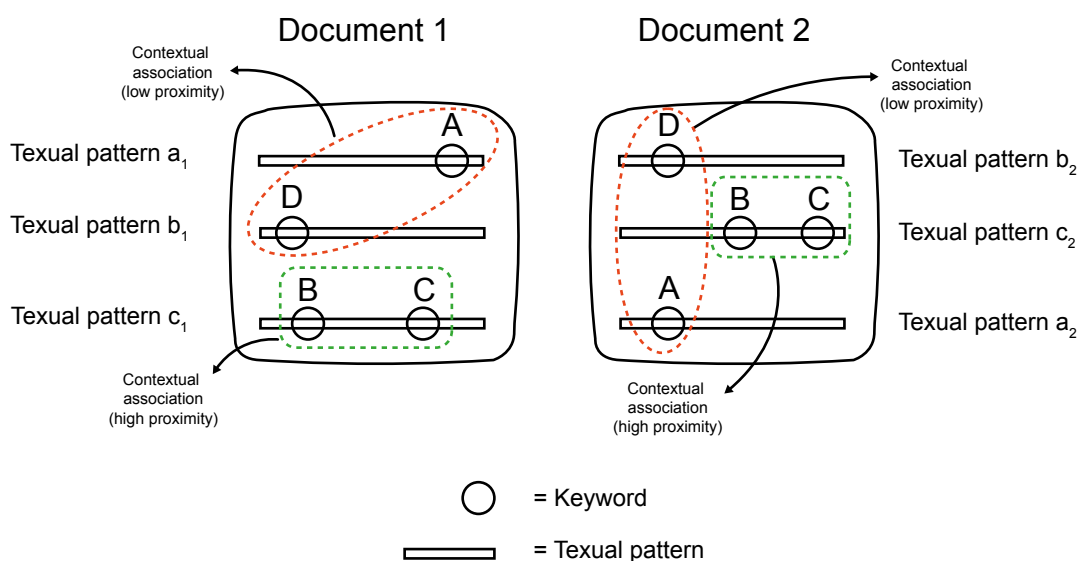


Figure 6 - Graphical representation of the main concepts discussed in this paragraph. Note that the contextual associations of the groups of keywords (A/D) and (B/C) produce a high degree of cohesion between the terms. Textual patterns a<sub>2</sub>, b<sub>2</sub>, and c<sub>2</sub> of document 2 represent a variant of textual patterns a<sub>1</sub>, b<sub>1</sub>, and c<sub>1</sub> of document 1.

The preliminary analysis of all the terms collected through the survey of the editions' indexes revealed different levels of productivity associated with each term: as already stated, a term linked to a social profession, function, or role can be considered productive (*i.e.*, providing useful information for the reconstruction of society) if characterized by a high *degree of cohesion* and relevant *contextual associations*. Accordingly, terms which, after a preliminary survey, did not reveal a sufficient degree

of cohesion have been excluded from the analysis. This is the case, for example of the term *sukkal*, a function associated with Mari and which did not belong to Ebla's social system.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, a few terms referring to social actors whose *directionality* is mainly directed outwards with respect to the City, and which are also characterized by the absence of contextual association or a low degree of cohesion, have been excluded: this is the case, for example, of the terms denoting the profession of merchant.<sup>106</sup>

The seventy-nine terms thus selected have been analyzed and subdivided into categories or macro groups: these categories do not reflect any social organization or stratification, but simply constitute a thematic distribution of the collected material. The categories have been shaped based on the keywords to reflect the semantic distribution of the data: the preliminary state of knowledge with regards to Eblaite society prevents any preliminary classification of the material through categories such as "private/public" or "urban/rural." Any classification of this kind cannot disregard in-depth knowledge of the actors and the links that exist between them: to identify the sectors constituting a given society it is thus necessary to recognize its protagonists, the a fundamental step in the understanding of the structure and organization of any society (see also §2.1.2 The Modern Sociological Terminology, p.23)

The semantic classification of the keywords further underlined several apparent discrepancies between the semantic classification of the material and the social reality portrayed in the documents. The deviation between semantic category and social reality is depicted in the graph in Figure 12, p.99: the graph is based on the contextual associations and on the different degrees of cohesion referred to the keywords. As it can be noted, the semantic categories do not coincide with the clusters highlighted by the cohesion degree. The six semantic categories identified are:

1. **Administrators and Supervisors:** terms associated with any profession, function, or role connected to a form of (political/organizational) control, regardless of the social position of the individual with respect to stratification; for this reason both the terms for "king" (→ en, the highest authority among administrators and supervisors) and superintendent/foreman (→ ugu-la) are grouped in this category;
2. **Army and Soldiers:** all terms explicitly related to the military sphere;
3. **Cultic Personnel:** terms related to the cultic personnel, and the functions associated with the practice of cult;
4. **Entertainers:** terms related to entertaining activities (mainly related to cultic events), which took place in and outside the Palace;
5. **Producers:** all terms referring to individuals involved in the production of both material (goods, food, etc.) and non-material products (services).
6. **Kinship Terms:** all terms referring to kinship; many of these are also attested in syntagmatic expressions (such as dam en, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/nita en) and are socially characterized.

For a detailed description of the different types of data collected for each term, see §1.2.1 Social Keywords Records, p.6. As stated earlier, the high degree of cohesion of a given keyword depends on

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<sup>105</sup> The term is attested in the administrative documents only eight times. The term gal-sukkal recurs often in the copies found at Ebla of lexical documents of the all-Babylonian (ED Lu A, ED Officials) and ED Northern (ED Lu E, ED Names and Professions) traditions; it is not attested, however, in the local lexical texts (EBK, VE).

<sup>106</sup> Note, however, that only four terms are attested with reference to merchants and the like (number of occurrences in brackets): dam-gar<sub>3</sub> (19), ga-raš (11); lu<sub>2</sub>-kar (437), u<sub>5</sub> (76).

its contextual association with other terms: the contextual associations have been examined through the identification of textual patterns.

## 2.2.2. Textual Patterns Definition, Typology and Detection

A *textual pattern* can be defined as a regular and repetitive arrangement of words (nouns, verbs, prepositions) attested in a document and corresponding to a specific administrative event or circumstance. As stated above, the contextual association of two or more keywords is characterized by different degrees of proximity (*i.e.*, the closeness of two terms within the same document). The identification of the textual patterns related to one (or more) keywords is thus fundamental to the detection of contextual associations: the collection and classification of the main patterns makes it possible to identify their textual variants, and therefore allows the recognition of contextual associations more effectively, even when the degree of proximity is low (*i.e.*, when two or more terms are mentioned in the same document, but in different sections).

The identification of a textual pattern is a process of abstraction: a textual pattern differs from the passage in the document to which it refers in the characterizing features peculiar to each administrative circumstance, such as proper names, toponyms, or quantities and types of the goods distributed. Consider the following examples:

[75.1440 = A XV 22] o. VIII:11-13: 1 sal<sup>tuq2</sup> / maškim / *Mu-du-ri*<sub>2</sub>; «1 SAL garment, for the appointee of Mutturī»

[75.1286 = A IV 19] o. I:9-II:4: 5 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tuq2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> 5 KIN siki / *Šu-ma-lik* / *Da-zi-ma-ad* / *I-ti-a-gu*<sub>2</sub> / *Gu<sub>2</sub>-zi* / *Ha-zi-lu* / maškim / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*; «5 embroidered waistbands of good quality (and) 5 KIN measures of wool, (for) *Ḍu-malik*, *Tāḏi'-ma'ad*, *Yiddi'-Agū*, *Kussi'*, (and) *Āḏiru*, appointees of *Yibbi-Dikir*.»

[75.1440 = A XV 22] and [75.1286 = A IV 19] can be abstracted as follows:

[75.1440 = A XV 22] o. VIII:11-13: [fabrics] / maškim / PN

[75.1286 = A IV 19] o. I:9-II:4: [fabrics and wool] / PN<sub>1-5</sub> / maškim / PN<sub>6</sub>

An extensive application of this abstraction process will reveal that most occurrences of the term → maškim can be summarized as follows:<sup>107</sup>

[01a] garments [and/or] metal (objects) (∅) maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[01b] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1</sub> maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[01c] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1-a</sub> PN<sub>1-b</sub> (PN<sub>1-n</sub>) maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[02] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1</sub> maškim PN<sub>2</sub> (TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub>×TIL [in GN] / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti, til / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an)

[03a] [fabrics] / (en / *ba-da-lum* /) GN / [fabrics] / abba<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / maškim(-maškim)-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum*-SU<sub>3</sub>

[03b] [fabrics] / PN / GN / [fabrics] / abba<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum*-SU<sub>3</sub>

[03c] [fabrics] / PN / *wa* / PN / *ugula* GN / [fabrics] / maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum*-SU<sub>3</sub>

[04] [fabrics] / PN / [fabrics] / PN<sub>1-a</sub> [PN<sub>1-b</sub> (PN<sub>1-n</sub>)] / maškim(-maškim)-SU<sub>3</sub>

Therefore, the following abbreviations are used in the abstraction processes:

- PN = proper name; under certain circumstances, when PNs are particularly relevant from

<sup>107</sup> See the data collected sub → maškim, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

a social perspective (*i.e.*, are frequent to the point of being considered as part of the textual pattern), they are considered part of the pattern;

- DN = divine name;
- GN = geographical name;
- [goods/fabrics/metals]: different types of goods delivered; when particularly relevant from a social perspective, goods can be considered part of the pattern.

The main results of the abstraction process are the accounting models, *i.e.*, a repertoire of the possible textual patterns related to each circumstance concerning a specific keyword. The abstraction of the textual pattern from the specific circumstance temporarily resets the peculiarity of the circumstance itself, which makes it possible to abstract the context independently of the physical persons who takes part in it. This operation of abstraction is necessary for the study of the social function of a given term: the focus is not, for example, the social role of the last queen of Ebla Tabūr-Damu, but the role of the queen, independently of her identity. As it will be demonstrated, the contextual associations highlighted before and after the textual pattern abstraction have the dual purpose of examining a social role independently and in connection with a specific individual. This approach is necessary especially in cases where prosopographic data is completely absent.

Returning to the example of the *maškim*, although this term may be considered a borderline example, it demonstrates that a high number of occurrence (2306) may correspond to a limited number of textual patterns (4): nevertheless, the term is characterized by a high degree of cohesion and several relevant contextual associations. As patterns [03a-c] demonstrate, there is a close connection between *maškim* and the keywords → en (“king,” §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), → *ba-dalum* (“deputy,” §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), → *abba*<sub>2</sub> (“high representatives”, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), and → *ma-za-lum* (“watchmen,” §4.5 Producers, p.186), resulting in four indirect contextual associations. The prosopographic data, however, suggests at least four additional direct contextual associations: with the lords ( → *lugal*, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), the valets ( → *pa*<sub>4</sub>-*šeš*, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), the acrobats ( → *ḪUB*<sub>2</sub>(.KI), §4.4 Entertainers, p.172), and the dancers ( → *NE.DI*, §4.4 Entertainers, p.172). As heterogeneous as they may seem, these connections are clearly demonstrated by epigraphic data: all the contextual associations thus identified are then listed in the section ‘Contextual association(s)’ present in each record (see also §1.2.1 Social Keywords Records, p.6). The individual links between the actors made explicit in the section ‘Contextual association(s)’ have been graphically represented in Figure 12, p.99: as it can be noticed, the semantic categorization of keywords does not correspond to the cluster identified through the analysis of contextual association. The graph thus does not represent the structure of society, but the interactions between its main constituents. It must be stressed that not all textual contexts have been abstracted to textual patterns. A fundamental characteristic of a pattern is its *repetitiveness*: if a textual context is attested only once, it cannot be considered a pattern and it is thus treated as a simple occurrence.

From a practical point of view, the search engine of the *Ebla Digital Archives* database has been an essential tool in the process of textual pattern recognition and identification of contextual associations.<sup>108</sup> The digitization of the corpus is based on ‘content tokenization’:<sup>109</sup> the texts have been fragmented in «minimal semantic units» (tokens) and enriched with meta-textual information. The architecture of the database is based on four levels: tablet, word, sign, and annotation. This complex structure allows to perform different types of queries within the database:

<sup>108</sup> Milano and Maiocchi, *EbDA* (2011–), URL (<http://ebda.cnr.it/index>) (last visit 2019-09-09).

<sup>109</sup> A detailed description of the architecture of the database is given in Filippo et al., *Archeologia e calcolatori* 29 (2018).

- simple query: a query by lemma;
- syntagmatic query: a query by exact sequence of two or more terms. This kind of query is particularly effective in the case of syntagmatic expressions: as already mentioned, the words such as → en are often used in compound lemmas (e<sub>2</sub> en, dam en) which can be effectively collected with a single query in the database
- contextual query: a targeted query for the identification of co-occurrences of two or more terms within the same document;
- sign sequence query: the architecture of the database recognizes most syllabic and logographic values related to one single sign. This query is thus particularly effective for the identification of spelling inconsistencies which are inevitably present in the corpus.

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, this method of investigation has been inspired by the data mining and social network analysis. As schematic and rigid this method of textual analysis may seem, this approach is made necessary not only by the scarce knowledge of the social structure, but also by the vastness and apparent repetitiveness of the documentation.

## Chapter 3. Social Organization at Ebla

### 3.1. Kinship, Households, and Families

#### 3.1.1. Basic Concepts

Kinship ties are probably the strongest social bonds: they are present in all societies, and on them other social relationships are often shaped. How the actors conceive family ties, however, is specific to the different historical periods and geographical areas through which the concepts of consanguinity and kinship are developed. These differences are evident not only in the habits, customs, and matrimonial practices of every society but also in the lexicon of kinship. The set of terms used to describe kinship relationships is often applied in many societies to describe ties between the members, even when there is no blood-relationship between them. We must, therefore, distinguish between kinship and descent: the former refers to the basic interrelationships among actors in human societies, while the latter is based on a «socially stipulated rule» through which an individual can be ascribed to a descent unit through his parents.<sup>110</sup> The two concepts are of course interrelated: the understanding of the actors' use of the lexicon of kinship and the perception they have of the concept of consanguinity, is fundamental to the understanding of society itself. Consanguinity is, in human societies, an extremely variable concept. Two persons are consanguineous if they descend from a common ancestor: but consanguinity can be real or fictitious and is thus defined specifically within each society. The 'real' consanguinity (*i.e.*, genetic) cannot be used as a unit of analysis since it does not always coincide exactly with the 'idea' of consanguinity of a particular society.<sup>111</sup> Kinship relationships are, however, the means through which a social group renews itself, and replaces the old generations with new ones.<sup>112</sup> This process of renewal, which we can consider natural and inherent to every society, brings significant repercussions at the level of social organization.

In any society each individual – man, woman, member of the royal family, or common person – has a mother, a father, and in most cases several brothers and/or sisters. These (“mother,” “father,” “son/daughter,” “brother/sister”) are the terms of *primary kin* used in anthropological and sociological theories to describe the fundamental kinship relationships. However, although being terms of primary kin in modern studies, the words for “father” (→ a-MU) and “mother” (→ ama[-gal]) are rarely attested in the documents of the Archives.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, other non-primary kinship terms (*i.e.*, “cousin,” “uncle/aunt,” “nephew”) are not attested.<sup>114</sup> The terms just mentioned, and kinship terms in

<sup>110</sup> Schneider, in *Matrilineal Kinship* (1974), pp.2–3.

<sup>111</sup> Fox, *Kinship and marriage* (1967), p.34.

<sup>112</sup> Allen, *J. Anthropol. Sc. Ox.* 17 (1986), pp.87–8.

<sup>113</sup> The occurrences of the term ama[-gal] refer in most cases to Lady Dusigu. The Semitic term for mother ( $u_3$ -mu-mu, VE 1044) is never attested in the administrative documents. The terms for “father” (Sumerian a-MU, Semitic a-bu<sub>3</sub>) are attested almost exclusively in the ERR and in a chancery document ([75.2411+ = A XVI 1]). All the attestation of a-bu<sub>3</sub> in the administrative documents have been interpreted as proper names: there is, in fact, no clear textual pattern in the use of this term suggesting a possible meaning of “father.” See also the discussion sub §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249.

<sup>114</sup> This situation is not limited to Ebla. In Akkadian, for example, the terms for “paternal/maternal uncle” (*aḫi abi/ummi*), “cousin” (*mār/mārat aḫi*), “nephew” (*mar/mārat aḫi abi*) are all rendered through periphrastic expressions. See CAD A/1 (1964), p.195 s.v. *aḫi*. At Ebla, however, some of the non-primary kinship terms are attested as onomastic elements: their value for a socio-historical analysis is, however, limited. See Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988). It must also be stressed that the expression šeš a-MU (“father’s brother” = paternal uncle) is attested, albeit rarely. See Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.31 fn.4.

general, necessarily imply the presence of an Ego: the terminology is therefore divided into *egocentric* (refers to another individual, the Ego) or *sociocentric* (refers to a social group).<sup>115</sup> In its *egocentric* use, the parenting relationship expressed by the terms “father” and “mother” is always related to the presence of a “child”; similarly, “child” refers to an Ego, the father or the mother. Two individuals can also be called brother/sister with respect to the other person’s Ego and vice versa: the “aunt,” who is the “sister of the father/mother” to an Ego-nephew, is also her brother’s (or sister’s) sister when the Ego changes.

An individual can thus be identified in different ways depending on the Ego taken into consideration, *i.e.*, the person to whom the family relationship is addressed:

[75.1770 = A XX 6] o.XV:13-r.I:3: 4 [<sup>1</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug2</sup> 2+]2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> [2+]2 *ib*<sub>2</sub>+III<sup>tug2</sup> *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *Mi-ga-i*<sub>3</sub> / *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub> / *En-na-i*<sub>3</sub> / *I-ti-LUM* / *šeš-šeš* / *Iš-[r]u*<sub>12</sub>-*u[t]* / [*ama-ga*] / [*M*]*A-LIK-TUM*, «4 cloaks, [2+]2 tunics, [2+]2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) Mīkay-’Il, Bu‘da-’Il, Ḥinna-’Il, Yiddi-’Ilum, brothers of Yišrut, mother of the queen.»

[75.3522 = A III 458] o.VI’:8-16: 2 <sup>1</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug2-I</sup> 4 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 4 *ib*<sub>2</sub>-III *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *Mi-ga-i*<sub>3</sub> / *I-ti-LUM* / *En-na-i*<sub>3</sub> / *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub> / 4 *dumu-nita* / *U*<sub>3</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-*šu* / *šeš-pa*<sub>4</sub> / *en*, «2+2 cloaks, 4 tunics, 4 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) Mīkay-’Il, Yiddi-’Ilum, Ḥinna-’Il, Bu‘da-’Il, 4 sons of ’Ukkušu, valet of the king»

The same four men (Mīkay-’Il, Bu‘da-’Il, Ḥinna-’Il, Yiddi-’Ilum) are qualified through two different kinship relationships and two different Egos: as their Ego-sister’s brothers, or as their Ego-father’s sons. The actors’ choice to define the kinship of an individual through a term rather than another clearly shows a precise intent, even though not always clearly recognizable. Kinship relationships of the type brother/sister are, however, symmetrical: they can be described only through one type of kinship term, even when the Ego changes. Thus, the expression *Iš-[r]u*<sub>12</sub>-*u[t]* *nin-ni Mi-ga-i*<sub>3</sub>, for example, would describe the same kinship tie, *i.e.*, siblingship: → *nin-ni* and → *šeš* (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), although being two different terms, are equivalent from a social perspective and account only for a difference in gender. On the contrary, parenting relationships can be described through two different sets of terms, which are converse to each other: “PN<sub>1</sub> son of PN<sub>2</sub>”, as in [75.3522 = A III 458], or “PN<sub>2</sub> father of PN<sub>1</sub>”: the latter, as it has already been stated, is rarely attested. The scribes generally used the terms for “son” (→ *dumu-nita*, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249) and “daughter” (→ *dumu-mi*<sub>2</sub>, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249) to indicate parental kinship ties: filiation (*i.e.*, the relation of the child with respect to the parent) is usually indicated with the expression [<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN] *dumu-nita*(/*-mi*<sub>2</sub>)<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN, “<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN son(/daughter) of <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN.” Maternity and paternity are not usually indicated with the terms for “father” and “mother,” but rather with a periphrastic expression: <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN ... [<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN] *dumu-nita*(/*-mi*<sub>2</sub>)-*su*<sub>3</sub>, “<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN ... [<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN] his/her son/daughter.” Thus, the kinship relationship parents-offspring, which is usually indicated by two sets of terms (mother/father and son/daughter), is in most cases rendered through the use of one single term. Note that in both expressions the name of the son/daughter can be omitted, as it is often the case in the most ancient documents. The other primary kin terms, brother/sister, are used with the same patterns: <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN *šeš/nin-ni* <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN, “<sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN brother/sister of <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN,” or <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN ... <sup>Ⓣ</sup>PN *šeš/nin-ni-su*<sub>3</sub>. In the case of brother/sister, however, the relationship between the individual and the Ego is symmetrical: maternity and paternity, on the contrary, only describe half of the individual’s filiation.

The four members of the hypothetical family group described in Figure 3, p.26, are linked one each other by six reciprocal ties, but each actor’s position comprises at least three roles (see

<sup>115</sup> Allen, *J. Anthropol. Sc. Ox.* 17 (1986); Service, *Am. Anthropol.* 62 (1960).



§2.1.2 The Modern Sociological Terminology, p.23):

Actor	Position	Roles
Yiṭṭar-Damu	Father – Husband	Father of Son, Father of Daughter, Husband
Tabūr-Damu	Mother – Wife	Mother of Son, Mother of Daughter, Wife
Yirḥaq-Damu	Son – Brother	Son of Father, Son of Mother, Brother
Kešdut	Daughter – Sister	Daughter of Father, Daughter of Mother, Sister

Table 1 - Positions and roles in the hypothetical family group

The twelve roles, however, are described through a more restricted set of terms in the actor’s lexicon: Father of Son, Father of Daughter, Mother of Son, and Mother of Daughter, can be rendered through the terms → a-MU and → ama-gal and, as their English equivalents, these do not imply a difference in gender related to the child. The parent – child relationship is, as just stated, most often described in the documents through the expression [<sup>0</sup>PN] dumu-nita(/-mi<sub>2</sub>) [<sup>0</sup>PN], “<sup>0</sup>PN son(/daughter) of <sup>0</sup>PN:” the roles Son of Father, Son of Mother, Daughter of Father, Daughter of Mother are thus generally rendered with the terms → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> and → dumu-nita. While the relationship “brother–sister” is attested through both the terms šeš and nin-ni,<sup>116</sup> the “husband–wife” relationship is described only through the term → dam, “wife” (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249): although meaning “spouse (of both genders)” in Sumerian, the term indicated at Ebla only the wife, while a term for husband is so far unattested.<sup>117</sup>

As mentioned earlier, a term belonging to the lexicon of kinship can be used also in a *sociocentric* way:

[75.1321 = A I 11] o.X:14-XI:1: 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / I-šar / šeš / Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, «1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yišar, brother of Yibriyum»

[75.2342 = A XIII 3] o.I:1-II:2: ʿen<sup>1</sup>-ma / I-bu<sub>3</sub>-KA×KID / agrig / e<sub>2</sub> / en / ʿa<sub>5</sub>-na / sukkal-du<sub>8</sub> / an-da / šeš / u<sub>3</sub> / ʿan<sup>1</sup>-na / šeš, «Thus (says) I-bu<sub>3</sub>-KA×KID, majordomo of the house of the king to the sukkal-du<sub>8</sub>: you are (my) ally, and I am (your) ally»

In [75.1321 = A I 11] the term šeš, “brother,” is used as *egocentric*, and refers to Yibriyum, who is thus the Ego of the relationship of kinship expressed in this passage. In the second passage, [75.2342 = A XIII 3], there is a *sociocentric* use of the same term, used to describe an alliance relationship between two individuals not linked by kin, but who are representatives of two distinct social groups.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, the terms “son” (dumu-nita) and “daughter” (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) can also be used as *egocentric* or *sociocentric*:

[75.3484 = A III 420] r.I:5’-8’: 2 gu<sub>4</sub> 10 udu / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / dumu-nita / Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, «2 oxen, 10 sheep, (for) Yibbi’-Dikir, son of Yibriyum»

[75.1591 = A I 8] r.XV:19-XVI:2: 4 gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> / 4 dumu-nita / giš<sup>1</sup>nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>: «4 gu-mug garments,

<sup>116</sup> As just state, the bond “brother–sister” is symmetrical, thus the ties PN šeš [<sup>0</sup>PN] and [<sup>0</sup>PN] nin-ni [<sup>0</sup>PN] can be described only through these two terms, even when the Ego changes; on the contrary, the bond “parent – child” is asymmetrical and can be described both as [<sup>0</sup>PN] a-MU/ama-gal [<sup>0</sup>PN] and [<sup>0</sup>PN] dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/nita [<sup>0</sup>PN], depending on the Ego.

<sup>117</sup> See also the discussions sub → guruš and → dam, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

<sup>118</sup> [75.2342 = A XIII 3], the so-called Ḥamazi letter, is a chancery document of difficult interpretation. The letter, originally published in Catagnoli and Fronzaroli, *ARET XVI* (2010), has recently been reinterpreted by Bonechi, in *Fs Milano* (2016). The two interpretations differ in one significant respect: the addressees and the recipients. However, it must be kept in mind that the text was kept in the Archives, and the Eblaite scribes were able to understand it. The *sociocentric* use of the term “brother” was therefore clear to them.

(for) 4 apprentices of the gardener»

In [75.1591 = A I 8] reference is clearly made not to the biological sons of the gardener, but rather to young apprentices. The different use of these kinship terms has been underlined in the present research splitting the two meanings (the *socio-* and the *ego-centric*): for this reason these terms (→ *dumu-mi*<sub>2</sub>, → *dumu-nita*, → *dam*) have been analyzed in two different sections of Chapter 4 (§4.5 Producers, p.186 and §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249)

As the above examples demonstrate, to reconstruct one individual's kinship relationships the easiest way is to identify his/her parents. The *nuclear* family has long been considered a functional group in every known society, as well as the basic unit of analysis in the study of kinship relationships. A definition of nuclear family was first proposed by George Murdock, who described it as consisting of a «married man and woman with their offspring.»<sup>119</sup> This definition has been, however, widely reconsidered: although the family can be considered an essential social grouping common to all societies, Murdock's definition was inapplicable to some contexts.<sup>120</sup> The social group fundamental for the survival of the species is the mother-children unit: the primary need of the mother-children group is the protection and food necessary to their survival. However, any male (group of) individual(s) can provide this support.<sup>121</sup> The basic social grouping mother-children – the true *nuclear* family in Goodenough's opinion – can thus form a *conjugal* family when joined by the father of the children, or a *consanguine* family, when the woman finds support in her brother(s).<sup>122</sup> Thus, the *nuclear* family (spouses and their offspring) is not necessarily the basic element in the formation of extended kinship groups or the one within which primary kinship relationships are formed.<sup>123</sup> As Fox observes, the *conjugal* family as a unit of analysis demonstrates its limitations in particular contexts:

«Because the family seems to be the predominant unit, we must not be bemused into thinking it is the 'natural' or basic one. Take, for example, the well-known case of *polygyny*, in which a man has several wives often housed in different huts, and sometimes in different parts of the country. This has been described as a 'series of linked nuclear families with a 'father' in common.' What sense does such an assertion make? The 'facts' here are that several mother-child units exist, and that one male is responsible for them – circulating among them as it were.»<sup>124</sup>

At Ebla, polygyny is a well attested practice: almost every man, at least among the individuals of high rank, had more than one wife.<sup>125</sup> The scribes of Ebla, however, systematically registered the male parent of an individual: the female parent is instead specified in a smaller number of cases. If we consider the nuclear family, defined as the group mother-children, as the unit of analysis – the only one to be strictly necessary and unequivocally certain – it follows that most of the kin relationships indicated by the scribes do not describe the unit of analysis.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Murdock, *Social Structure* (1949), p.1.

<sup>120</sup> Goodenough, *Description and Comparison* (1970), pp.4–5.

<sup>121</sup> Fox, *Kinship and Marriage* (1969), p.39.

<sup>122</sup> Goodenough, *Description and Comparison* (1970), pp.18–9.

<sup>123</sup> Shapiro, *J. Polynesian Soc.* 91 (1982), p. 259.

<sup>124</sup> Fox, *Kinship and Marriage* (19872), pp. 38–49.

<sup>125</sup> Gelb, in *OLA* 5 (1979), p. 26, observed that, during the third millennium BCE, only kings had more than one wife, while members of lower social classes usually had only one. This may also be case at Ebla, although the Archives mostly document the administrative life of and within the Palace.

<sup>126</sup> There is no proof of the existence of the practice of adoption at Ebla, and any observation in this regard would be merely speculative. Adoption is certainly a widespread practice throughout the Ancient Near East: for example, both men and women in Late Bronze Age Ugarit could adopt an individual. See Márquez Rowe, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), pp.727–8;

Figure 7 - Hypothetical reconstruction of the kinship relationships referred to (Ego-)Dusigu

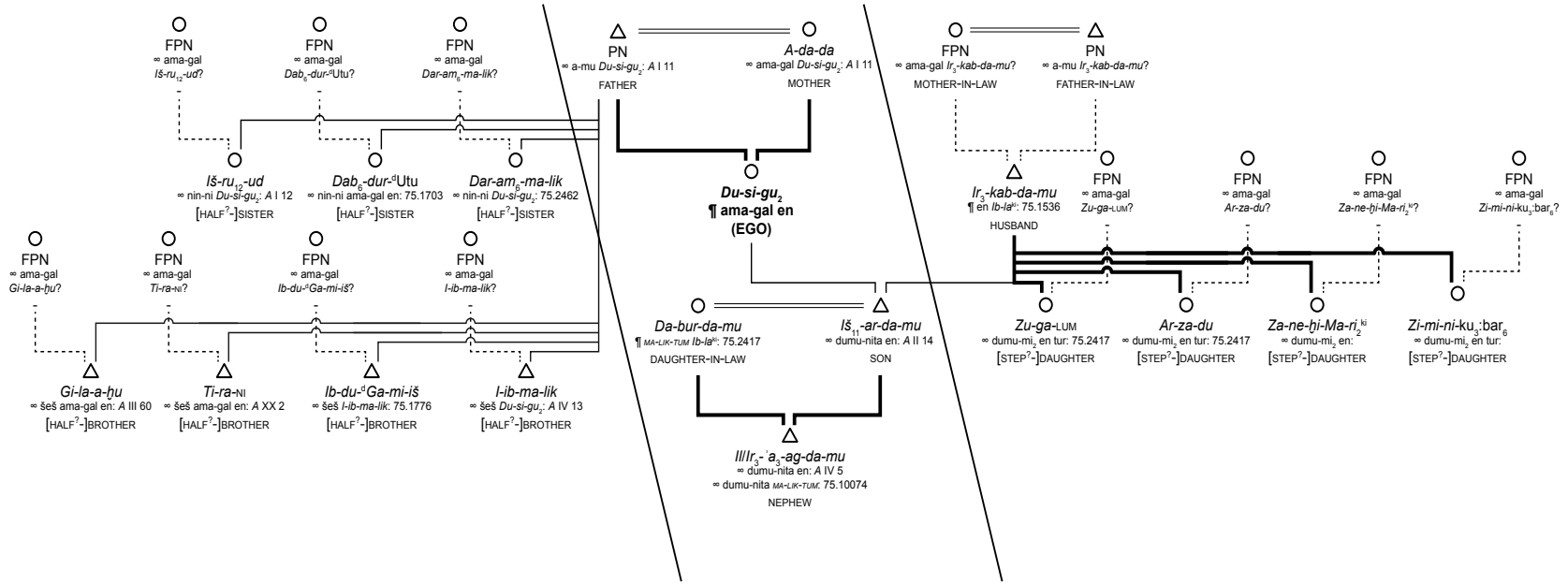


Figure 7, p.45,<sup>127</sup> visually represents a hypothetical reconstruction of the kinship relationships referred to (Ego-)Dusigu, mother of the king and for a long time probably the most important woman at the court of Ebla.<sup>128</sup> The scribes explicitly noted a nuclear family unit only in two cases: Dusigu herself, and crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu. The sisters of Dusigu, for example, can be added to the scheme only through their symmetric relationship with the Ego: they are never mentioned in connection with their father (who was also Dusigu's father), and it is not possible to prove whether 'Adatta was mother of other than Dusigu herself.<sup>129</sup>

Dusigu and her sisters had the same male ascendant, but the scribes chose to identify them with another kinship term (nin-ni, "sister"): from a social perspective, this lexical choice raises the question of why it was considered more appropriate to identify them through their kinship relationship with Dusigu instead of the male parent (and therefore probably the head of the family, see below). However, the contexts in which some of these women are mentioned is of particular relevance. Some of Dusigu's sisters are often mentioned at the end of the lists of the Ladies the king (→ dam en, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249): as it has already been observed by Tonietti, these lists are characterized by a fixed structure, and the order in which the women are mentioned demonstrates the presence of a rigid hierarchy within the group.<sup>130</sup> Why are the sisters of the king's mother mentioned along with the Ladies of the court? The women of the king, among whom Dusigu is certainly the most important for a certain period, are part of the extended family of the sovereign as a result of the marriage bond that binds them to the latter: it is not clear, however, why Dusigu's sisters are mentioned in this context. Their (almost complete) absence from the rations lists suggests that they did not live in the Palace: these lists, however, belong to the Small Archive L.2712, which had been active for ca. three years before the destruction of the City. A comparison with Zimirî-Lîm's *harem* suggests that perhaps Dusigu's sisters were often accompanying the ladies of the king thanks to their relationship to Dusigu herself. Part of Zimirî-Lîm's *harem* were his female relatives (wives, unmarried sisters and daughters):<sup>131</sup> a possible explanation is thus that Dusigu's unmarried sisters were introduced at court by her, and lived close to the Ladies of the court even though they had no direct kinship relationship to the king.

When a woman is mentioned in the documents, she is usually identified through the male ascendant (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> mPN, "daughter of mPN") if still a maiden, or through her husband, after marriage (dam mPN, "woman of mPN").<sup>132</sup> In the case of Dusigu's sisters, their consanguinity relationship with their father (and/or marital with their husbands?) was thus considered less relevant from a social perspective: however, there is no mention in the documents of these women as dam PN, "wife of PN." Since women generally lived with their husbands, the mention of Dusigu's sisters along with the Ladies of the court as permanent residents would be contradictory with their role of wives, and a more plausible explanation is that they were unmarried. A further question, however, emerges: why were

<sup>127</sup> A high resolution image file is available at the following link:  
<https://erica-scarpa.github.io/Figures/Dusigu.svg>.

<sup>128</sup> For an explanation of the symbols used in the genealogical schemes, see 1.2.1 Social Keywords Records, p.6.

<sup>129</sup> The father of Dusigu is mentioned only once in the documents, but his proper name has not been registered by the scribe ([75.1321 = A I 11] o.X: 4-7).

<sup>130</sup> See for example the lists R<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>6</sub>, and D<sub>7</sub> in Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989). In R<sub>1</sub> *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud* is certainly mentioned; in D<sub>6</sub> and D<sub>7</sub>, 4 and 3 sisters of the king's mother are mentioned respectively. See also further, §3.2.4 The Mother of the King and the Ladies of the Court, p.72.

<sup>131</sup> See Ziegler, *FM* 4 (1999), p.8.

<sup>132</sup> The attestations of fPN dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> fPN are extremely rare.

Dusigu's sisters, even though unmarried, not living in their father's house?<sup>133</sup>

Of all the family relationships that can be identified in the documents with regards to Dusigu, only those indicated in Figure 7, p.45, by a thicker line can be considered *direct*, *i.e.*, explicitly indicated in the texts. The other relationships, which we could define as *indirect*, even though primary, are inferred from other kinship relationships. Other ties can be only hypothesized by deduction (this is the case for example of the mothers of Dusigu's sisters). Thus, from a methodological point of view, the chosen unit of analysis is the kinship relationship least documented in the texts of the Archives. The adoption a rigid unit of analysis and the schematic investigation of the kinship lexicon is, however, necessary, since no extensive comparisons are possible with other archives or written documents contemporary to the historical period documented by the Archives. It should also be kept in mind that, even within the Ebla corpus, the Archives directly document a chronological period that does not exceeds three generations, in which the intermediate generation is overrepresented with respects to the others (see also further, §3.2.1 Generations within the Archives: How Many Families of the King?, p.63). It is therefore not easy to establish whether a recurring datum should be interpreted as trend or anomaly: if, for example, it is proved that the last king of Ebla Yitgar-Damu was the son (even if not the first-born) of his predecessor, there are no data to establish that his father Yirkab-Damu was the son and designated heir of the previous king Yigriš-Ḫalab. Similarly, crown prince Yirḫaq-Damu held a prominent role among the sons of the last king of Ebla, but he never became king due to the destruction of the City: it is thus not possible to demonstrate that at Ebla a form of hereditary government was present.

As stated at the beginning of this Chapter, kinship terms can be used as *ego-* or *sociocentric*. In both cases, the terms for “son” and “daughter” do not seem to be characterized by any specific age connotation, and are in fact attested in relation to both newborns and adults. The birth of a baby is usually recorded in the documents with the expression (*in ud*) <sup>f</sup>PN dumu-nita/-mi<sub>2</sub> tu-da, «(when) <sup>f</sup>PN gave birth to a son/daughter»: it is difficult to establish the amount of time that passed between the childbirth and the administrative occasion during which the gifts were delivered to the mother, but it seems reasonable to assume that the baby was at most a few months old. The gender of the baby is always specified:<sup>134</sup>

[75.2429 = M 12 36] o.XVI:5-16: šu<sub>2</sub>+ša gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / 2 BU-DI / 8 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / šu-bal-ak / 2 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 2 sag-SU<sub>3</sub> / Ti-iš-te-da-mu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / *in ud* / dumu-nita / tu-da, «20 weighted shekels of silver (for) two toggle-pins, 8 weighted shekels of silver, of the value of 2 weighted shekels of gold, for the golden leaf of their two ‘heads’, (for) Tišī-Damu, daughter of the king, when she gave birth to a son»

[75.2240 = A XX 21] o.III:11-23: 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>+IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Šu-ma-lik “ur<sub>4</sub>” / 'A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / Ti-a-i-šar / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / dumu-nita / tu-da / en / wa / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum, «2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, Šu-Malik the collector (from) 'Azan, (for) the news (that) Tihwā-Yišar, daughter of the king, gave birth to a son, the king and Yibbi-Dikir have given.»

<sup>133</sup> Another piece of evidence suggests a possible different interpretation: in two texts concerning food allotment, two women are mentioned who bear the same names as two of Dusigu's sisters. Tapṭur-Šamaš and Yišrut are part of the group of the dam abba<sub>2</sub>, often listed immediately after the senior and junior Ladies of the king. It is not clear if the expression dam abba<sub>2</sub> indicates the Ladies of the high representative of the chief families (*i.e.* that the term dam is here used in as *ego-centric*); see the discussion sub → abba<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101 .

<sup>134</sup> The term dumu alone is, in fact, never attested. With the exception of [75.1722 = A V 10] and [75.2459 = A V 19], two Sumerian incantations, the only administrative occurrence of dumu alone is [75.1457 = A XV 25] o.IX:10, probably a scribal omission.

The only occurrence of a generic term for newborn, without reference to the gender, can be found in a chancery document, [75.2094 = *A XVI 26*] r.V:6, where the newborn is called *tur*. The text deals, however, with the problems related to an illicit relationship between the priestess *Ti'a-barzu* and a man named *Titinu*: the reason why the gender of the baby is not specified might be related to this exceptional circumstance. Although attested in the lexical texts (without gloss),<sup>135</sup> the term *tur* is never used in the administrative documents with the meaning “newborn”.<sup>136</sup>

The terms *dumu-nita* and *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* are also used in relation to adults. The most striking case in this respect is that of the sons and daughters of the king. In this case, a woman or a man is said to be child of the king even when he or she is already an adult. For example, *Yīda'-Niḡmu* and *Ḥin-Hadda* are two sons of the king – probably *Yirkab-Damu*, since they belong to the ‘first group’ of the king’s sons (Group 1b, see further §3.2.5 The Sons and Daughters of the King, p.75).<sup>137</sup> They are already attested as *dumu-nita en* in the MATs of *Arrulum*’s period,<sup>138</sup> when they were probably still children, but they are still qualified as such in later texts, such as in [75.1730 = *M 7 34*]:

[75.1730 = *M 7 34*] r.XII:11”-XIII:16: 15 ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / 'šu-bal-ak' / [3] ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / 6 ib<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> 6 ši-di-tum 6 gir-kun / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / Maḥ-ra-da-mu / I<sub>3</sub>-lum-<sup>r</sup>a'-ḥi / I-da-ni-ki-mu / I-in-<sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da / KU-ra-da-mu / dumu-nita / en / wa / I-ib-ma-lik / šeš / ama-gal / en: «15 mana of silver of the value of [3] mana of gold, to make 6 belts, 6 pendants, (and) 6 daggers, gifts (for) Maḥra-damu, 'Illum-aḥī, Yīda'-Niḡmu, Ḥin-Hadda, Tūra-damu, sons of the king, and Yḥib-Malik, brother of the mother of the king».

[75.1730 = *M 7 34*] is dated to the year in which *Yišar-Damu* married *Tabūr-Damu* (*Yibriyum XIV*):<sup>139</sup> the two men were no longer young boys, but are still qualified as *dumu-nita en*.

Generally speaking, in the case of people not directly related to the royal family by kin, patronymics seem to be specified to avoid identification problems related to homonymy. In this sense, the expression <sup>(d)</sup>PN *dumu-nita*(/*-mi<sub>2</sub>*) *en* seems to be a variant the expression <sup>(d)</sup>PN<sub>1</sub> *dumu-nita*(/*-mi<sub>2</sub>*) PN<sub>2</sub>. The two expressions, however, differ in one major respect: while the scribes always record the name of PN<sub>2</sub>, the king is never mentioned by name. The sons of the previous king were still called “sons of the king” under his successor’s reign. The expression thus indicates at the same time the male ascendant and the status, *i.e.*, it is used as *egocentric*, but with a strong social component: the Ego in the expression <sup>(d)</sup>PN *dumu-nita*(/*-mi<sub>2</sub>*) *en* is the king, but even in the case of sons and daughters of a deceased king, what was more relevant from a social perspective was their status as descendants of the royal kin *tout cour*, than the direct kinship relationship to one particular member of the royal male ancestry. The expression PN<sub>1</sub> *dumu-nita* PN<sub>2</sub> just analyzed is in many instances replaced by the expression PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub>, «PN<sub>1</sub> (man) of (the household of) PN<sub>2</sub>» (Table 2, p.51).<sup>140</sup> This parallelism only concerns male individuals and is rarely attested with female proper names. Consider for example the following passages:

[75.1300 = *A I 10*] o.VII:14-18: 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup>-I 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik / wa / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / lu<sub>2</sub> Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu: «1 cloak, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, for Rūzī-Malik and Yibbi'-Dikir, those of Qām-Damu.»

<sup>135</sup> Lexical

<sup>136</sup> See also the discussion sub → *dumu-nita*, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

<sup>137</sup> Archi et al., in *ARESI* (1988), p.223 (Table I). There is also the possibility that they were *Igriš-Ḥalab*’s sons.

<sup>138</sup> [75.1349 = *A XV 9*] o.V:5-7 (*I-da-ni-ki-mu*); [75.1361 = *A XV 11*] o.VII:17-VIII:1 (*I-in-<sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da*).

<sup>139</sup> For a list of the main chronological events mentioned, see sub §Appendix, Chronological data, p.263.

<sup>140</sup> For the interpretation of this expression, see Gelb, in *OLA* 5 (1979), pp.51–54.

[75.1868 = A IV 22] r.V:15-VI:9: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2-II</sup> 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2-I</sup> 3 aktum<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> / [N] ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / A-ba-ga / 3 dumu-nita / Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu / in / A-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> / šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti: «1 cloak, 2 cloaks, 3 tunics, [N] embroidered waistbands of good quality, for Rūzī-Malik, Yibbi' -Dikir, 'Aba-Gāy, three sons of Qām-Damu, in Ariqu have been delivered.»

Further occurrences of these parallel patterns have been collected in Table 2, p.51.<sup>141</sup> It thus seems that, in some cases, a man who belonged to a household (PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub>) can also be the householder's son (PN<sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN<sub>2</sub>): this expression, however, is not paralleled by any other, and it is thus impossible to demonstrate who were the other members of the different households. In particular, while PN<sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> can be considered in some cases perfectly equivalent, PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> is never paralleled by expressions such as PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> or PN<sub>1</sub> (social position name) PN<sub>2</sub>.

There is thus no proof that PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> always and only indicates a kinship relationship. When the expression is not paralleled by PN<sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN<sub>2</sub>, one might assume that a kinship relationship is involved if a family tie of a different kind is mentioned:

[75.1274 = A I 13] o.XII:1-4: 1 SAL<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> / dumu-nita / 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš / lu<sub>2</sub> Ba-ḥa-ga: «1 SAL garment, (for the) son of Ḥadaṭ, of the household of Baḥaga»

[75.1300 = A I 10] r.XI:7-12: 1 dib TAR / 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš / lu<sub>2</sub> Ba-ḥa-ga / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / A-du-bu<sub>3</sub> / šeš-SU<sub>3</sub>: «1 decorative disk of 30 (shekels), Ḥadaṭ, of the household of Baḥaga, gave to Yaddubu, his brother.»

'Adaš is the son of Baḥaga, and thus belongs to his household, as both passages demonstrate. But [75.1300 = A I 10] records also the name of one of 'Adaš' brothers, Adubu, who is also part of Baḥaga's household:

[75.2040 = A IV 25] o.V:2-7: šu<sub>2</sub>+ša ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> 2 BU-DI / 1 dam / A-du-bu<sub>3</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> Ba-ha-ga / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / PEŠ-še<sub>3</sub>-LUM: «20 (shekels) of silver (for) 2 toggle pins, (for) 1 woman of Yaddubu, of the household of Baḥaga to make PEŠ-še<sub>3</sub>-LUM.»<sup>142</sup>

It thus seems reasonable to assume that both were sons of Baḥaga. A network approach to the expression PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> reveals, however, a more complex picture (see Figure 8, p.51).<sup>143</sup> If we accept Gelb's interpretation of this expression (lu<sub>2</sub> = [man] of [the household of] PN), one would expect the unique attestations of PN<sub>1</sub>-individuals to surpass in number the unique attestations of PN<sub>2</sub>-individuals, *i.e.*, a large number of persons belonging to a smaller subset of households (represented in the documents by the respective householders). The dataset for the graph presented in Figure 8, p.51 is structured as in the following example:

Source node	Target node	Pattern represented
A-bu <sub>3</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Ku-ra	A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an	A-bu <sub>3</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Ku-ra lu <sub>2</sub> A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an
I-ri <sub>2</sub> -gum	A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an	I-ri <sub>2</sub> -gum lu <sub>2</sub> A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an
Kam <sub>4</sub> -a-ga-lu	A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an	Kam <sub>4</sub> -a-ga-lu lu <sub>2</sub> A-tir <sub>5</sub> -da-ba-an
A-du-ba	Ba-ḥa-ga	A-du-ba lu <sub>2</sub> Ba-ḥa-ga
Bil <sub>2</sub> -ma-lik	Ba-ḥa-ga	Bil <sub>2</sub> -ma-lik lu <sub>2</sub> Ba-ḥa-ga
...	...	

<sup>141</sup> In these table are collected the proper names pairs of individuals who are referred to both as PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>142</sup> The term PEŠ-še<sub>3</sub>-LUM has no further attestation in the documents so far.

<sup>143</sup> An interactive version of the graph is available at the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/households-network/index.html>

Of ca. 1700 complete attestations of the expression PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub>, the number of unique respective occurrences of PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> is apparently equal: the unique occurrences of PN<sub>1</sub> are however characterized by the presence of a high level of homonymy. Nevertheless, it appears that many among the PN<sub>2</sub>-individuals were lords (→ lugal, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101). A network approach applied to the occurrences of the term maškim revealed a similar picture:<sup>144</sup> the lugals are widely and tacitly mentioned thorough the documentation, but only in the documents concerning their mu-DU deliveries they are explicitly referred to as lugal.<sup>145</sup>

NP <sub>1</sub>	NP <sub>2</sub>
<i>Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ha-lam</i>	<i>l-gi</i>
<i>Ki-ti-ir</i>	<i>l-gi</i>
GIBIL	<i>l-gi</i>
<i>Za-a-ti</i>	<i>l-gi</i>
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik</i>	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>GABA-da-mu</i>	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>Maḥ-ri<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>lb-dur-i-šar</i>
<i>En-ma-ar</i>	<i>A-bu<sub>14</sub>-lum</i>
<i>A<sub>3</sub>-daš</i>	<i>Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš</i>
<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>	<i>A-ra-ḥe<sub>2</sub>-iš</i>
<i>Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>	<i>A-ra-ḥe<sub>2</sub>-iš</i>
<i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik</i>	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>Šu-ma-lik</i>	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>lb-dur-ti-lu</i>	<i>A-mur-li-im</i>
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik</i>	<i>Ba-ḥa-ga</i>
<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab</i>	<i>A-da-si-in</i>
<i>l-zi-ma-lik</i>	<i>Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM</i>
<i>lb-du-<sup>a</sup>Aš-dar</i>	<i>A-šum</i>
<i>Am-mi</i>	<i>Bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik</i>
<i>SAG-da-mu</i>	<i>En-na-be</i>
<i>Ba-ga-ma</i>	<i>Ḥa-ba</i>
<i>Ig-na-um</i>	<i>Ḥa-bu<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>Ḥab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar</i>	<i>lb-ga-iš-lu</i>
<i>EN-TI</i>	<i>l-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>
<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik</i>	<i>l-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>
<i>Ba-du-lum</i>	<i>lb-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
<i>l-ti-<sup>a</sup>Ni-da-KUL</i>	<i>lb-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
<i>Gi-ri<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>lb-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
<i>Ir-ti</i>	<i>lb-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
<i>En-na-il</i>	<i>l-da-ra-ag</i>
<i>Ḥab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar</i>	<i>Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš-li-im</i>
<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-um</i>	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar</i>
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik</i>	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>GABA-da-mu</i>	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>l-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>	<i>Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik</i>	<i>l-ti-<sup>a</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam</i>

<sup>144</sup> See the discussion sub → maškim, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

<sup>145</sup> For a possible reading mu-ku<sub>x</sub> of mu-DU, accepted by many scholar, see Krecher, ZA 77 (1987). The use of the sign DU at Ebla is however, still unclear.



<i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik</i>	<i>I-ti<sup>d</sup><sub>3</sub>-lam</i>
<i>A-ba-ga</i>	<i>Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>	<i>Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik</i>	<i>Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu</i>
<i>En-na-i<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>Ti-la-NI</i>
<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum</i>
<i>En-ar<sub>3</sub>-ar-mu<sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>Za-ba-rum<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>A<sub>3</sub>-daš</i>	<i>Zu-mu-na-an</i>

Table 2 - Parallel occurrences on PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>1</sub> dumu-nita PN<sub>2</sub>.

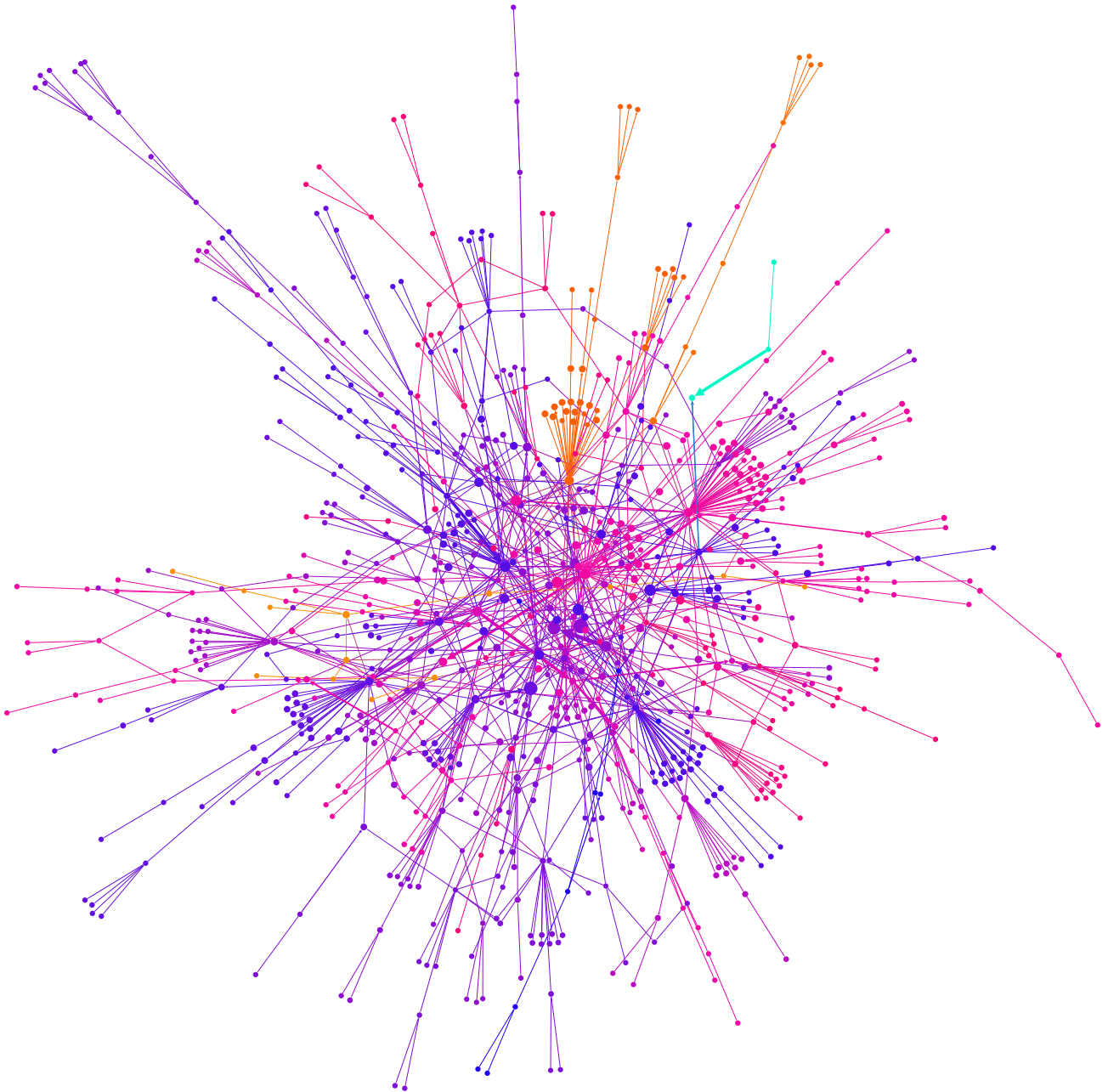


Figure 8 - Network of the occurrences of the expression PN<sub>1</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sub>2</sub>.

### 3.1.2. Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units

The major difference between the concepts of family and household is that the former is based on kinship, while the latter is based on coresidence. Although many households are in part kinship-based, the membership to a household is not exclusively based on kin. In a household, kin and non-kin share a common space, while a family does not need its members to live permanently together to be defined as such. This means that when a young adult leaves the family in which he/she grew up as a child, he/she does not automatically cease to be part of that family. On the contrary, if the member of a household (regardless of whether or not he/she is linked to it by kin) permanently leaves the household as a physical space, he/she is no longer part of that social reality.

Coresidence is, however, difficult to define: problematic is, for example, seasonal movement of groups, or personnel movement between household units.<sup>146</sup> By definition, the identification of household boundaries and membership criteria is thus also based on the participation of its members in common activities, mainly food production, sexual reproduction, and childbearing. Wilk and Rathje identify three distinctive elements that are characteristic of the household: the *social* (the relationships between its members), the *material* (its possessions), and the *behavioral* (the activities performed by the members).<sup>147</sup> From an archaeological perspective, households are investigated on the basis of the material record, such as domestic assemblages, pottery, and architectural features of residential units: for Old Syrian Ebla, however, no domestic architecture has been excavated so far, and textual information is the only available source for the characterization of households. Of the three aforementioned elements, the *social* can be partly investigated on the basis of the kinship and descent data; the *material* element can be only partially assessed: a few documents regarding the administration shed some light on how land management was performed, but do not constitute a textual typology on which general rules can be drawn; the *behavioral* can only be indirectly deduced, especially in the case of non-royal households (see further).

The term «house» (Sum.  $e_2$ , Akk. *bītum*) has a wide range of meanings: it can be translated as “building,” “family unit,” “productive unit,” as well as “estate” or “property,” and can be rightly considered one of the most widespread terms in the ancient Near Eastern record.<sup>148</sup> Also at Ebla, the term  $e_2$  takes on many different meanings, and is often attested in syntagmatic expressions, like in the following examples:

- $e_2$  am (8): «un centro in cui erano raccolti manufatti di metallo»<sup>4III</sup>; (centro di raccolta di manufatti in metallo)<sup>4IV, 4VII, 4XII</sup>; «casa del toro»<sup>4XV</sup>; (a warehouse mostly for artifacts of precious metals)<sup>4XX</sup>
- $e_2$  ama-gal (1): [no transl.]<sup>4XII</sup>;
- $e_2$  en (126): «il palazzo del sovrano»<sup>4IV</sup>; «casa del re»<sup>4VII, 4XI, 4XIII, 4XVI</sup>; «the King’s house(hold)»<sup>4VIII</sup>; [no transl.]<sup>4XII, 4XX</sup>; «palazzo del re»<sup>4XV</sup>
- $e_2$  i<sub>3</sub>-giš (4): (installazioni manifatturiere)<sup>4IX</sup>;
- $e_2$  ir<sub>11</sub>(-ir<sub>11</sub>) (5): «centro dei servi»<sup>4XV</sup>; «casa dei servi»<sup>4XVI</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Netting et al., in *Households* (1984), p.xxvi; Yanagisako, *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 8 (1979), pp.164–65.

<sup>147</sup> Wilk and Rathje, *Am. Behav. Sci.* 25 (1982), p.618.

<sup>148</sup> Akkadian: «1. house, dwelling place, shelter (of an animal), temple, palace, 2. manor, estate, encampment (of nomads), 3. room (of a house, a palace, a temple), cabin (of a boat), tomb, 4. container, repository, housing, 5. place, plot, area, region, 6. household, family, royal house, 7. estate, aggregate of property of all kinds» (*CAD B* (1965), s.v. *bītu*, p.282); Ugaritic: «1) house, building, residence, home; 2) palace; 3) temple; 4) room; 5) family; 6) storehouse; 7) workshop (*DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *bt* p. 243). See also Edzard, *RIA* 4 (1975), p.220.

- $e_2(-e_2)$  mah (17): «alta casa (insieme a  $e_2$ -am e a  $e_2$  en, uno dei centri più importanti di Ebla)»<sup>AVIII, AVII</sup>; «casa eccelsa»<sup>AXIII</sup>; (a Palace district)<sup>AXX</sup>
- $e_2$  MA-LIK-TUM (2)
- $e_2$  ma-dim<sub>(2)</sub>/ma-da-am<sub>6</sub> (20): «mausoleo»<sup>AXI</sup>;
- $e_2$  nagar (7): «casa dei carpentieri»<sup>AVII, AXVI</sup>; [no transl.]<sup>AXII</sup>;
- $e_2$  simug (9) [no transl.]<sup>AXII</sup>;
- $e_2$  siki (25): «filanda»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «casa della lana; camera del tesoro»<sup>AVII</sup>; (with  $e_2$  ti-tug<sub>2</sub>) «buildings in which respectively wool and this type of garment were processed and/or stored»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «tesoreria (lett.) magazzino della lana»<sup>AXII</sup>; «treasury; (lit.) wool warehouse»<sup>AXX</sup>
- $e_2$  titug<sub>2</sub> (26): «casa dei tessuti t.»<sup>AVII</sup>; (with  $e_2$  siki) «buildings in which respectively wool and this type of garment were processed and/or stored»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «magazzino delle stoffe»<sup>AXII</sup>; «centro dei tessili a pieghie del re»<sup>AXV</sup>; «a warehouse of clothing»<sup>AXX</sup>
- $e_2$  udu (1): «ovile»<sup>AXVI</sup>
- $e_2$  za<sub>x</sub> (1): «stanza del tesoro»<sup>AXVI</sup>

In Figure 9, are shown the most common syntagmatic expressions referred to the term  $e_2$ : as a matter of fact, most occurrences of the term  $e_2$  in the Ebla documents refer to ‘houses’ of persons ( $e_2$  PN,  $e_2$  en) or ‘houses’ of the gods (*i.e.*, temples,  $e_2$  DN).<sup>149</sup> A further common syntagmatic expression is  $e_2$  GN, probably indicating estates or agricultural land associated with a particular town or village. In his analysis of land management documents, Milano identifies a specific category of documents concerning units of agricultural productions:<sup>150</sup> among these are a few documents which list the  $e_2$  («farms», according to Milano’s interpretation) belonging to specific individuals.<sup>151</sup>

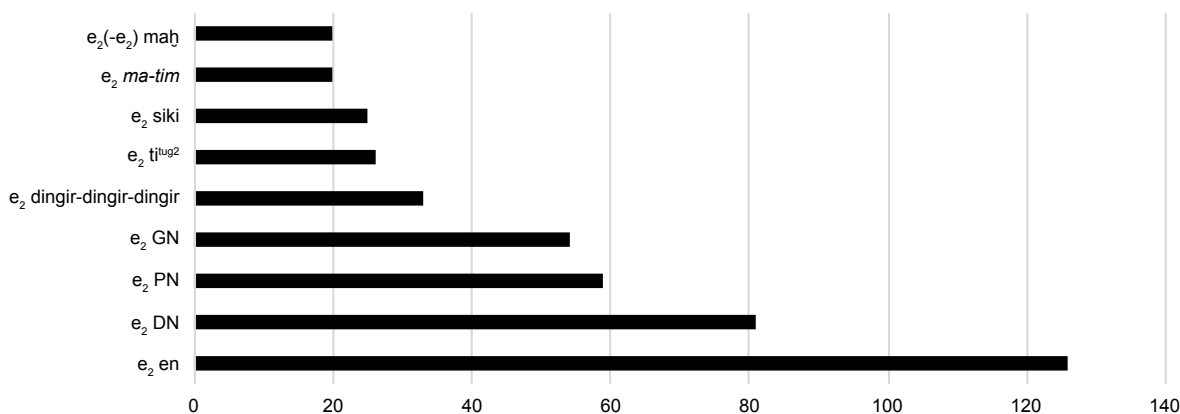


Figure 9 - Distribution by pattern of the term  $e_2$ .

It can therefore be assumed that the scribes associated at least two meanings, mutually interconnected, to the term  $e_2$ :<sup>152</sup> that of household, *i.e.*, a productive unit associated with a householder, and a

<sup>149</sup> The difference between the  $e_2$  of particular deity and the  $e_2$  dingir-dingir-dingir (or  $e_2$  mul) is not clear; both are generally interpreted as temples.

<sup>150</sup> Milano, in *Amurru* 1 (1996).

<sup>151</sup> Milano defines them «listes d’unités de production agricoles» and specifically «listes de ‘fermes’»; see Milano, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.153. Of these texts, six ([75.3121 = *A* III 103], [75.3213 = *A* III 183], [75.3326<sup>b+c</sup> = *A* III 285], [75.3352 = *A* III 310], [75.3439<sup>bis</sup> = *A* III 377], [75.3524<sup>bis</sup> = *A* III 461]) are fragmentary; two (75.1668, 75.2558) are still unpublished; for the remaining three see below.

<sup>152</sup> The term  $e_2$  is attested in the EBK-A (*M* 4, 115, o.IX:15) and in the VE, but without gloss (*VE* 341; *M* 4, 1+, o.X:6; *M* 4, 13, o.X:10; *M* 4, 31, o.I:3).

generic territorial extension of (arable) land. As for the latter meaning, a few data can be inferred from three texts concerning the division of plots of land and estates among the members of three important Eblaite families:<sup>153</sup>

- [75.1768 = A VII 154]:<sup>154</sup> a document concerning the “subdivision in three quotes for the sons of Gīa-Līm” (dub / nig<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-III / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / *Gi-a-li-im*);
- [75.2514 = A VII 155]: a document concerning the “subdivision in four quotes for the sons of Yi’rik-Damu” (nig<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-IV / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu*);
- [75.1620 = A VII 156]:<sup>155</sup> a document concerning the “subdivision in four quotes for the sons of Yir’am-Damu, the judge” (nig<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-III / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu di-ku<sub>5</sub>*).

Gīa-Līm is probably to be recognized with the *Gi/Ki-li-im* (ugula *Wa-ra-du*<sup>ki</sup>) mentioned as a → lugal (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) in numerous documents;<sup>156</sup> similarly, Yi’rik-Damu, a judge, and Yir’am-Damu are often mentioned among the lords. The estates and plots of land mentioned in these documents are defined with the terms *e<sub>2</sub>* and *ki*:<sup>157</sup> the extensions of the estates are measured in *gana<sub>2</sub>-ki*, while plots of land are usually associated with GNs.<sup>158</sup> The term *e<sub>2</sub>* as a generic territorial extension of (arable) land may be connected to that of household because both concepts are associated with a portion of territory of varying size, comprising also agricultural land, but related to the activities carried out for the subsistence of a productive unit (which, as already mentioned, does not need to be exclusively family-based).

As it can be noticed in Figure 9, however, the term *e<sub>2</sub>* is most often associated with the “house of the king”: *e<sub>2</sub> en* could in fact be interpreted as an expression similar to *e<sub>2</sub> PN*, “house of PN,” a textual dichotomy attested also in expression such as *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/-nita en* or *dam en*, and *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/-nita PN* or *dam PN*. As already stated, many terms, when referred to the king have a strong social connotation, which exceeds the proper meaning of the term itself. In association with the term *en*, the expression *e<sub>2</sub> en* seems to indicate the extended family of the sovereign: on the contrary, when associated with a personal name, both meanings of “estate” and “household” seem to be possible, depending on the context. The occurrences of the house(hold) of the king can be subdivided as follows:

- *še-ba e<sub>2</sub>-en*: food rations for the personnel and individuals living in the house of the king; the expression *e<sub>2</sub> en* seems to refer to a restricted group of individuals constituted by the king, the high representative of the chief families (→ *abba<sub>2</sub>*), and male working personnel (→

<sup>153</sup> These are the three most well-preserved documents, among those published so far, mentioned by Milano, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.153 as «listes d’unités de production agricoles».

<sup>154</sup> This document has been briefly discussed by Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), pp.55–56.

<sup>155</sup> This document has been briefly discussed by Bonechi, *Studia Eblaïtica* 2 (2016), pp.12–13.

<sup>156</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), pp.55–56. For the mentions of the lugal *Gi/Ki-li-im* see Archi, *VO* 12 (2000), esp. pp.50 and 53.

<sup>157</sup> Note that a *ki* (“plot of land”) could be used for “barley/cultivation” (see [75.1620 = A VII 156] o.IV:5: *ki še*). A similar expression for *e<sub>2</sub>* is never attested: this does not mean that an *e<sub>2</sub>* did not comprise agricultural land, but that agriculture was *one* of the activities carried out in a “house.” Note also that the extension of the *gana<sub>2</sub>-ki* is still a matter of debate. See the data collected in Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001), p.270 fn. 17.

<sup>158</sup> The GNs attested in the syntagmatic expression *e<sub>2</sub> GN* are (in brackets the number of occurrences): *A-ba-ti-mu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A-bar-SAL*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A-ša-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *A<sub>2</sub>-a*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Am<sub>6</sub>-ma-šu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ar-ga*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ar-ra-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ar-ra-mu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-u<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Bu<sub>3</sub>-g*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-pa-nu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Dur-NE-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ga-ra-ma-nu*<sup>ki</sup> (2), *Gi-daš*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Gi-za-nu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *GIM-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Giš*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Gu-ra-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ĥa-la-zu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ĥu-bu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ib-la*<sup>ki</sup> (2), *Ib-su*<sup>ki</sup> (2), *Kap-pa-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *La-gu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ma-du-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ma-la-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ma-na-na-a-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Me-dum*<sup>ki</sup> (2), *Mu-ra-ru*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Mu-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Mug-ri<sub>2</sub>-NI*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Na-i*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ne-a-u<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *NI-a-NE-nu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *NI-ba-ra-ar*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *NI-za-ar*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ša-dab*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Sa-gi-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Sa-na-ru<sub>12</sub>-gum*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Še<sub>3</sub>-la-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Šu-u<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Ti-ni-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *U<sub>3</sub>-gul-za-du*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *U<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Za-la-ma*<sup>ki</sup> (1), *Za-lu-lu*<sup>ki</sup> (1)

guruš) (see Table 18, p.240, Table 19, p.240); women seem thus to be excluded from this group;

- → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub> / → a-tu<sub>5/22</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-en (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153): a purification ritual performed once a year, in the first month (iti *i-si*); the e<sub>2</sub> en is thus a physical space where rituals are performed, and is characterized by architectonic features (such as the ki-sa<sub>2</sub>, a kind of cultic platform);<sup>159</sup>
- → igi-sig e<sub>2</sub>-en (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101): individuals whose responsibility was to watch over particular properties or areas within the Palace.

As Milano wrote, the expression e<sub>2</sub> en indicates «sia il gruppo familiare allargato che fa riferimento al sovrano, sia l'unità amministrativa che ne raccoglie il personale dipendente.»<sup>160</sup> The mention of a group of individuals defined as e<sub>2</sub> en and constituted by the king, the high representative of the chief families (→ abba<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), and male working personnel (→ guruš, §4.5 Producers, p.186) is, however, not surprising: the extremely high quantities of food rations delivered to these individuals (845, vs. the 215 delivered to the women and other personnel, see Table 18, p.240), probably indicate a difference in rank and number, as well as a difference in sector of employment/activity: women mostly worked inside the Palace and the city, while man (independently from rank) were characterized by a higher mobility.

The criterion of coresidence, which can be successfully applied to some of the members of the royal family, is not, thus, the only perspective through which the house(hold) of the king should be observed: food production, sexual reproduction, and childbearing, (the *social* element) are equally fundamental, as well as the building and physical possessions of the householder (the *material* element), and the communal activities carried out by the members (the *behavioral*). The data here presented thus demonstrate that the e<sub>2</sub> en is to be identified both with the physical space (the Palace), and the extended family that inhabits it in a more or less permanent way.<sup>161</sup> The identification of the e<sub>2</sub> en with the Palace G is likely, but it must be emphasized that the Royal Palace has not been archaeologically investigated in its entirety, and that therefore this identification remains preliminary.

While the aforementioned criteria of coresidence, and the presence of the three different components – the *social*, *material*, and *behavioral* – can be applied to the study of the members of the house of the king and with a relatively high degree of certainty, little information is provided in the texts regarding the physical location of non-royal households (e<sub>2</sub> PN), since these are only marginally mentioned in the documents.<sup>162</sup> However, it is very likely that the same definition used for e<sub>2</sub> en should be applied to these non-royal households, *i.e.*, both expressions (e<sub>2</sub> en/e<sub>2</sub> PN) defines the physical space, *and* the extended family that inhabits it. It is extremely difficult to determine, however, which members of a non-royal household were sharing a common space with their household members. Other charac-

<sup>159</sup> See Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* (2016), pp.1–2, fns. 2–3.

<sup>160</sup> Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), p.332.

<sup>161</sup> A similar distinction has been made by de Urioste Sanchez, who distinguished between two meanings of e<sub>2</sub> en: the “\*Palacio,” «un conjunto de estructuras» was composed «por: 1- el palacio (e<sub>2</sub> en), 2- el personal femenino, 3- el personal femenino de Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup>, 4- los funcionarios ib, 5- los funcionarios a-am y 6- los funcionarios u<sub>2</sub>-a.» See de Urioste Sanchez, *Praxis administrativa* (1996), p.60 and 64.

<sup>162</sup> The PNs attested in the syntagmatic expression e<sub>2</sub> PN are (in brackets the number of occurrences): 'A-da-ti (3), A-zi-mu (3), Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM (2), Ar-si-a-ḥa (1), Aš<sub>2</sub>-ba-ni (1), Ba-ti-nu (1), Bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik (1), Du-bi<sub>2</sub> (2), Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum (4), Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-d' A<sub>3</sub>-da (10), Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub> (2+1[D.<sup>ki</sup>]), En-na-be (1), En-na-da-gan (1), En-na-i<sub>3</sub> (2), Gur-du (2), Ḥa-ba (1), Ḥa-ra-ni (1), I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir (15), I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ni (1), Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um (14), Ig-su-ub-da-mu (1), Il<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu (2), In-gar<sub>3</sub> (1), In-ma-lik (1), Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar (1), Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu (1), Ni-za-ba<sub>4</sub> (1), U<sub>3</sub>-ti (1), Wa-na (2), Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu (1). Note that many among these men are high officials.

teristic features, such as identity of the householder, structure, extension, or properties are equally difficult to define. Since the house of the king is both the Household *and* the institution responsible for the accounting practice on which the analysis is based, the lack of data referred to non-royal households is not surprising: all information regarding non-royal households is a byproduct of other administrative activities, and almost no direct information is available on how these households were structured. The three aforementioned documents related to the division of plots of lands among the sons of three Eblaite lords suggest, in fact, that «l'inventaire des biens servant alors à l'administration comme base pour des prélèvements fiscaux:»<sup>163</sup> facts are, thus, always observed from the point of view of the Palace. The documents on which the concept of household can be observed with reference to the members of the Palace were produced *by* the Palace, *for* the Palace and describe its functioning from the inside: on the contrary, the documents relating to non-royal households have very different purposes, and therefore do not provide the same data. A further element must, however, be taken into consideration: a more detailed documentation of non-royal households may have been kept in a different archival room (and has thus yet to be recovered), or was characterized by a shorter life-span, such as the Small Archive L.2712.

Some important data regarding other meanings of  $e_2$  attested at Ebla also come from texts related to military organization:

[75.1775 = M 7 48] IX:16-X:11: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>×III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 1 gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lum ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>-gi / Du-la-ti-lu<sup>ki</sup> / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-I</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>×IV<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> 1 gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lum ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>-gi 11 / Ig-ga-ti-lu / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-I</sup> 3 gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 3 SAL<sup>tug2</sup> 5 ib<sub>2</sub>×IV<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / Ni-ša-lum<sup>ki</sup> / Ša-da-ḥu-lum<sup>ki</sup> / Hu-ḥa-ti<sup>ki</sup> / Mu-da-ra-um<sup>ki</sup> / Zi-ḥa-še<sub>3</sub>-lum<sup>ki</sup> / ugula-ugula / uru<sup>ki</sup>-uru<sup>ki</sup> / ka<sub>2</sub> / Iṣ<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 bracelet of silver and gold, (for the man from) Duratilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband, 1 bracelet of silver and gold (of the value of) 11 shekels, (for) Iggatilu, 2 cloaks, 2 gu-mug garments, 2 tunics, 2 SAL garments, 5 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for the men from) Nišalum, Šadaḥulum, Ḥuḥati, Mudaraum, and Ziḥašelum, the overseers of the 'gate' of Yidkī-paršu.»

According to [75.1775 = M 7 48], Lord Yidkī-paršu, a lugal of the time of vizier Yibbi-Dikir, was responsible from an administrative and military point of view for at least one sector of the territory, defined as ka<sub>2</sub>, “gate” (see Figure 18, p.151).<sup>164</sup> In the unpublished document [75.10350], a tablet of the gate of Arulu (dub ka<sub>2</sub> A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>), are registered 4,580 ‘houses.’<sup>165</sup> a “district” or “gate” was thus composed of several “houses.” It must be noted that terms such as  $e_2$  (“house”), ka<sub>2</sub> (“gate”),  $e_2$ -duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> (a group of twenty men),<sup>166</sup>  $ir_3$ -a-num<sub>2</sub> (a group of one-hundred men)<sup>167</sup> share two common traits: they describe both social and urban features. As shown in the table below, the primary meanings of all these terms are associated with urban features of the territory: however, while  $e_2$  and ka<sub>2</sub> are used in the documents with their proper meanings of “house” and “gate,” as well as to describe also social entities (such as ‘household’ and ‘quarter (district)’),  $e_2$ -duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> and  $ir_3$ -a-num<sub>2</sub> are exclusively used to indicate groups of individuals.<sup>168</sup> It is not clear why the scribes of the Archives used the Sumerian

<sup>163</sup> Milano, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.142. On these documents and the involvement of judges in the management of rural estates, see the discussion sub → di-ku<sub>5</sub> (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

<sup>164</sup> See the discussion sub → aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, §4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149.

<sup>165</sup> The document is quoted and discussed in Archi, in *Fs Owen* (2010), p.26–27.

<sup>166</sup> Milano, *ZA* 80 (1990).

<sup>167</sup> See most recently Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.204. Archi interprets  $ir_3$ -a-num<sub>2</sub> as /'ir-iy-ān-um/, from 'ir, “town;” se also DUL<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'r (I), p.175. See also Archi, in *HSAO* 2 (1988).

<sup>168</sup> Note also that  $e_2$ -duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> and ka<sub>2</sub> are mentioned in the bilingual lexical lists, but without gloss; on the contrary, the spelling  $ir_3$ -a-num<sub>2</sub> is close to  $i_3$ -ri<sub>2</sub>-a-tum, gloss of Sum. uru-bar (*VE* 1151). See Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.204.

term for village ( $e_2$ - $duru_5^{ki}$ ) to indicate a group of twenty men, while adopting the Sum. term  $uru^{ki}$  (Akk. *alu*, “city”) to indicate the ‘village.’ A pattern, however, is clearly recognizable: the terms all have a urban and a social connotation, the latter being based on the former.

Term	Translation
$e_2$ (Akk. <i>bītum</i> )	house
$ka_2$ (Akk. <i>babu</i> )	gate, (city) quarter
$e_2$ - $duru_5^{ki}$ (Akk. <i>kapru</i> )	village, suburban settlement
$ir_3$ - $a$ - $num_2$ (Ug. ‘ <i>r</i> ’)	city, town

From the data here presented,<sup>169</sup> it appears that the lords and the high officials who were connected to the Palace controlled large portions of territory: they responded administratively to the Palace, to whose economy they contributed with periodic expenditures of precious metals and garments. In his in-depth analysis of royal land ownership, Schloen synthesized the state-of-the-art with regards to this topic and criticized the application of the so-called two sector model (dichotomy urban-rural), which led many scholars to infer from the documents the presence of «private estates» as opposed to «communal lands.»<sup>170</sup> Schloen’s and other scholars’ interpretations won’t be proposed again here, since no new data has been made available:<sup>171</sup> it must be stressed, however, that the discussion on the presence of a urban-rural dichotomy, on the royal ownership of the land, and on how the presence on the territory was managed and understood from the legal point of view is, in the case of Ebla, an extremely problematic subject.<sup>172</sup> As stated earlier, most of the documents kept in the Archives describe the Palace from the inside: high representatives, members of the royal family, Palace personnel, etc., are overrepresented with respects to the other members of society. For this reason, in the frame present research a dichotomy royal/non-royal has been preferred. Furthermore, the households which have been here discussed are only those of the king and a few Eblaite high officials: it must be stressed, however, that the lords and the king were obviously not the only actors who could be in charge of a household. As already stated, all facts are always observed from the point of view of the Palace, and many households located outside the City which did not regularly interact with the Palace left no trace in the administrative record.

<sup>169</sup> See also the data collected sub → lugal, → di-ku<sub>5</sub> (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), → aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> (§4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149).

<sup>170</sup> Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001), p.269, with extensive bibliography.

<sup>171</sup> See Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001), pp.267ff (with bibliography). See also Archi, in *SSEH* 20 (1990); Archi, *AoF* 19 (1992); Milano, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); Milano, *MARI* 5 (1997); Archi, in *Valori agricoltura* (1998). See also the summary given in Milano, *CANE* (1995): «The evidence is that the palace owned property and managed its own farms, scattered over a wide area, especially northeast of Ebla. [...] In a landscape characterized by a high density of rural settlements—hundreds of villages are named in the archives—it is difficult to establish how much of the land belonged to rural communities or how much was held by the palace. There is evidence, however, that the king could grant plots of land to members of the royal family or to palace officials (as is documented in the so-called royal verdicts). Sometimes whole villages (URU.URU) could be either transferred or given in inheritance under approval of the state authority [...]» (p.1125).

<sup>172</sup> See most recently Archi, in *AAAS* 57-58 (2014-2015), esp. p.74 and fn.9: «It is in general impossible to state in detail if the incomes of the central administration (“the palace”) were the tithes imposed on rural communities or the revenues from the large estates controlled directly by the king through his bureaucratic organization.»

### 3.1.3. Deaths and Purification Rituals as Social Indicators

The scribes of the Archives regularly registered the deaths of individuals in the administrative documents through the expression NP (*si-in*)<sub>E<sub>2</sub>×PAP</sub>, translated by Biga as «textiles and/or metal objects to Personal Name (on the occasion of) his funerary ceremonies / or for (*si-in*) the funerary ceremonies».<sup>173</sup> Although the meaning of the term *E<sub>2</sub>×PAP* is still a matter of debate,<sup>174</sup> it is clear that the persons mentioned in these contexts are dead. It is difficult to ascertain the social statuses of the persons whose deaths are recorded in the documents: these funerary occasions were recorded not only when the members of the royal family or high officials were involved, but also on the occasions of the deaths of apparently low-ranking people.<sup>175</sup>

The information regarding the deaths of many individuals recorded in the documents is of invaluable importance for the reconstruction of the relative chronology, but it also has pivotal importance for the identification of the social ties linking the members of some the most important families of Ebla. When the deceased is a person of high social rank or status, two other groups of people are involved: his/her deceased ancestors, and his/her living relatives. These parental connections can be inferred from two kinds of deliveries, often mentioned when the death of a high status individual is recorded: the deliveries, apparently performed by the deceased for his/her ancestors, and the ceremonies of purification for his/hes living relatives. When Yi'hib-malik dies, for example, he receives funerary gifts for himself, as well as a garment for his deceased sister, Lady Dusigu:

[75.G.1934+10022] r.I:6-?:<sup>176</sup> 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2+III</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> dar 1 gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-gi *I-ib-ma-lik* šeš ama-gal en *si-in*<sub>E<sub>2</sub>×PAP</sub> 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tug2</sup> *Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub> I-ib-ma-lik* šu mu-tag<sub>4</sub>, «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 waistband, 1 toggle pin (made with) copper (and) gold, (for) Yi'hib-malik brother of the mother of the king, for (his) funerary ceremony; 1 zara<sub>6</sub> garment (for) (Lady) Dusigu, Yi'hib-malik has delivered.»

The zara<sub>6</sub> is a garment typically worn by women, so there is no doubt that Lady Dusigu is, in this context, the recipient. Similarly, Tašma'-Damu, wife of Yidkī-paršu, receives precious gifts for her funerary ceremony, alongside with other gifts for her to deliver to Yibriyum and one of Yibbi-Ḍikir's wives, Tapṭur-Damu:

[75.1829] r.II:1-III:3:<sup>177</sup> 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tug2</sup> 1 pad<sup>tug2</sup> 2 BU-DI šu<sub>2</sub>+ša bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> 2 sag-SU<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-gi *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-damu* dam Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub> *si-in*<sub>E<sub>2</sub>×PAP</sub> 1,1,1 textiles *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um wa* 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tug2</sup> 2 BU-DI bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> *Dab<sub>6</sub>-du-da-mu* dam *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* šu mu-tak<sub>4</sub>, «1 zara<sub>6</sub> garment, 1 veil, 2 toggle pins (of the value of) 20 (shekels of) silver, their two golden 'heads', (for) Tašma'-Damu, wife of Yidkī-paršu, for (her) funerary ceremonies, 1+1+1 (textiles) (for) Yibriyum, and 1 zara<sub>6</sub> garment, 2 silver toggles pins, for Tapṭur-Damu, wife of Yibbi'-Ḍikir, Tašma'-Damu has delivered.»

It is not possible to infer directly from the text why Yibriyum and Tapṭur-Damu are mentioned. A woman named Tašma'-Damu was, however, Yibriyum's daughter (and thus Yibbi-Ḍikir's [half]-sister):<sup>178</sup> it can thus be assumed that, although being married to a man named Yidkī-paršu, she was

<sup>173</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.250.

<sup>174</sup> See Pettinato, in *HSAO* 2 (1988); Pomponio, *UF* 21 (1989); Baldacci, *WO* 22 (1991).

<sup>175</sup> See for example the discussion sub → nar (§4.4 Entertainers, p.172).

<sup>176</sup> Quoted in Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.263, fn.68.

<sup>177</sup> Quoted in Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.264, fn.71.

<sup>178</sup> See Archi et al., *ARES* I (1988), p.242.



still considered part of Yibriyum's family. Similarly, Taptur-Damu, whose parents are unknown, became part of Yibriyum's family marrying his son Yibbi-Dikir (see Plate II, p.97; she was thus Tašma'-Damu's sister-in-law). But this interpretation raises a question: if a woman's membership to a family or household was not necessarily only by blood ties but also by marriage as in Taptur-Damu's case, why is Tašma'-Damu connected to her father's family and not to her spouse's? On the occasion of her death, Tašma'-Damu delivers gifts to her deceased father, although being part of Yidkī-paršu's family by marriage. On the contrary, Taptur-Damu (who is also deceased) receives a gift as part of Yibriyum/Yibbi-Dikir's family: upon her death she is thus still part of her husband's family. It is noteworthy that in the parallel text [75.2429 = M 12 36], which also mentions Tašma'-Damu's death, three other women of Yibriyum's family receive gifts on the occasion of the purification ceremony:

[75.2429 = M 12 36] r.XXVII:21-XXVIII:11: TAR ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / 2 BU-DI / 12 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN / šu-bal-ak / 3 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 2 sag-SU<sub>3</sub> / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / A-zi-mu / ša-pi gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / 4 BU-DI / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / Ti-a-bar-zu<sub>2</sub> / wa / Da-ḥir-ma-lik / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um: «30 (shekels of) silver (for) two toggle-pins, 12 DILMUN-shekels of silver of the value of 3 DILMUN-shekels of gold, for the golden leaf of their two 'heads', (for the) ceremony of the anointing of the head of 'Azimu; 20 DILMUN-shekels of silver (for) 4 toggle-pins, (for the) ceremony of the anointing of the head of Tihwā-paršu and Taḥīr-Malik, daughters of Yibriyum.»

These women were still living, and received numerous gifts on the occasion of the purification needed after the death of a relative, *i.e.*, Tašma'-Damu. 'Azimu was Yibriyum's wife and Yibbi-Dikir's mother.<sup>179</sup> Tihwā-paršu, priestess of the god 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal of Luban, was one of Yibriyum's daughters (and thus Tašma'-Damu's [half?]-sister): she is also mentioned in a chancery document ([75.2094 = A XVI 26]), which records the events following her illegitimate relationship with a man named Tidīnu. The document states that Tihwā-paršu's baby will not stay with 'Azimu, but will be entrusted to the wet-nurse Da-sa-ru<sub>12</sub>:<sup>180</sup> the mention of 'Azimu in this text might hint to a possible maternal relationship between 'Azimu and Tihwā-paršu, who would thus be Yibbi-Dikir's full sister. Taḥīr-Malik was also Yibriyum's daughter: she married Tūbī-'ab, son of Dībata in [75.1321 = A I 11], but the identity of her mother is unknown:

[75.2429 = A I 11] r.III:12-IV6: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>lug2-1</sup> 1 aktum<sup>lug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab / dumu-nita / Zi-ba-da / nig<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> / i<sub>3</sub>-giš / si-in / sag / Da-ḥir-ma-lik / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um / in ud / nig<sub>2</sub>-mu-sa<sub>2</sub>: «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for) Tūbī-'ab, son of Dībata, (for) the pouring of the oil on the head of Taḥīr-Malik, daughter of Yibriyum, on the occasion of the wedding ceremony.»

It can be argued that, on the occasion of Tašma'-Damu's death, her dead relatives received gifts: she was thus somehow related to Taptur-Damu, one of Yibbi-Dikir's wives. Furthermore, some of her living relatives participate in a purification ceremony following her death: her mother, 'Azimu, and her two sisters, Tihwā-paršu and Taḥīr-Malik.

The few examples shown here provide evidence of the high value attributed to kinship ties in Eblaite society: although this may not be surprising, since family ties are often considered the basic constituents of society, kinship relationships characterize many of the social ties attested in the documents at a very deep level, both from a *ego*- and a *sociocentric* point of view. The particular attention addressed in the present paragraph to the definition, characterization, and social connotation of kinship ties aims at underling two fundamental facts: first and foremost, the importance of kinship

<sup>179</sup> See Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012), p.30.

<sup>180</sup> See also sub → ga-du<sub>8</sub>, §4.5 Producers, p.186.

ties for the comprehension of the terminology referred to other social links. This is the case of all the terms of primary and secondary kin which are used not only to express kinship relationships, but also to define individuals from a *sociocentric* point of view. Secondly, the data here presented demonstrates how households, families, and social relationships referred to non-royal actors are difficult to define, even though kinship ties are so widely and highly represented in the documents. As stressed in the previous chapter (§2.2 Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns, p.31), this situation depends on the organization that produced the documents, which originates mainly from the Palace: the greater the social distance of an individual from the palatine organization, the lower its level of cohesion within the system itself. Consequently, even from the textual point of view, the presence of non-royal individuals depends on the different focuses of the documents: for this reason, individuals such as the viziers who did not belong to the household of the king, but ‘collaborated’ with it, are often mentioned; similarly, individuals whose ‘collaboration’ with the Palace was sporadic, non-continuous, and/or limited in time, are only marginally mentioned. A criterion similar to that of coresidence may be applied here: if coresidence is one of the main features grouping together the members of a household, geographical proximity may be considered a feature determining the degree of cohesion of an individual in the social texture described by the administrative record. The closer and more constant the ‘collaboration’ of an actor with the palatine organization, the greater his presence in the record; the furthest and less continuous his/her attendance of the Palace, the smaller his social role in the Palace activities. From these considerations, it emerges that actors such as Tīša ‘-Līm, queen of Emar, who are characterized by a high presence in the record, do not exhibit a fixed presence in the documents because of their low geographical proximity.<sup>181</sup> Actors such as the lords, who were probably administratively (and militarily?) active in the regions surrounding the City and were thus closer in space to the palatine organization, had a non-continuous (but regular) relationship with the Palace.<sup>182</sup>

As already stressed, the palatine organization, also referred to as the ‘Palace,’ is not intended here (only) as a building: although the architectonic features were certainly part of the organization and were, in fact, partly determined by it,<sup>183</sup> the Palace was not only a general grouping of individuals or a container where social relationships developed, but a “social structure created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals.”<sup>184</sup> Since the Palace organization is led by the king and his (extended) family, understanding the social ties characterizing this organization, which is in large part kinship based, is fundamental to the understanding of other social relationships only partially assessed in the Archives. The aim of the research is therefore not to demonstrate that kinship ties, especially those referring to the royal family, are the basic segments through which a whole society can be studied, but that, being among type of data most represented in the Archives, they constitute one of the possible frameworks through which the social elements present in the documents can be assessed. As Porter wrote:

«[...] the evidence suggests that the family that occupies Palace G at any one time is to be conceived of as the core of the polity – a first family among families, not as the top of a

<sup>181</sup> This is the case also of other Eblaitic women who became queens of foreign kingdoms; see the discussion sub → *MA-LIK-TUM* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

<sup>182</sup> See the discussions sub → *lugal* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) and → *aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>3</sub>* (§4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149).

<sup>183</sup> See, for example, Bonechi’s considerations on the existence of “upper apartments” (*e<sub>2</sub> maḥ*) and its social implications. See Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016). See also Porter’s interpretation of the architectural features of Palace G; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), pp.200–6.

<sup>184</sup> Scott, *Organizations* (2003), p.11.

hierarchical chain of families in the fashion of the patrimonial household model, but instead, the center of a network of families.»<sup>185</sup>

Lastly, it must be stressed that the data here presented does not aim at demonstrating that only the reality of the Palace can be assessed through the documents: an in depth analysis of the ‘house of the king,’ the most important and well-documented household attested in the Archives, is preliminary to any investigation of the social actors who do not belong to it and are only partially mentioned in the record.

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<sup>185</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.202. The “patrimonial household model” to which Porter refers is the one described by Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001).

### 3.2. The Kings' Families

The most important turning point in the study of the structure and composition of the royal family of Ebla, as well as of its history, has been Pomponio's discovery that Yibriyum and Yibbi-Dikir were not kings of Ebla, as had been hypothesized up to that time.<sup>186</sup> The misinterpretation of the social position of some actors can lead to erroneous historical interpretations: in order to properly interpret the ancient records it is necessary to identify the main political protagonists, but historical and socio-historical analysis cannot disregard the definition of the social positions and the roles assumed by the actors. The prosopographic study is therefore a fundamental step in the characterization of the actors: as previously mentioned (§2.2 Practice: Keywords and Textual Patterns, p.31), however, social positions and roles must be examined both independently and in connection with a specific individual. Therefore, taking into consideration only the unique roles, and not the single individuals, the royal family described through the lexicon of the actors is composed, in its maximum extension, by:

- the king;
- the queen;
- the king's mother;
- the secondary wives of the king;
- the sons and daughters of the king;
- relatives of the roles just listed (mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters).

All these roles are not simultaneously present in every generation documented by the Archives: Lady Dusigu is, for example, the only mother of the king attested in documents. Similarly, little information is provided in the documents with regards to the first queen of Ebla, Yirkab-Damu's wife, whose identity is still a matter of debate. Kinship ties may therefore appear at first to be too unstable to be adopted as units of analysis in the quantification of the Archives' chronological extension. As discussed in the previous Chapter, however, time, as well as space, are two coordinates which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of society, since actors constantly moves between groups and the very concept of society is based on the continuous change and evolution of the reciprocal relationships between its actors. The chronological extension of the Archives has been so far calculated exclusively on the basis of the documents, quantifying the correspondences between monthly and annual accounts.<sup>187</sup> It is difficult, however, to ascertain whether a document should be interpreted as an annual or multi-monthly account:<sup>188</sup> the following discussion thus aims at analyzing social ties (mostly kinship based) which characterized the principal members of the palatial organization considering the chronological data inferred from the documents through a socio-historical perspective. The scribal practice of mentioning the king and the queen only by their titles transmits to the modern reader the misconception that at Ebla existed a sort of monolithic extended family: the study of kinship relationships shows that this apparent flattening is due to social reasons, *i.e.*, to how actors conceive family ties and how these shape other social relationships.

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<sup>186</sup> Pomponio, *AfO* 40/41 (1992-1994).

<sup>187</sup> The most updated chronological overview has been published in Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), with bibliography.

<sup>188</sup> Note in fact that some scholars sporadically adopted the latter description (multi-monthly). See e.g. Milano, in *StLE* (1984), p.206 ("rendiconti generali plurimensili," with reference to livestock accounting); de Urioste Sánchez, *Praxis administrativa* (1996) ("[...] podemos decir que las salidas de metales se organizaban en tres grupos de documentos: anuales (CAM [= Cuentas Anuales de salidas de Metales]), mensuales (en los CMT [= Cuentas Mensuales de salidas de Tejidos]) y de cronología varia (probablemente mensuales y plurimensuales," with reference to AAMs, p.57); Catagnoti and Bonechi, *SEL* 15 (1998) ("multimonthly account of metals," p.33); Biga, in *Fs Parise* (2011) ("testi plurimensili di apporti (mu-DU)," p.80); Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016) ("multimonthly account of silver," p.29).

### 3.2.1. Generations within the Archives: How Many Families of the King?

The concept of *generation* can take on different meanings depending on the context: in sociological literature, a generation (sometimes also called *cohort*) is a group of people of approximately the same age “experiencing the same concrete historical problems.”<sup>189</sup> This meaning of the term generation emphasizes the sharing of a similar time location by the actors, but also implies that their contemporaneity “becomes sociologically significant only when it also involves participation in the same historical and social circumstances.”<sup>190</sup> However, this sociological definition of generation cannot be applied to the study of Eblaite society: the identification process of the main historical and political events is still ongoing, and their temporal distribution remains in many cases doubtful. It is difficult to determine whether or not a group of individuals experienced the same events and the impact these had on their lives. Therefore, the concept of generation here taken into consideration is that defined as *familiar*, *i.e.* “a body of living beings constituting a single step in the line of descent from an ancestor.”<sup>191</sup> As previously demonstrated, the actors’ lexicon with regards to kinship terminology is rich (even though sometimes cryptic) and allows an extensive survey on family connections among the principal actors. Kinship terminology, however, is a biological classification based on birth: generational categorization is, on the contrary, a social classification based on generational grading.<sup>192</sup> The main focus of the following discussion is thus not the identification of the single family ties referring to one particular Ego, but the social position of the individuals within a generational categorization based on kinship terminology. As will be shown, several connections emerge between the known historical and political events and the different generational groups identified through the available data.

The diagram in Figure 10, p.64, represents a hypothetical generational grouping very similar to that described in Figure 7, p.45, in which the Ego is represented by Lady Dusigu. In this diagram, the generation of the Ego is defined as G 0, and includes all the individuals who are parents of the following generation, G -1. Similarly, the actors of the G +1 generation are the parents of the G 0 generation. The choice to define the generation of Lady Dusigu and Yirkab-Damu as generation 0 is dictated by two motivations, one practical and one historical. From the practical point of view, in genealogical diagrams the generation 0 is the generation of the Ego, *i.e.*, of the person in relation to whom the other kinship terms are studied. The Ego can change on the basis of the observer’s point of view, but in the frame of the present research the Ego must be chosen among the members of Lady Dusigu’s and king Yirkab-Damu’s generation. This can in fact be considered the “middle generation”: it is the first best documented generation, and it is also the one immediately preceding the period most represented in the Archives documentation (G -1), offering a solid starting point for the analysis of the following generation. G 0 is also sufficiently distant in time from the G -2 generation, that of the crown prince, which can be defined as “incomplete”: because of the destruction of the city, crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu will never become king, Ṭubuḥu-Hadda will never succeed his father Yibbi-Dikir as vizier, and the social position of most actors of generation G -2 are incompletely represented in the record.

The diagram in Figure 10, p.64, is characterized by two dimensions, one horizontal (the size of each generation by number of components), and one vertical (the age difference between genera-

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<sup>189</sup> Mannheim, in *Essays* (1997 [1952]), p.304. A *cohort* is an “aggregate of individuals [...] who experienced the same event within the same time interval,” see Ryder, *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 30 (1965), p.845. For the problems connected to the concept of generation in sociology, see Kertzer, *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 9 (1983).

<sup>190</sup> Mannheim, in *Essays* (1997 [1952]), p.298.

<sup>191</sup> *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “generation (n),” p.302.

<sup>192</sup> Firth, *We Tikopia* (1936), p.248.

tions).<sup>193</sup> The estimate of both these parameters is extremely problematic: as a matter of fact, in the case of Ebla and its royal family, demographic observations and estimates may perhaps be speculative, given the almost total absence of epigraphic and archaeological data relating to population and population density. However, although in the form of statistical approximation, these estimates can provide a general overview of the number of people involved, the extent of the generational interval, and above all how high the mortality rate might have been.

The generational interval, generally estimated at 30 years, is defined as the average age of individuals at the time of reproduction:<sup>194</sup> however, the lower the average age at the moment of conception, the shorter the interval. In societies characterized by a low conception age, more generations will consequently be simultaneously active over a given period of time. As just explained, it is not possible to calculate all these parameters for the population of Ebla or for the royal family on the basis of the data present in the Archives: in fact, precise information on the date of birth, date of death, and age of the actors are not available, and can only be broadly calculated by deduction. The period of time taken into consideration is also limited, since the relative chronology reconstructed on the basis of the documents covers a period of about 40 years: therefore parameters such as the mortality rate and life expectancy at given age have a greater impact from the socio-historical point of view.

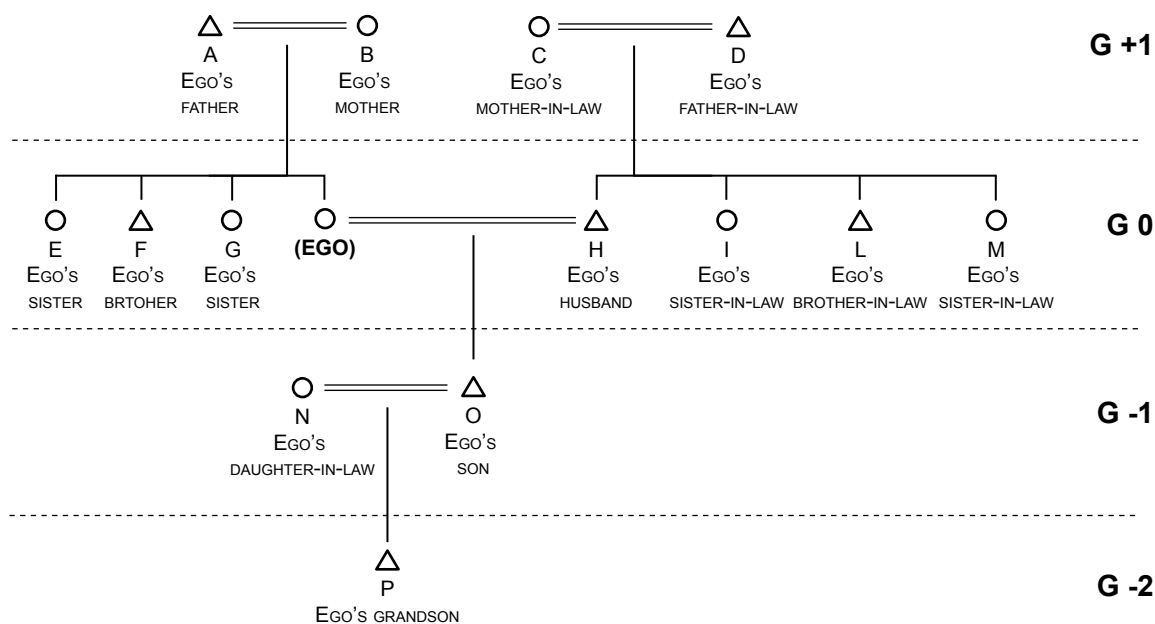


Figure 10 - Example diagram.

As already stated, the chronology of the Archives is largely based on the temporal sequence of documents and the correspondences between the monthly and the multi-monthly accounts: some documents can be dated to Yigriš-Ḫalab (Figure 10, p.64, D, G +1),<sup>195</sup> whose reign is poorly documented in the Archives.<sup>196</sup> His successor Yirkab-Damu (H, G 0) reigned for no more than seven years: during the last five years of his reign he was assisted by vizier Arrulum. On the death of both,

<sup>193</sup> Connidis, *Family Ties* (2010), p.25

<sup>194</sup> Weiss, in *Memoirs* 27 (1973), p.39. However, Fenner, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* 128 (2005), pp.415–16, emphasizes that the generational interval in women is shorter than in men.

<sup>195</sup> The chronology was established by Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003). For documents dated to the reign of Yigriš-Ḫalab, see p.3 fn.15.

<sup>196</sup> The following discussion is based on the list of the multi-monthly accounts associated with each king/vizier published in Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), p.8–9. See also the data collected sub §Appendix, Chronological data, p.263.

Yitgar-Damu (O, G -1) ascended the throne, and reigned with vizier Yibriyum for the first 18 years; after the latter's death, his son Yibbi-Dikir became vizier, until the destruction of the city, which took place sixteen years later. Yirhaq-Damu (P, G -2), son of Yitgar-Damu, never had the opportunity to sit on the throne, although data suggest that he was the designated successor: for this reason he is often referred to as "crown prince." These chronological data, based on the number of annual accounts of metals that can be attributed to each sovereign and/or vizier,<sup>197</sup> allows us to hypothesize that in the period during which the Archives were active a minimum of three (G 0 – G -2), to a maximum of four generations (G +1 - G -2) are attested. The most problematic generation is that of Yigriš-Ḫalab, because it is difficult to establish whether the documents attributed to him correspond to a phase of the Archive's life, or should be considered the residual documentation of a previous phase.

In her study on human paleodemography, Howell divides the duration of life into three periods: 1) *infancy* and *childhood* (0-10 years), during which the mortality level is extremely high, up to the first year of life, after which it gradually decreases up to the age of ten; 2) *adolescence* and *adulthood* (10/15-50 years), during which mortality gradually rises again; 3) *old age* (50+ years), characterized by a final consistent increase of mortality. The respective mortality levels of these three periods depend on the overall mortality rate of the population: if the mortality rate is high, most individuals will die during *infancy* and *childhood*; if low, the mortality rate will affect most of the elderly individuals.<sup>198</sup> Regardless of the overall mortality rate, in almost all human societies the most risky stages of life are *infancy*, *childhood*, and *old age*: for this reason statistical calculations on these parameters are reliable even in the absence of direct data.<sup>199</sup> Therefore, by using the Coale and Demeny model life tables, it is possible to make some paleodemographic observations concerning the royal family. These tables are often used in paleodemographic studies since they provide a reliable statistical average even in the absence of data for the historical period under examination. Coale and Demeny's model life tables are based on census data of varied geographical origin, and divided into four geographical areas (north, south, east, west): the tables of the west family, in particular, are based on collections of residual data, and are therefore particularly suitable for the paleodemographic study in the absence of direct data.<sup>200</sup> These tables show the distribution of mortality by age groups rather than by year. Twenty-three tables are provided for each region: level 1 tables are characterized by an average life expectancy at birth of twenty years ( $e_0 = 20$ ) for females. Each subsequent level shows an increase of 2.5 years in average life expectancy at age 0 compared to the previous one (level 2:  $e_0 = 22,5$ ; level 3:  $e_0 = 25$ , etc.). Level 3 West tables, characterized by an average life expectancy at birth of twenty years, are the most suited for the study of ancient populations: as already mentioned, the West tables are based on heterogeneous census data and an average life expectancy of twenty-five years at birth

<sup>197</sup> The oldest AAMs are attributed to vizier Arrulum, see Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), p.8.

<sup>198</sup> Howell, *J. Hum. Evol.* 5 (1976), pp.33–34. Mortality is the ratio between the number of deaths and the overall population in a given period of time (usually one year): the higher the mortality rate, the lower the average age at death and vice versa. Mortality rates depend also on natural and social environment, and related factors like nutrition, access and quality of medical care, and social disparities.

<sup>199</sup> See, for example, the almost identical curves of mortality rates published in Coale and Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables* (1983), p.26, Fig.3: these curves represent the female mortality rate for Europe in a period spanning from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to modern era.

<sup>200</sup> See Coale and Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables* (1983), p.12 and 25. For a discussion of the advantages in using Coale and Demeny model life tables over others, see Littleton, *BAR S* 703 (1998), p.7. An interesting comparison is the application of the model life tables to the paleodemographic study in Roman times, for which see Saller, *Patriarchy* (1994), pp.12ff. See esp. pp.22–25 for methodological considerations regarding the applicability of this method of investigation to antiquity. For the ancient Near East, see Schloen, *House of the Father* (2001), pp.121–27.

can be considered a likely average.<sup>201</sup> As shown in Table 3, p.66, males have an average life expectancy at birth ( $Age_x=0$ ) of twenty-two years ( $e_0=22.852$ ). Upon reaching the first year of age, the average life expectancy of the surviving children rises to thirty-four years ( $e_1=34.073$ ). Column  $l_x$  offers an interesting quantification of the mortality rates according to each year: assuming an initial birth cohort (*i.e.*, children born in the same year) of 100,000 individuals, the number decreases according to the values of  $q_x$ . This means that 35% of the children ( $q_0 = 351.74$ ) of the birth cohort will die before reaching the first year of age, and less than a half will reach age ten ( $l_{10} = 48041$ ).

Females Lv. 3				Males Lv.3			
Age <sub>x</sub>	1000 q <sub>x</sub>	l <sub>x</sub>	e <sub>x</sub>	Age <sub>x</sub>	1000 q <sub>x</sub>	l <sub>x</sub>	e <sub>x</sub>
0	305.56	100000	25.000	0	351.74	100000	22.852
1	215.82	69444	34.846	1	214.72	64826	34.073
5	60.61	54456	40.062	5	56.28	50906	39.020
10	47.38	51156	37.502	10	40.43	48041	36.213
15	61.53	48732	34.237	15	54.67	46099	32.629
20	76.60	45734	31.312	20	77.50	43579	29.366
25	85.65	42231	28.693	25	86.77	40201	26.614
30	96.54	38614	26.138	30	100.17	36713	23.896
35	105.41	34886	23.653	35	116.79	33035	21.266
40	112.27	31208	21.134	40	139.70	29177	18.735
45	119.67	27705	18.477	45	159.72	25101	16.355
50	152.85	24389	15.636	50	198.06	21092	13.969
55	191.16	20661	12.988	55	235.44	16915	11.777
60	271.49	16712	10.443	60	309.05	12932	9.603
65	348.35	12175	8.366	65	392.05	8936	7.736
70	471.31	7934	6.448	70	504.02	5432	6.047
75	608.08	4194	4.878	75	649.46	2694	4.550
80	734.85	1644	3.567	80	762.27	944	3.349
85	865.02	436	2.544	85	881.41	225	2.409
90	951.26	59	1.784	90	957.75	27	1.707
95	1000.00	3	1.234	95	1000.00	1	1.195

Age<sub>x</sub>: exact age (0 = birth; 1 = first birthday; 5 ... = exact age)  
q<sub>x</sub>: probability of dying before next exact age  
l<sub>x</sub>: initial default birth cohort of 100,000, decreases according to q<sub>(x)</sub>  
e<sub>x</sub>: average life expectancy at age<sub>x</sub>

Table 3 - Coale and Demeney Lv.3 Life Tables.

A quick look at Plate I, p.95, and Plate II, p.97, clarifies the need to adopt these statistical data in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the socio-historical dynamics that characterized the lives of the actors. Polygyny was extremely widespread, and the large number of wives that can be attributed to each king and vizier entails the existence of an extremely consistent offspring. However, from a social point of view, sexual reproduction does not exclusively concern maternity, paternity, and family ties (= genealogies). As shown in the preceding paragraphs, the reproduction and care of children are two essential elements that characterize a household: the statistical data related to mortality, the possibilities for a woman to successfully complete one or more pregnancies,<sup>202</sup> etc., offer a new per-

<sup>201</sup> See also Saller, *Patriarchy* (1994), pp.22–25.

<sup>202</sup> See, for example, the data collected in Howell, *J. Hum. Evol.* 5 (1976), pp.29ff.



spective through which the Palace society can be observed and its family ties assessed. The following paragraphs thus aim at demonstrating how the combination of generational and chronological considerations with the data referred to kinship ties can lead to important socio-historical conclusions.

### 3.2.2. The Kings

On the basis of [74.120], and parallel text [75.2628 = A VII 150], it has been suggested that the Eblaite dynasty had nomadic origins. [74.120] is not part of the corpus of the Great Archive L.2769, since the text was found in a storeroom (L.2586) with other 31 tablets.<sup>203</sup> According to Bonechi's interpretation of [74.120], the document can be divided into two parts: the second one (o.V:3-r.V:6) consists of a list of proper names arranged by onomastic elements (names beginning with *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-*, *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-*, *En-na-*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-*, *'A<sub>3</sub>-da-*, NI-, *Ib-du*, *Ib-ḥur-*), interpreted as a scribal exercise or mnemonic device. The first part of the text (o.I:1-V:2) presents instead a list of Ebla rulers in reversed order: here are attested 26 proper names, of which at least the first 24 are names of actual Eblaite kings, attested elsewhere in the documents from the Archives.<sup>204</sup> This list of PNs is concluded by the GN *Ib-la<sup>(ki)</sup>*, followed by five more PNs and the lemma *sa-gaz<sub>2</sub> eg<sub>2</sub>*, interpreted by Bonechi as “wanderers of the (land of the) levee(s)”. It thus seems that the first kings of Ebla were semi-nomads, and had a non city-based origin.

obv. I, 1	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu</i>	rev. I, 1	[...]
2	<i>[Ir<sub>3</sub>]-kab-[d]a-mu</i>	2	<i>[D]u-bi<sub>2</sub>-be</i>
3	<i>[I]g-ri<sub>2</sub>-[i]š-[ḥ]a-lab<sub>x</sub></i>	3	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-lu</i>
4	<i>[A-d]ub-da-mu</i>	4	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-gu<sub>2</sub></i>
5	<i>[Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-mu]</i>	5	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu</i>
6	<i>I-šar-ma-lik</i>	6	<i>Du-bi<sub>3</sub>-š[um?]</i>
II, 1	<i>En-ar<sub>3</sub>-da-mu</i>	II, 1	<i>[Du-bu<sub>3</sub>]-ḥu-d' a<sub>3</sub>-da</i>
2	<i>Ba-ga-da-mu</i>	2	<i>Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik</i>
3	<i>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu</i>	2	<i>Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-i<sub>3</sub></i>
4	<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	3	<i>Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-[ḥu]-u<sub>3</sub></i>
5	<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	4	<i>[Du]-bu<sub>3</sub>-[ḥu]-...</i>
6	<i>Tal-da-li-im</i>	5	<i>[E]n-na</i>
7	<i>Ik-su-ud</i>	6	<i>[E]n-na-i<sub>3</sub></i>
III, 1	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud-ḥa-lab<sub>x</sub></i>	III, 1	<i>En-na-[...]</i>
2	<i>'Γ-si-du</i>	2	<i>[En-na-...]</i>
3	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud-da-mu</i>	3	<i>[E]n-na-da-lu</i>
4	<i>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-ni-li-im</i>	4	<i>En-na-ma-lik</i>
5	<i>[D]a-NE-u[m]?</i>	5	<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-z[i]</i>
6	<i>Sa[-gi]-s[u]</i>	6	<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-[ik]</i>
7	<i>Da[-x]-x'</i>	7	<i>[R]u<sub>12</sub>-z[i-...]</i>
8	<i>Na-ma-nu</i>	IV, 1	<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-[zi-...]</i>
9	<i>En-ma-nu</i>	2	[...]
IV, 1	<i>Zi-a-lu</i>	3	[...]
2	<i>[Sa]-mi-u<sub>3</sub></i>	4	[...]
3	<i>Aš-sa-nu</i>	5	<i>'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub></i>
4	<i>Kul-ba-nu</i>	6	NI-ba-ni
5	<i>Ib-la<sup>(ki)</sup></i>	7	NI-za-ni
6	<i>Du-mu-dar</i>	8	NI-a-bad
7	<i>Nam-ne-la-nu</i>	9	NI-da-ba-du
8	<i>A-bu<sub>3</sub>-gar<sub>3</sub></i>	V, 1	<i>[Ib]-du</i>
9	<i>La-da-u<sub>3</sub></i>	2	<i>[Ib]-du-[m]a-lik</i>

<sup>203</sup> The following discussion is based on Bonechi, *UF* 33 (2001); Archi, in *CRAI* 45 (2001); Archi, *ARCANE* III (2015). [74.120] has been published by Archi in Archi et al., in *ARETI* (1988), p.213, and Fig. 1.

<sup>204</sup> See the data collected in Archi, *ARCANE* III (2015), pp.163–64.

V, 1	Š[ <i>u</i> ʷ]- <sup>r</sup> xʷ-[...]	3	<i>Ib-du-dra-sa-ap</i>
2	sa-gaz <sub>2</sub> eg <sub>2</sub>	4	<i>Ib-ḫur-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra</i>
3	<sup>r</sup> Du <sup>r</sup> -bi <sub>2</sub>	5	<i>Ib-ḫur-<sup>d</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-da</i>
4	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ti</i>	6	<i>Ib-ḫur-ma-lik</i>
5	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu</i>		
6	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab</i>		

Transliteration of [74.120]

Scholars, however, do not agree on the possibility that the Eblaite political system and its leaders had a tribal origin:<sup>205</sup> the very concept of tribe is extremely difficult to define, and the different meanings associated with this term make it a particularly difficult topic to assess, especially in the case of Ebla, for which the evidence is very scarce. Flannery defined tribes as «larger egalitarian societies whose segments are groups of families related by common descent or by membership in a variety of kinship based groups (clans, lineages, descent lines, kindreds, etc.):»<sup>206</sup> it must be stressed, however, that the presence of social relationships based on family ties, as well as of different descent lines, does not necessarily indicate a tribal origin or structure. A few pieces of evidence seem to suggest that the Eblaite political system might have had tribal origins: among these is the presence of high ranking individuals, namely the high representatives of the chief families (→ abba<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) and the lords (→ lugal, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), whose presence on the territory seems to be organized in families or kinship based groups.<sup>207</sup> These individuals may have belonged to a sort of “palace-based oligarchy”<sup>208</sup> or “aristocracy,”<sup>209</sup> but the active involvement of high-ranking individuals belonging to the most important families in the administrative and political management of the regions surrounding the City does not imply a tribal origin. Furthermore, terms such as ‘aristocracy’ («government by a noble or privileged class»)<sup>210</sup> or ‘oligarchy’ («a government in which power is in the hands of a few»)<sup>211</sup> are not only extremely anachronistic, but above all inapplicable in absence of direct data on land management (see §3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52). The document [74.120] seems to suggest that, in a past which was probably considered distant even by the scribe who drafted the text, the first “leaders” were non-city based semi-nomads: this information, however, finds no direct comparison in other documents of the Archives.<sup>212</sup>

The most important datum which must be taken into consideration with regards to kingship at Ebla is that, from the perspective of kin, there are no elements to prove that the title of en was hereditary. Even in the case of kings who were active during the years documented by the Archives, there are no elements to establish that power was transmitted from father to son: the only exception is king Yitgar-Damu, the last king of Ebla, who was his predecessor’s son. The list of names found in [74.120] does not provide any relevant historical data for the reconstruction of the socio-historical

<sup>205</sup> See the data collected sub → abba<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101.

<sup>206</sup> Flannery, *Ann. Rev. Ecol. Syst.* 3 (1972), pp.401–2. With reference to tribes in the ancient Near East, see the discussion in Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors* (2004), p.27. On some considerations of the different definitions of tribe, see Tapper, in *Tribes and State Formation* (1991), pp.50–51.

<sup>207</sup> See also the discussion sub → lugal (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

<sup>208</sup> Catagnoti, in *HdO* 721 (2003), p.228.

<sup>209</sup> Steinkeller, in *Akkad* (1999), p.124.

<sup>210</sup> *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “aristocracy (n)”, p.37.

<sup>211</sup> *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “oligarchy (n)”, p.504.

<sup>212</sup> In addition, semi-nomadic groups were still present in the age of the Archives, as proved by the chancery document [75.10117 = A XVI 7].

characterization of kingship.

In light of the above considerations on an alleged tribal origin, it is necessary to address the problem related to the true nature of the concept of /tumtallikum/, *i.e.*, the “practice of kingship.”<sup>213</sup> The king was the head of royal household: nevertheless his social position is difficult to define. As Catagnoti described:

«The real nature of Early Syrian kingship is not yet fully determined, but it must lie within the notions expressed by West Semitic \**mlk*, “to possess, to dominate, to own, to rule, to be master.”»<sup>214</sup>

Although the gloss of the term → en (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) provided in the bilingual lexical compositions (*ša-ša-ḥu-lu(-u)m / šu-šu-ḥu-lum*, VE 906) is not related to the root \**mlk*, most scholars agree that the Semitic word for king was probably *malikum* or *malkum*.<sup>215</sup> The Semitic stem \**mlk*, however, is connected to two semantic fields, that of “counseling” (East Semitic) and that of “ruling” (West Semitic): the term for queen is in fact expressed with a Semitic word, → *MA-LIK-TUM* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), a crystallized Semitic spelling introduced by the scribes of the Archives. This term thus does not reproduce the true Eblaite word for “queen,” whose spelling remains unknown. It is thus difficult to establish which of the two aforementioned meanings of the root \**mlk* the scribes associated with the terms en and *MA-LIK-TUM*: as Kogan suggested, however, the meaning of the root \**mlk* attested at Ebla might be connected to the West Semitic linguistic area,<sup>216</sup> *i.e.*, with the meanings “to rule, to hold power.” Even more enigmatic is the relationship between the king and the vizier: starting from Yirkab-Damu’s reign, the king and the vizier undoubtedly belonged to two different families, since Yibbi-Dikir’s daughter Za’āše will marry crown prince Yiṭgar-Damu. As Archi wrote, «the pre-eminence of the minister and his family in Eblaite society is a local phenomenon, determined by specific contingent factors,» and a division of duties seems to emerge from the documents:<sup>217</sup> the king was mainly concerned with cultic activities, while the vizier led the army in battle.

### 3.2.3. The Queen(s)

The identities of the queens of Ebla are still a matter of debate: the only known queen of Ebla is Tabūr-Damu, Yiṭgar-Damu’s wife, while Yigriš-Ḥalab’s and Yirkab-Damu’s queens are yet to be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, numerous observations on the social position of the queen are possible by observing the kinship ties which linked Tabūr-Damu to the royal family, as well as the contexts in which she is mentioned. Queen Tabūr-Damu’s parents were Yir’ib-Damu and Nidin-bu’-du: according to Biga, Tabūr-damu was “una cugina del re, figlia di Irib-damu, fratello del re Irkab-damu.”<sup>218</sup> One single document mentions in fact a man named *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ib-da-mu* among other sons of

<sup>213</sup> See the data collected sub → *MA-LIK-TUM*, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101.

<sup>214</sup> Catagnoti, in *HdO* 721 (2003), p.228.

<sup>215</sup> Bibliographical and lexical data related to the following discussion have been collected sub the lemmas → en, → lugal, and → *MA-LIK-TUM*, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101.

<sup>216</sup> Kogan, *Genealogical Classification* (2015), pp.91–92.

<sup>217</sup> Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), pp.512–13.

<sup>218</sup> Biga, in *Henonch* 38 (2016), p.204; in Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012), p.21., Tabūr-damu was “una cugina del re Išar-damu, essendo figlia di un fratello del padre del re.”

the king belonging to the Group 1b (see further, esp. Table 6, p.78):<sup>219</sup> these men were brothers of king Yiṭgar-Damu and belonged to his same generation. Furthermore, according to Archi Nidin-bu‘du (Tabūr-Damu’s mother) was “une fille ou, en tout cas, une des ‘femmes’ d’Igriš-Ḥalam,” since she is mentioned in [75.2551].<sup>220</sup> Note that Archi’s and Biga’s hypotheses are not mutually exclusive: since it is not possible to prove that Yigriš-Ḥalab was Yirkab-Damu’s father, the absence of kinship ties between the two kings implies that Nidin-bu‘du and Yir’ib-Damu were not relatives either. What is more relevant, however, from a socio-historical point of view is that Nidin-bu‘du seems to belong to Yigriš-Ḥalab’s generation (G +1), while Yir’ib-Damu (if he truly is Yiṭgar-Damu’s brother) belongs to generation G -1. One piece of evidence, however, suggests that Tabūr-Damu did not belong to the royal family by blood ties or before her marriage to Yiṭgar-Damu:

[75.2417] r.VII:6-18:<sup>221</sup> 1 ‘*a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 *ib*<sub>2</sub>+III<sup>tug2</sup> *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *Ti-ti-nu* / *maškim Ib-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*um* / *nig*<sub>2</sub>-AN.AN.AN.AN / *ama-gal* / *en* / *maš*<sub>2</sub> *sa*<sub>6</sub> / *lu*<sub>2</sub> / *dingir a-mu* / *Da-bur-da-mu* / *MA-LIK-TUM* / *Ib-la*<sup>ki</sup>; «1 cloak and 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Tidīnu, Yibriyum’s appointee, (for bringing) the news (to) the mother of the king (concerning) the favourable omen of the god of the father of Tabūr-Damu, queen of Ebla»

A man named Tidīnu brought from outside Ebla the news that the god of the father of the queen delivered a positive omen (probably regarding the queen giving birth to a son): this passage implies that the family to which the queen belonged lived outside the city.<sup>222</sup>

Another piece of evidence can be found in [75.1276 = A IV 7] and [75.1264 = A I 15], which are dated, according to Biga and Pomponio, to the same year (Y.-D. 5):<sup>223</sup> the first mentions *Zar*<sub>3</sub>-*ba*<sub>x</sub> (PEŠ<sub>2</sub>’)-*du* *dam En-na-da-mu ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM*, while the second mentions *NE-ti-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*du ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM*. Another text dated to the same year mentions *NE-ti-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*du* as *dam Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ib-da-mu a-mu MA-LIK-TUM*.<sup>224</sup> There seems to be no doubt that Nidin-bu‘du was Tabūr-damu’s mother:<sup>225</sup> two mothers of the queen, however, were alive in the same year. A woman named Šarbatu in never mentioned in the texts with the exception of [75.1276 = A IV 7]: noteworthy is her complete absence among the deceased ancestors on the occasion of the numerous funerary ceremonies mentioned in the documents. When, for example, Gimilī-’adu, sister of the queen, died, she brought gifts to Yigriš-Ḥalab and Yirkab-Damu (the previous kings), to Yir’ib-Damu (her father), as well as to her mother Nidin-bu‘du and to a woman named Kešdut.<sup>226</sup> Archi suggested that a woman named Kešdut was Yirkab-Damu’s queen:<sup>227</sup> Gimilī-’adu’s deceased ancestors are thus divided into two groups, the deceased kings and queen of Ebla (Yigriš-Ḥalab, Yirkab-Damu, Kešdut) and her parents (Yir’ib-Damu, and Nidin-bu‘du).

The wedding between Tabūr-Damu and Yiṭgar-Damu (Yb. 14) is one of the most important events recorded in the Archives: in the following years Tabūr-Damu will be always referred as *MA-LIK-TUM* in all the administrative documents, and becomes the most important Lady of the court after Lady Dusigu. The wedding is mentioned in several administrative documents, and the rites and pilgrimage

<sup>219</sup> [75.2624 = Archi, *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp.118–19], o.I:7-9.

<sup>220</sup> [75.2551 = Archi, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp.118–19], o.VII:4.

<sup>221</sup> Quoted in Biga, *NABU* 1999/109 (1999), p.104.

<sup>222</sup> Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016), p.54 and fn.11, with bibliography. For a different interpretation see Biga, *NABU* 1999/109 (1999), p.104; Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012), p.21.

<sup>223</sup> Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993), p.108.

<sup>224</sup> [75.1918] r.IX:6-9 quoted in Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993), p.109. See also

<sup>225</sup> See also the discussion sub → 4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249.

<sup>226</sup> [75.1681 = A IV 19] o.VII:9-IX:14.

<sup>227</sup> Archi, *JANES* 13 (2013), p.228.

connected to it are described in the most recent version of the ERR ([75.1939+ = A XI 2]). Bonechi recently suggested a new interpretation of the ERR, which in the author's opinion was celebrated to ensure fertility and not to ensure the renewal of kingship.<sup>228</sup> It is not clear from the documentation when the queen gave birth to crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu:<sup>229</sup> one would expect, however a child to be born immediately (or soon) after the wedding, if one of her duties as a queen was to deliver a male heir. Biga suggests, however, that Yirḥaq-Damu was not the first-born son of the royal couple:<sup>230</sup> according to her reconstruction, Yirḥaq-Damu was born before Lady Dusigu's death (Y.-D. 4), since both are mentioned in the unpublished texts [75.10183].<sup>231</sup> The contemporary AAM [75.10074], however, records the birth of a child of the royal couple: given that this text does not mention Yibriyum and Lady Dusigu, it must be dated after their deaths, *i.e.*, after year Y.-D. 4. Biga thus concludes that Yirḥaq-Damu was not Tabūr-Damu's and Yitgar-Damu's firstborn son. However, [75.1525 = A IV 18], dated to the same year as [75.10074], records an important event:<sup>232</sup>

[75.1525 = A IV 18] o.VII:11-26: 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Dam-da-i<sub>3</sub>* / *I<sub>3</sub>-a-bu<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>* / lu<sub>2</sub> 'A'-*da-še<sub>3</sub>-nu'* / *mu-ti-iš ma-a*<sup>233</sup> / *MA-LIK-TUM* / *dumu-nita* / *tu-da* / *a-na-a* / 2 *dumu-nita-a* / *du-ḥal* / *wa* / 1 ab<sub>2</sub> / *i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum* / *dumu-nita* / *MA-LIK-TUM*.

This difficult passage has so far resisted any attempt at its translation. The term *du-ḥal* has been interpreted as a PN, but it may be also compared to Ug. /ḥ-l/ “to writhe (with birth pangs),” and Akk. *ḥālu*, “to be in labor,” from the Semitic root \**ḥyl*, “frémir, éprouver les douleurs de l'accouchement.”<sup>234</sup> The subject of this verb is the queen, while the presence of a dual is indicated both by the numeral 2 and by the suffix *-a*: the subject of the verb *i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum* is instead *Damda-'il*, who gave the ab<sub>2</sub> (maybe a container?) to queen or her children. The most interesting element that can be derived from this passage, however, is the mention of the queen's delivery in connection with two children (2 *dumu-nita-a*). It must be stressed, however, that [75.10074] mentions prince Yirḥaq-Damu as the son of the queen:

[75.10074] o.XVII:42-XVIII:17:235 5 *ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>* / *šu-bal-ak* / 1 *ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>-gi* / 1 *ib<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>* 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 *gir<sub>2</sub> kun* / *šu<sub>2</sub>+ša gin<sub>2</sub> DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>* / *šu-bal-aka* / 4 *gin<sub>2</sub> DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>-gi* / 2 *geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>* / 10 *gin<sub>2</sub> DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>* / *šu-bal-aka* / 2 *gin<sub>2</sub> DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>-gi* / 2 *ba-ga-NE-sa* / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / *in ud* / *EDIN* / *Il<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu* / *dumu-nita* / *MA-LIK-TUM*; «5 minas of silver, of the value of 1 mina of gold, 1 ceremonial belt, 1 sheath, 1 kun dagger; 20 weighted shekels of silver, of the value of 4 weighted shekels of gold, (for) two earrings; 10 weighted shekels of silver, of the value of 2 weighted shekels of gold, (for) (a kind of jewel),<sup>236</sup> (for) Yibbi-Dikir (...) Yirḥaq-Damu, the son of the queen.»

Two interpretations are possible for the last part of this passage: “Yirḥaq-Damu, son of the queen,” or “Yirḥaq-Damu (to) the son of the queen.”<sup>237</sup> However, the former seems more probable: the parallel

<sup>228</sup> Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016).

<sup>229</sup> Regarding the reasons why Yirḥaq-Damu is considered the designated heir, see further.

<sup>230</sup> Biga, *Or* 72 (2003), pp.358–59; Biga, *JA* 299 (2011), pp.484–85.

<sup>231</sup> Eight to nine years passed between the wedding between Tabūr-Damu and Yitgar-Damu and the death of Lady Dusigu; see §Appendix, Chronological data, p.263.

<sup>232</sup> Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.53.

<sup>233</sup> Fronzaroli, *Maarav* 5-6 (1990), p.119, translates: “the one who has renewed the water.” Catagnoti, *QdL* 6 (1995), p.159, translates “for the receiving of the water” (*mu-ti-iš ma-a*). See also Sanmartín, *AuOr* 9 (1991), p.180.

<sup>234</sup> *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. /ḥ-l/, p.384; *CAD* Ḥ (1956), s.v. *ḥālu* C, p. 55; *DRS* 10 (2012), s.v. ḤYL, p.982–83.

<sup>235</sup> Quoted in Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp.52–53, with its parallel passage in [75.1525 = A IV 18], o.I:7-14, in which the name *Il<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu* is omitted.

<sup>236</sup> On the object called *ba-ga-NE-sa*, see Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), p.113.

<sup>237</sup> See also Archi, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.79.

passage in [75.1525 = A IV 18] omits in fact crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu's name:

[75.1525 = A IV 18] o.I:7-14: 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> 1 'si-ti'-[tum 1<sup>?</sup> gir<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> kun<sup>?</sup>] / [...] / 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / in ud / EDIN / dumu-nita / MA-LIK-TUM.

In the light of the data here presented it is not possible to ascertain whether Yirḥaq-Damu was the son of the royal couple, or of the king and a secondary wife. Since there is no way of determining whether the title of en was hereditary, it is not clear if one of the purposes of the marriage between the king and the queen was to produce a male heir to the throne. The importance of this aspect is of particular relevance: if the scope of the ERR is in fact to renew fertility the child of the royal couple must have had a significant social and political role. If, however, the son of the king and queen was not necessarily meant to be the designated heir, the question arises of which was the criteria for the selection of the future king. Marriages were primarily aimed at maintaining amicable relationships between royal and high-profile families:<sup>238</sup> as suggested by the large number of high-ranking Eblaite women who were married to 'foreign' kings, marriages were mainly political instruments. By the same token, Yibbi-Dikir will have his daughter Za'aše marry king of Ebla. A possible explanation is therefore that the marriage between the king and the queen was mainly intended to maintain good relations between two families, an option that can of course be followed if the king and the queen were not consanguineous as, on the contrary, is suggested by some.

### 3.2.4. The Mother of the King and the Ladies of the Court

The term → dam is used by the scribes of the Archives mainly with the meaning "(adult) woman:" the basic meaning of dam in Sumerian is, however, "spouse" (of both genders)." A possible explanation for this shift in meaning is that Eblaite scribes perceived dam as denoting a feminine noun, since it is partially composed by the sign SAL: its proper Sumerian meaning has, however, been maintained, so that dam at Ebla can be interpreted as "married (= adult) woman."<sup>239</sup> The term is therefore used in most cases to indicate women inhabiting the Palace involved in working activities (food production, child care, etc.),<sup>240</sup> but is also used in two syntagmatic expressions with the meaning "wife" (→ dam PN and dam en, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). As is the case with other terms of kinship, dam can be thus used with a *socio-* (when it refers to the feminine personnel of the Palace) or *egocentric* (as a kinship term referring to an Ego) meaning: like terms such as dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> and dumu-nita, when attested in the syntagmatic expressions dam en takes on a social related meaning and refers to women belonging to the Palace élite. The women belonging to this social group are generally mentioned together in the documents, mainly as the recipients of textiles and other precious artifacts: these lists, characterized by a rigid internal hierarchy, have been classified by Tonietti according to the first lady mentioned at the beginning.<sup>241</sup> After Yiṭgar-Damu became king, Dusigu is always the first lady to be mentioned, immediately followed by queen Tabūr-Damu who, after the wedding, is always referred to with her title. The order of the Ladies mentioned in the lists is:

- 1) Dusigu, mother of the king (until her death);
- 2) queen Tabūr-Damu;

<sup>238</sup> See the data on 'foreign' queens collected sub → MA-LIK-TUM (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

<sup>239</sup> See the discussions sub → dam and → guruš (§4.5. Producers), and → dam [PN/en (GN)] (§4.6. Kinship Terms), with bibliography.

<sup>240</sup> See the discussion sub → dam (§4.5. Producers); note that the term is most often mentioned in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712 (see Figure 19, p.195).

<sup>241</sup> Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989).

- 3) (soon-to-be) divine ladies (DAM.DINGIR);
- 4) ladies of the court and other women.

Dusigu, mother of the king, and king Yirkab-Damu's secondary wife, held for many years the most prominent position among the Ladies of the court.<sup>242</sup> The extant information suggests that the expression "mother of the king" (→ ama-gal en, §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249) was characterized by high prestige: the only woman to be defined as such at the court of Ebla has been, however, Lady Dusigu. The social importance linked to the title of ama-gal en, as it happens for other terms (dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub>, šeš, nin-ni) seems to reside in its use in syntagmatic expressions with the term en: ama-gal en is not, however, a title created *ad hoc* for Lady Dusigu, since mothers of foreign sovereigns are also called ama-gal en. Furthermore, Tonietti demonstrated that the sign gal which often follows the term for mother is a diachronic variant and does not correspond to a difference in meaning.<sup>243</sup> On the contrary, the expression ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM did not hold the same social relevance: furthermore, the mother of the queen did not belong to the group of the Ladies of the court. In her analysis of Zimirî-Lîm's harem, Ziegler observed that at Mari the queen mother held as well a prominent position:<sup>244</sup> in Dusigu's case, however, it must be stressed that she was not the queen, but a secondary wife, and she cannot thus be addressed as "queen-mother." Since a place called *Du-si-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> is mentioned in the documents as part of Yibriyum's possessions, Biga hypothesized that she originally belonged the vizier's family.<sup>245</sup>

The mother of the king is immediately followed in the dam en lists by the queen, who will become the most important Lady of the court after Dusigu's death. In some lists, between the queen and the other ladies are mentioned some among the daughters of the king who are probably going to be chosen as divine ladies. The → DAM.DINGIR (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153) probably stayed together with the women of the court until their investiture as priestesses: they were probably chosen to become DAM.DINGIR when still young, and after some time they left the court to reach the temple (see also further). The composition of the fourth group of women, the ladies, is more difficult to characterize: a distinction must be made, first of all, between the king's wives and the Ladies of the court. The group of the dam en was most probably characterized by the presence of numerous women: as Milano observed, among the dam en are not only the king's wives, but also other women who were connected to the king through different kinship ties, like his daughters (and the daughters of previous kings), and his sons' wives.<sup>246</sup> Regarding this latter sub-group, [75.405 = A IX 52] mentions, for example, 2 dam / Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu / A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup> and 2 dam / Iḫ-su-ub-da-mu / Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>, two sons of the king, who were thus living in the Palace.

Tonietti divided the available lists according to the names of the women who appear at the beginning: it is thus possible to identify five groups (Kirsut, Ra'utum, Tagmul-Damu, Dusigu, and MALIKTUM). The lists named after Kirsut (K<sub>1,3</sub>) and Ra'utum (R<sub>1,2</sub>) are the most ancient, and could precede or be contemporary to the first lists named after Dusigu.<sup>247</sup> [75.1321 = A I 11] (K<sub>1</sub>), also mentions the funerary ceremony for 'Adatta, mother of Dusigu, who died in year Yb.1 (see Table 4, p.74): it follows that all the lists concerning the women of the king date (from an administrative point of

<sup>242</sup> See also Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), pp.513, who suggests that Dusigu was Yirkab-Damu's favorite.

<sup>243</sup> Tonietti, *NABU* 2009/63 (2009), Tonietti, in *Gs Bottéro* (2009), pp.264–65.

<sup>244</sup> Ziegler, *FM* 4 (1999), pp.50–51.

<sup>245</sup> Biga, *VO* 12 (2000), p.62 and fn.6.

<sup>246</sup> See Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), p.335–36.

<sup>247</sup> The chronological data refer to major events mentioned in the texts. Lists K<sub>2,3</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, D<sub>1,2</sub>, DA<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>5-6</sub>, M<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>3</sub>, M<sub>4</sub>, M<sub>7</sub>, and M<sub>12</sub> are still unpublished: however, other parts of these texts are quoted in several article. The following discussion refers to the data collected in: Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Tonietti, *NABU* 1990/55 (1990); Tonietti, *NABU* 2009/4 (2009); Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010).

view) to king Yitgar-Damu's reign. Lists R<sub>1-2</sub> and D<sub>1-3</sub> date between Yb.14, the year of Yitgar-Damu's marriage with Tabur-Damu, and the following year. The second group of the Dusigu lists (D<sub>5-7</sub>) are marked by the absence of Zugalum, who married the king of Harran in year Y.-D.1 and therefore left the court. Zugalum appears in four lists (D<sub>1-3</sub> and DA<sub>1</sub>): DA<sub>1</sub> is the first, being dated to the year when Simin-kaspi married the king of Burman, while D<sub>1-3</sub> date to the year of Yitgar-Damu's marriage with Tabur-Damu.<sup>248</sup> Since the mother of the king died during year Y.-D.3 or 4, all the lists mentioning Dusigu are dated before her death, while all the lists mentioning the queen at beginning date to the second half of Yitgar-Damu's reign. However, lists D<sub>1-6</sub> still mention the queen by her proper name (Tabur-Damu), her name being replaced with the title *MA-LIK-TUM* only starting from list D<sub>7</sub>. [75.2502] and [75.1688] mention the funerary gifts for Yibriyum's mother on the occasion of her death during year Yb.15: according to Biga, the queen is referred to as *Da-bur-da-mu MA-LIK-TUM* in [75.2502], *i.e.* the year following her marriage to the king, because the scribe «voit encore la nécessité de définir Tabur-Damu comme *maliktum*, tandis que, par la suite, elle ne sera plus mentionnée que comme 'la reine'». <sup>249</sup>

Ib.1	Death of 'Adatta	K <sub>1</sub> K <sub>2</sub> K <sub>3</sub>
Yb.14-15	Yitgar-Damu's marriage with Tabur-Damu Simin-kaspi's marriage with the king of Burman?	R <sub>1</sub> , R <sub>2</sub> DA <sub>1</sub> D <sub>1</sub> D <sub>2</sub> D <sub>3</sub> D <sub>4</sub>  DA <sub>2</sub>
Y.-D.1	Zugalum's marriage with the king of Harran	D <sub>5</sub> D <sub>6</sub> D <sub>7</sub> * D <sub>8</sub>
Y.-D.4	Dusigu's Death	M <sub>1</sub> R <sub>3</sub> M <sub>2</sub>
Y.-D.5		R <sub>4</sub> M <sub>3</sub> R <sub>5</sub> M <sub>4-12</sub>

Table 4 - Chronological data concerning the lists of dam en.

[75.2417] and parallel text [75.1730+ = M 7 34] register garments for persons belonging to the Eblatite court going to Binaš on the occasion of the wedding between Yitgar-Damu and Tabur-Damu.<sup>250</sup> As already mentioned, the marriage between the king and queen is one of the most important events mentioned in the Archives: the composition of the group of Ladies and other women who fol-

<sup>248</sup> Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010), p.78 fn.105.

<sup>249</sup> Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.48; [75.2502] is quoted in Pomponio, *AfO* 40-41 (1992-1994), p.44.

<sup>250</sup> [75.2417] is quote and discussed in Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012).



lowed the celebrations is therefore of particular interest. Both texts list the dam en, and some among the daughters of the king. [75.2417] is, however, more detailed than [75.1730+ = M 7 34]: Ra'utum, Kirsut, Ḥinna-Šamaš, Mašgašadu, Rabatum, Maqaratu, Rabatum-II, and Tašma'-Damu are wives of the king (dam en); Ma'ud and Šanī'-Mari are elder daughters of the king (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en maḥ<sub>2</sub>); 'Arzatu and Zugalum are young daughters of the king (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en tur). Also some women belonging to Yibriyum's family are present: 'Azimu, Yibbi-Dikir's mother; Tīrut, Tihwā-Damu, and Kirsut, women (dam-dam) of Yibriyum. [75.2417] also proves that three women named Kirsut are attested in the documents: a woman of Yibriyum (A), a daughter of Yibriyum (B) (probably named after her mother?), and one woman of the king (C). Although Kirsut (B) and (C) could be the same person, *i.e.*, one of Yibriyum's daughter married king Yiṭgar-Damu, this does not seem to be the case since, from a chronological point of view Kirsut (B) belonged to Yibbi-Dikir's generation (she is, in fact, his [half-]sister), while Kirsut (C) is a women of the king since Arrulum's vizierate.

The eight wives of the king mentioned in [75.2417] are all referred to as dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> or dam maḥ en in other documents:<sup>251</sup> the presence of an internal hierarchy among the Ladies of the court is further demonstrated by the presence of at least two groups of ladies, often mentioned in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712, the senior ladies (dam maḥ en) and the junior ladies of the king (dam en tur). The reason for a subdivision in sub-groups is difficult to determine, but probably indicates a difference in rank based on age and/or prestige. In the texts of the Small Archive L.2712, queen Tabūr-Damu receives the same food rations as other two women: Tiš(tī)-Damu and Ḥinna-Šamaš in [75.229 = A IX 13], Tašma'-Damu and Ḥinna-Šamaš in [75.537 = A IX 44]. Milano suggested that these three women were of equal rank: a woman named Tašma'-Damu was king Yigriš-Ḥalab's woman, and her death is recorded in [75.2601 = A I 44].<sup>252</sup> *Ti-iš-<te->da-mu* is a daughter of the king: her wedding was celebrated in year Y.-D.8 and she gave birth to a daughter in Y.-D.10;<sup>253</sup> her death is recorded in the unpublished texts [75.2276], dated to Y.-D.14-16.<sup>254</sup> The widespread use of the name Ḥinna-Šamaš makes it impossible to identify the identity of this dam en.

### 3.2.5. The Sons and Daughters of the King

The children of the royal couple, as well as the children of the king and his secondary wives, are called “sons/daughters of the king” (dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> en). This title, however, does not carry any age connotation: as it will be demonstrated, an individual not only retains the title of “son/daughter of the king” during adult age but also when a new king succeeds his/her father. As it has already been stressed (§3.1.1 Basic Concepts, p.41), the status of dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> en had a strong social connotation, and determined the actor's position as a member of a prestigious social group: for these reasons, dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> en can be considered a *title*, *i.e.*, a designation of rank and social status. Before analyzing its social implications, it must be noted that also the expressions dumu-nita and dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM (“son/daughter a of queen”) are attested, albeit to a far lesser extent: both generally refer to the birth of a child or to particular cultic events. The main difference between the titles of dumu-nita/

<sup>251</sup> See the prosopographic data collected sub → dam [PN/en (GN)] (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249).

<sup>252</sup> [75.2601 = A I 44]. o.VI:20-VII:3. This text has been studied in detail by Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016):

<sup>253</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX, (2018), p.141.

<sup>254</sup> Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002), pp.176–77; Archi, *JCS* 63 (2011), pp.18–19 (see, however, fn.14); Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), p.27 fn.70; Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.262 and fn.62.

mi<sub>2</sub> en and dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM is that the children of the queen are rarely mentioned by name, especially on the occasion of their birth:<sup>255</sup> the same stands true for the children of the queens of foreign kingdoms and the children of women of the Eblaite court.<sup>256</sup> All these children were sons and daughters of kings: the necessity to point out the female parent must have thus had a different explanation than conveying a particular social status. As opposed to dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> en, in fact, the mentions of dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM do not carry any explicit social implication and only have the purpose of specifying the gender of the child. The only social connotation underlying the title of dumu-nita/mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM is that the child is the son/daughter of the king *and* the queen and is therefore the child of the royal couple.<sup>257</sup> This seemingly simple observation has two important consequences from a social perspective: first, the fact that at birth the children of the royal family are never mentioned by their name makes them practically invisible from an administrative point of view. Their existence remains hidden behind that of the ladies of the court (mothers, sisters, wet-nurses, and midwives) until the moment in which they actively become part of the administrative life. Stages in life as infancy and childhood are scarcely documented in the Archives: children were breast-fed even up to two years after birth,<sup>258</sup> and were most likely taken care of by the women of the court until they reached sexual maturity. Tonietti has been able to reconstruct that ZugalUM, daughter of the king and queen of Ḫar-ran, was roughly fourteen years old when mentioned in the documents for the first time (Yb.14): it can be thus safely assumed that for girls the transition from childhood to adult age roughly coincided with sexual maturity.

As Tonietti demonstrated, the lists of the dam en are characterized by a high internal hierarchy: as a consequence, such hierarchy probably existed also among the sons and daughters of the king. The dumu-nita and the dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en are listed in groups: although not rigid as the hierarchy among the dam en, this more or less fixed order reflects the social position of these individuals within the court. Presumably, the social position of each son/daughter of the king depended on the mother's position among the wives of the king: the one great exception to this rule is, however, the crown prince. Yirḫaq-Damu is almost never mentioned together with his brothers or sisters, most probably because he enjoyed a particular status (see further). He is, however, referred to as son of the king: on the contrary, his father Yitḡar-Damu is almost never mentioned as dumu-nita en, although it must be stressed that he was very young when he became king, and his participation to the administrative life of the Palace had probably just started when he became king of Ebla.

As noted earlier, the dumu-nita en are often mentioned in groups: in most cases the scribes registered also their title of “sons of the king” at end of each list as it happens for the lists of dam en. When mentioned outside the groups, however, it is difficult to distinguish between sons of the king who bore the same name, since dynastic names are attested both for men and women (see *e.g.* SAGdamu or Kešdut). Furthermore, the dumu-nita en sporadically appear in other groups: consequently, not all lists containing the names of some among the sons of the king are in fact lists of dumu-nita en. Therefore, the only reliable data are the lists in which individuals are explicitly defined as dumu-nita en. The prosopographic data relating to the king's children were collected by Archi et al.,<sup>259</sup> who dis-

<sup>255</sup> See for example [75.1525 = A IV 18] o.VII:25-26; [75.1276 = A IV 7] o.XI:18-r.XII:2 and r.VII:17-19, *maš-da-bu*<sub>3</sub> dumu-nita MA-LIK-TUM; [75.1276 = A IV 7] o.VIII:6-7. Note that [75.1525 = A IV 18] and [75.1276 = A IV 7] belong to the same year, the one during which the son of the queen was born. See Biga and Pomponio, *JCS* 42 (1990), pp.186–87, and fn.17, and Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993) pp.109–10.

<sup>256</sup> See for example the case of Ḫinna-Šamaš, studied by Bonechi, in *CMAO* 18 (2018).

<sup>257</sup> See Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993), p.110 fn.10, and Stieglitz, in *Eblaïtica* 4 (2002), p.216–17.

<sup>258</sup> See Biga, *VO* 12 (2000), p.65.

<sup>259</sup> Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), pp.222–32.

tinguished at least two groups of *dumu-nita en*, an older one and a more recent one (Table 5, p.77). In light of the material published since 1988, it is possible to identify further data concerning these groups of individuals (see Table 6, p.78). Yigriš-Damu, TUG<sub>2</sub>:DU<sub>8</sub>-Damu, 'Illum-'abī, and Rūzī-Damu are part of the sons of the first group: they are mentioned exclusively in the documents dated to ArrULUM's vizierate, and they were thus born before Yitgar-Damu became king.

First group	Second group
Maḥradamu	Iksubdamu
Ilumaḥi	Zedamu
Idanikimu	Gadum
I'in-d'Ada	Zibdamu
Šuradamu	Sagdamu
Arwa	Ibtedamu
Zudu	Ilzidamu
Ḥaba	Neardamu
	Irkabrizu

Table 5 - The groups of *dumu-nita en* identified in Archi et al. (1988).

The historical reasons behind their disappearance after Yirkab-Damu's death are unclear, as well as the identity of their father: sons of Ancient group 1a could have been Yirkab-Damu's as well as Yigriš-Ḥalab's sons (see Table 6, p.78). Part of this group was also SAG-Damu, probably very young, since he is mentioned along with his wet-nurse:

[75. 2161 = A XV 45] o.VI:6-9: 1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / SAG-da-mu / dumu-nita en; «1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI garment (for) the wet-nurse (of) SAG-Damu, son of the king.»

[75.2165 = A XV 47] mentions SAG-Damu, son of the king, on the occasion of his death:

[75.2165 = A XV 47] r.VI:2-5: 1 gir<sub>2</sub> mar-tu ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / SAG-da-mu / dumu-nita en / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP; «1 golden amorite dagger, (for) Sag-Damu, son of the king, (for his) funaray ceremony.»

This text is particularly interesting, since it mentions 21 “funerary ceremonies” (E<sub>2</sub>×PAP): four of these refer respectively to Yigriš-Ḥalab, ArrULUM, the king (in office?),<sup>260</sup> the lugal Sagusi, and Dur-dulum, father-in-law of Lady Dusigu's sister. It is not possible to make solid assumptions about the causes that led to the death of these individuals, but this high number of funerary ceremonies in a single month (*iti i-si*) is certainly noteworthy.

The group of children of the king just described (ancient 1a) is by far the oldest: there are, however, no data to establish with absolute certainty whether they were sons of Yirkab-Damu or his predecessor Yigriš-Ḥalab. However, in [75.1535 = A XV 26] two groups of 5 and 6 men are mentioned, six of which are definitely *dumu-nita en* (marked with \*):

[75.1535 = A XV 26] o.VIII:9-IX:2: 5 aktum<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / SAG-da-mu\* / GABA-da-mu / TUG<sub>2</sub>-DU<sub>8</sub>-da-mu\* / I-ti-d' A<sub>3</sub>-da\* / 6 TAR zara<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / I-ti-ni-ki-mu\* / Ma-ḥa-ra-da-mu\* / A-ḥu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>-lum / A-bur-da-si-in / I-in-d' A<sub>3</sub>-da\* / GU<sub>4</sub>-da-mu;

If all these individuals were children of the king, it is perhaps possible that the second group (“ancient group 1b”) is made up of children of the reigning king (Yirkab-Damu), while the former are children

<sup>260</sup> On the identity of this character, indicated only as *en*, see Pomponio, *ARET XV / 2* (2013), pp.114–15 ad §(53). According to the relative chronology commonly accepted among scholars, Yirkab-Damu died a few months after vizier ArrULUM.

of the previous king(s). That the second group is made up of younger people seems to be proved by the presence of Maḥra-Damu, perhaps one of the longest-lived among the king's sons.<sup>261</sup> Furthermore, the division of the *dumu-nita en* into two groups seems to reflect the subdivision that occurs in texts dated after ArrULUM's vizierate between the groups of sons of the previous king(s) and the reigning *en* identified by Archi et al.. It should also be emphasized that the attestations of the ancient group 1b in the texts dated to ArrULUM's vizierate are extremely rare.

The data presented above are summarized in Table 6, in which the king's sons are listed according to their membership to each group (for the most recent group, see below) and, as consequence, of the father of whom they were children. This table might lead to the conclusion that ancient group 1b was contemporary to ArrULUM, partially contradicting what has just been explained. However, it must be stressed that up to a certain age, the king's sons were administratively invisible: the sons of group 1b were probably still very young during ArrULUM's vizierate, and their existence is revealed only during the reign of the following king.

	Group 1a	Group 1b	Group 2
Yigriš-Ḥalab?	GABA- <i>da-mu</i> TUG <sub>2</sub> -DU <sub>8</sub> - <i>da-mu</i> I-ti- <sup>d</sup> A <sub>3</sub> - <i>da</i> Iḡ-ri <sub>2</sub> -iš- <i>da-mu</i> I <sub>3</sub> -lum-a-bi <sub>2</sub> Ru <sub>12</sub> -zi- <i>da-mu</i>		
Yirkab-Damu / ArrULUM		Maḥ-ra- <i>da-mu</i> I <sub>3</sub> -lum-a-ḥi I-da-ni-ki- <i>mu</i> I-in- <sup>d</sup> A <sub>3</sub> - <i>da</i> Šu-ra- <i>da-mu</i> Ar-wa Zu-du Ḥa-ba SAG- <i>da-mu</i> A A-ḥu-ma-i <sub>3</sub> -lum? A-bur- <i>da-si-in</i> ? GU <sub>4</sub> - <i>da-mu</i> ?	
Yitḡar-Damu / Yibriyum			Iḡ-su-ub- <i>da-mu</i> Ze <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-mu</i> Ga-du-um Zi-ib- <i>da-mu</i> SAG- <i>da-mu</i> B Ib-te- <i>da-mu</i> I <sub>2</sub> -zi- <i>da-mu</i> NE-ar <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-mu</i> Ir <sub>3</sub> -kab-ri <sub>2</sub> -zu Ib-za- <i>da-mu</i>

Table 6 - Revised chronology of the kings' sons.

<sup>261</sup> It does not seem that the individual named Maḥradamu attested in the texts later on is a homonym, since he is often quoted with *dumu-nita en* belonging to his generation (see below).

The groups 1b and 2 are mentioned together only in [75.2280]:<sup>262</sup> according to Archi et al., this document “was recorded not long before a new sovereign (Yirkab-Damu or his successor) took the throne.”<sup>263</sup> The text mentions, however, precious gifts for the king and crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu,<sup>264</sup> who was thus already born at that time.<sup>265</sup> Maḥra-Damu, Ḥaba, Šura-Damu, all mentioned in [75.2280], thus seem to be the most long-living among the sons of group 1b. Maḥra-Damu, 'I-lum-'aḥī, Yīda-'Niḡmu, Ḥin-Hadda e Šura-Damu are still alive in Yb. 14, since they were all present at Yitḡar-Damu's and Tabūr-Damu's wedding ([75.1730 = M 7 34]). They were probably Yirkab-damu's sons: according to Biga's interpretation, Yitḡar-Damu was still a child when he became king, and for the first years of his reign the power was held by Lady Dusigu, his mother, and vizier Yibriyum. Yitḡar-Damu married his queen, Tabūr-Damu, only in his fourteenth year of reign: it is not possible to prove that Yitḡar-Damu did not already have other secondary wives and children before his marriage with Tabūr-Damu, but he was certainly too young when he became king to be the father of the sons of the king mentioned in [75.1730 = M 7 34]. As already stated, an interesting case is that of Maḥra-Damu, who is already attested in the texts of ArrULUM's period: his mention in [75.2280] allows us to establish with absolute certainty that he was already alive when crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu entered the administrative life of the Palace. Assuming that Maḥra-Damu was born in the middle of ArrULUM's vizierate (Ar.3), he would have been seventeen by the time Yitḡar-Damu married Tabūr-Damu. If [75.2280] is to be dated a few years before the destruction, as Biga suggests, Maḥra-Damu would have been close to be 40 years old. A last datum to be taken into consideration is the mention of Maḥra-Damu and Ḥaba in [75.1775 = M 7 48]: the text is dated to Y.-D. 10, the same year during which Tišā'-Lim and the king of Burman died. At this time, they would have been around 30 years old. In conclusion, the dumu-nita en of the group 1b probably belongs to the same generation as Yitḡar-Damu (G -1) and were his [half?-]brothers.

Visualizing the prosopographic data (mostly from unpublished texts) collected in Archi et al. in relation to the dumu-nita en, some further observations can be made. The following graph (Figure 11, p.80) is based on a dataset consisting of the attestations of each son of the king in the documents, as in the example in Table 7:<sup>266</sup>

PN	Text
<i>A-a-du-lum</i>	75.1860
<i>A-a-du-lum</i>	A XII 26
<i>A-a-du-lum</i>	75.2502
<i>A-da-mu</i>	75.1522
<i>A-ḥu-su-ib<sub>2</sub>-da-mu</i>	75.2502
<i>Ar-wa</i>	A IV 19
<i>Ar-wa</i>	A VIII 542
<i>Ar-wa</i>	75.1362
...	...

Table 7 - Sample from the dataset referred to the dumu-nita en.

<sup>262</sup> [75.2280] o.VII:8-VIII:11: *Ig-su-ub-da-mu, Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, [...], Ga-du-um, Zi-ib<sub>2</sub>-d[a-mu], Ib-te-da-mu, Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-da-mu, I3-kab-ri<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>, Ne-ar<sub>3</sub>-da-mu; o.X:2-6: Maḥ-ra-da-mu, Ḥa-ba, Šu-ra-da-mu. Quoted in Archi et al., in *ARES I* (1988), p.231.*

<sup>263</sup> Archi et al., in *ARES I* (1988), p.222.

<sup>264</sup> Archi, in *Subartu IV/2* (1998), p.6.

<sup>265</sup> According to Biga, in *Fs Lanfranchi* (2014), p.76, [75.2280] might be contemporary to the texts mentioning the marriage between Ta'mur-Dašin and the king of Dulu, which took place not long before the destruction of the city.

<sup>266</sup> An interactive version of the graph is available at the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/dumu-nita-en/index.html>.



well as when a new king succeeded their father. Like their male counterparts, the daughters of the king probably entered the administrative record some time after their birth: in the case of females, however, this time span can be, even though tentatively, quantified. The most remarkable case is probably that of ZugalUM, daughter of the king who became queen of Ḫarran during the year Y.-D. 1: in the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Yiṭgar-Damu's reign she was thus old enough to marry a foreign king. According to Tonietti's reconstruction,<sup>268</sup> it is possible to further argue that ZugalUM was Dusigu's daughter (*i.e.*, Yiṭgar-Damu's full-sister) and that she was roughly fourteen when she first appears in the documents. She is mentioned as dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en tur only in [75.2417] (Yb.14): Yiṭgar-Damu was too young to be her father, and the data collected in Archi et al. demonstrate that ZugalUM belonged to the generation of the dumu-nita en group 1b, *i.e.*, Yiṭgar-Damu's brothers. As previously mentioned, the children of the royal family seem to be almost completely absent from the administrative records until they actively become part of the administrative life: in ZugalUM's case, she probably entered the record when she reached sexual maturity.

The daughters of the king probably lived at court until they married or became priestesses. In both cases, the female relatives of the king (and in particular his daughters), had an important political role: the importance of the → DAM.DINGIR's role seems to be confirmed by the fact that they are often mentioned at the beginning of the dam en lists, immediately after the mother of the king and the queen. After being chosen as divine ladies, they probably left the court and the Palace: Tinīb-dūrum, for example, left Ebla to reach Luban, where she had been appointed as divine lady of the god Hadda-Ba'al, with rich gifts and several young girls, offered by some among the most important high officials.

The other Eblaite women belonging to the élite who left the court became queens of 'foreign' kingdoms. Noteworthy is that the 'foreign' queens whose names are preserved were Eblaite women: ZugalUM, queen of Ḫarran, was the daughter of king Yiṭgar-Damu; Simini-kaspi, queen of Burman, and Tagriš-damu, queen of Nagar, were daughters of the king; Taddi-Nintu(ṯu), probably an Eblaite princess, was queen of Lumnan; also Tagmul-damu, daughter of the king, was queen of Lumnan; and Tīša'-līm, queen of Emar, was probably from Ebla, although she is never mentioned as a dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> PN/en. As [75.1867] demonstrates, interdynastic marriage was a practice common to other kingdoms as well:

[75.1867] r. III:8-17: 2 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tuḡ2</sup> 4 bu-DI sag ku<sub>3</sub>-gi GA<sub>2</sub>×LA<sub>2</sub> ša-pi 2 bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> / 2 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / Ra-'a<sub>3</sub>-ak<sup>ki</sup> / MA-LIK-TUM / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / MA-LIK-TUM / Ir-i-tum<sup>ki</sup> / EN-mar / šu mu-tak<sub>4</sub>, «2 zara<sub>6</sub> garments, 4 toggle-pins with golden 'head(s)', of the weigh of 42 (shekels of) silver, for two daughters of the king of Ra'ag, (they are) the queen of Abarsal, (and) the queen of Iritum».<sup>269</sup>

Similarly, although no data are available with regards to this matter, the female members of the royal families of other kingdoms could be chosen as DAM.DINGIR.

<sup>268</sup> On ZugalUM see Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010), esp. pp.77–79.

<sup>269</sup> Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987), p.47. The number of zara<sub>6</sub> garments suggests that two women were involved in the transaction. A set of one zara<sub>6</sub> garment and two toggle-pins is a common delivery (see *EbDA* s.v. bu-DI, passim).

### 3.3. Organization and Structure of Eblaite Society

As described in Chapter 2, the links between the different social positions identified through the contextual associations of the keywords have been graphically represented in Figure 12, p.99: the graph does not represent the structure of society, but the interactions between its main constituents. The interactions between the actors, however, outline a different picture than that emerging from a simple quantitative data analysis. First of all it must be underlined that at least two sectors are largely under-represented in the administrative record: the army and the male workers. As it can be noticed, very few terms have been collected with reference to war, army, and military hierarchy. To the two analyzed in the present study ( $\rightarrow$  aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>,  $\rightarrow$  zag-us<sub>2</sub>, §4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149), only *maš-bi<sub>2</sub>-tum*<sup>270</sup> and *u<sub>3</sub>-ma-nu*<sup>271</sup> (“army”) can be added: these two terms are, however, rarely attested and their usage is limited to chancery documents and lexical texts. Furthermore, as Milano wrote with reference to the Small Archive L.2712, an overall assessment of male working personnel is difficult:<sup>272</sup> men are almost exclusively accounted by the scribes in groups of twenty (e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>) or one-hundred (*ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>*). This division of labor into teams is likely to refer to individuals engaged in the primary production or military activities, but the documents do not provide precise data. Notwithstanding these gaps in the documentation, the graph clearly reflects the situation that emerges from a careful analysis of the documentation: women constitute the center around which very different activities revolve (productive, cultic, family-related). The male members of the élite, on the contrary, seem more directed towards the outside of the Palace, their degree of cohesion with the remaining actors being consistently lower.

#### 3.3.1. The Organization of Power

In the previous paragraph, the social positions of the main members of the royal family have been described. As already mentioned, the king’s family is the most prominent among the families active during the age of the Archives: the king’s extended family, however, should not be interpreted as a single nuclear group reigning indiscriminately over the others, nor as a model to be used as an explanation for the other macro-components of society. The vizier’s family was an equally large group based on the same kinship relationships: its importance from the point of view of political organization is undeniably a step below that of the king (see Plate II, p.97), but nevertheless extremely influential. As Porter wrote:

«Ebla is considered the paradigmatic Syrian example of a highly stratified and centralized state where all material wealth, and consequently power, was vested in the royal family based on the discovery of a monumental building called Palace G and the 17,000-odd tablets it contained [...]. A detailed reexamination of these materials, however, provides evidence of multiple kinds of relationships between people, and between people and otherworldly beings, that alters our picture of the organization and operation of power there, as well as other aspects of ancient life.»<sup>273</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Attested only twice, in [75.2290 = A XIII 13] o.VI:10 and [75.2429 = M 12 36] o.XXVIII:3. The term is further attested in the VE (140b), eren<sub>2</sub>-KI.GAR / *maš-bi<sub>2</sub>-tum* (var. *u<sub>3</sub>-ma-num<sub>2</sub>* / *maš-ba<sub>2</sub>-tum*); see also Fronzaroli, *ARET XIII* (1003), p.139; Conti, *MisEb 3* (1990), p.84ff.; Tonietti, *ZA 100* (2010), p.63.

<sup>271</sup> Catagnoti, *ARET XVI* (2013), p.274. Note that *u<sub>3</sub>-ma-num<sub>2</sub>* is the gloss of (140b), eren<sub>2</sub>-KI.GAR (see previous footnote).

<sup>272</sup> Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), p.337

<sup>273</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.199. Note, however, that the (Great) Archive(s) did not contain 17,000 tablets;



The importance of the family of the king is above all highlighted by the occurrences of the term *en*: the mentions of this term in the documents belong for the most part to syntagmatic expressions (*du-mu-mi<sub>2</sub>/nita en*, *dam en*, *e<sub>2</sub> en*), and the textual patterns demonstrate that the king (as a social role) is often considered the Ego of many kinship as well as social relationships. As Porter stressed, however, the family of the king is not a sort of model on which society is based, but a «first family among families» to which the majority of other social ties converge.<sup>274</sup> This convergence can be explained by the fact that most of the documents concern the internal management of the Palace: the *directionality* of these documents is thus internal to the *e<sub>2</sub> en* (both as physical space and as a social group), while the documents whose directionality is turned outwards are the chancery and diplomatic ones. As Veenhof wrote:

«We use ‘archives’ as a designation of what archival science calls a ‘fonds d’archives’, that is ‘the total of records accumulated during the time a particular task was performed by an institution or person’, to which some would like to add ‘and still present with those who made them out or used them.’ These conditions are met by many cuneiform archives, which were normally used and kept growing until the very moment they stopped, usually in consequence of some catastrophe.»<sup>275</sup>

The keywords here are “institution or person:” as already stressed, the Palace can be interpreted as an Organization, *i.e.*, a «social structure created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals.»<sup>276</sup> While its final goal may be difficult to ascertain, this definition brings to the foreground two basic elements which are characteristic of the Palace/Organization: the individuals *and* the patterns of relationships among them, and the constant flow of information. The Palace/Organization may be viewed as a single entity when it interacts with the ‘outside,’ but is in turn locally composed of individuals and the relationships that are established between them. Furthermore, one of the main purposes of an archive is information storage and retrieval: the widely attested term *nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an* demonstrates that information was an extremely valuable asset also in the past.<sup>277</sup> The significant accounting activity which characterized the Eblaite administration for at least three generations demonstrates the existence of an organization where communications and information storage, retrieval, and exchange, were of critical importance. In the accounting process, however,

«accountants ultimately have to represent complex multi-dimensional realities through metaphorical constructs that are always limited and incomplete. Accounting practice is framed by an overarching metaphor encouraging a numerical view of reality.»<sup>278</sup>

Consequently, the apparent importance of the royal family, although undeniable from the perspective of the Palace/Organization, is the product of the data collected in the administrative record which, in turn, was produced by the organization itself.

As already stressed, it is difficult to establish which were the duties of the king, especially with respect to the vizier: according to administrative documents, the → *en* was mainly concerned

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most probably, the tablets contained in the Great Archive were between 4,000-5,000; see Matthiae, *Archivi Reali* (2008), p.80. The number mentioned by Porter refers to the inventory numbers recorded during the excavation, which corresponds to both tablets and fragments.

<sup>274</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.202.

<sup>275</sup> Veenhof, *RAI* 30 (1986), p.7, with bibliography.

<sup>276</sup> Scott, *Organizations* (2003), p.11

<sup>277</sup> On the interpretation of *nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an* as “news,” see Sallaberger, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), pp.600–25.

<sup>278</sup> Morgan, *Accounting* 13 (1988), p.480.

with cultic activities, while the vizier led the army in battle. It must be stressed, however, that two fundamental elements must be adequately characterized in order to understand the role of the king: the relationship of the latter with the vizier from the point of view of both roles' rights/duties, and a historically contextualized study of the correspondence between the king and the vizier in the chancery and diplomatic documents. ARRULUM, Yibriyum, and Yibbi-Dikir were certainly → lugal, as the mu-DU texts demonstrate, but these documents provide no elements explaining their prominence with respect to the other lords. The viziers and the lords are omnipresent throughout the administrative record: they are not, however, mentioned by their title (lugal), but only by their proper names. The lords are mentioned with their title only in the mu-DU documents: not only the viziers, but all the members of this group are never referred to by their title in the MATs, and only a holistic approach, as the data referred to the maškim demonstrate, reveals these hidden connections (see the discussion sub → maškim, §4.5 Producers, p.186).

Furthermore, the title of → lugal might have been hereditary or characterized by a form of transmission strongly based on kinship: as it can be noticed in Plate II, p.97, after ARRULUM the vizierate was transmitted from father to son; this situation also applies to other families of the lords, as the case of Lord Yiqqī's family demonstrates (see Figure 13, p.118). The documents concerning the divisions of plots of land and estates among the sons of three lugal further proves that this form of power transmission strongly based on kinship was also combined with a stable presence on the territory (see §3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52). From this point of view the family of the king and that of the vizier share a common trait: they are both characterized by strong interconnections determined by kinship relations, without a true hereditary principle being demonstrable.

Among the lugal were also chosen the judges (→ di-ku<sub>5</sub>): although most documents concerning their duties are still unpublished, their legal activity is sporadically mentioned in the administrative documents. An example is [75.2428 = M 12 35], in which judge Yišma'-damu is involved in an 'international' legal dispute concerning Ebla, Armi, and other cities or towns locate on the border (ki-sur ki-sur). Noteworthy is the fact that the judges were also in charge of resolving litigations concerning rural estates transactions: all judges were, however, chosen among the lugal, and it is in fact in the mu-DU documents concerning the lords' activities that the judges are often mentioned.

Another social position of fundamental importance in the management of power and control over the territory are the → abba<sub>2</sub>. The only available PNs referred to abba<sub>2</sub>, however, reveal a situation completely different to that characterizing the lords: in [75.2331 = A XX 19] o.XI:13-XII3 (see Table 9, p.104) ten individuals, qualified as abba<sub>2</sub>, receive one complete set of textiles. Among them are three sons of the king, three of Yibriyum's sons, and three lugal. The abba<sub>2</sub> were thus probably nominated or selected among the individuals belonging to the Palace élite (the sons of the king) and among the heads of the most important families (the lugal): how this selection took place is, however, impossible to determine.

A connection thus emerges from the data here presented: the lugal probably controlled the territories surrounding Ebla, and among them were chosen the high representatives and the judges. That the lugal had control over the territory is demonstrated by the documents concerning the division of plots of land and estates among their sons:<sup>279</sup> a further piece of evidence, although of difficult interpretation, is the cult associated with standing stones.<sup>280</sup> The abba<sub>2</sub>, however, were not a sort of senate

<sup>279</sup> See §3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52. Note that the lugal and the judges who had to resolve litigations over properties and estates thus belong to the same group.

<sup>280</sup> See the data collected sub → lugal (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

or an oligarchy/aristocracy, as they have been defined, but were chosen to represent Ebla élite power on particular occasions: similarly, the high representatives of the chief families of ‘foreign’ kingdoms represented the main families of their kingdoms at the court of Ebla.

These three social positions (lugal, abba<sub>2</sub>, di-ku<sub>5</sub>), characterized by a strong political and territorial component, partly overlap: among the abba<sub>2</sub> are the lugal, who can in turn perform the function of judges. However, the rules that determine these intersections of roles are difficult to establish. In addition, the presence of ca. 50 abba<sub>2</sub> mentioned in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712 slightly resembles the 30-50 military commanders (→ aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>) recognized by Bonechi in his study on the Ebla army: prosopographical data suggest, however, that the military commanders were (at least in part) chosen among the lords: the army was most likely led by the vizier, although data referred to military organization at Ebla are extremely scanty

In addition to an intense military activity, however, Ebla maintained political, economic, and social relationships with numerous other political entities in its geographical horizon: part of these relations is reflected not only in diplomatic documents, but also in the administrative record. This is demonstrated not only by the constant presence of ‘foreigners’ at court (more or less permanent), but also by the interdynastic marriage policy carried out by Ebla. This policy has so far been investigated from the point of view of Ebla, *i.e.*, through the study of high-ranking Eblaite women who married ‘foreign’ sovereigns. Two observations are in order: all the young Eblaite women (sisters or daughters of the kings) who left Ebla to marry a ‘foreign’ sovereign became queens.<sup>281</sup> With this respect they hold in the destination country the same position that at Ebla was held by Tabūr-Damu: the fact that all these women became queens, and not just Ladies at the court of a foreign king, is certainly noteworthy.<sup>282</sup> Furthermore, interdynastic marriage as a political instrument was not Ebla’s prerogative: it can be safely assumed that other political entities adopted the same marriage policy, as the following passage demonstrates.

[75.1867] r. III:8-17: 2 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> 4 bu-DI sag ku<sub>3</sub>-gi GA<sub>2</sub>×LA<sub>2</sub> ša-pi 2 bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> / 2 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / Ra-’a<sub>3</sub>-ak<sup>ki</sup> / MA-LIK-TUM / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / MA-LIK-TUM / Ir-i-tum<sup>ki</sup> / EN-mar / šu mu-tak<sub>4</sub>, «2 zara<sub>6</sub> garments, 4 toggle-pins with golden ‘head(s)’, of the weigh of 42 (shekels of) silver, for two daughters of the king of Ra’ag, (they are) the queen of Abarsal, (and) the queen of Iritum».<sup>283</sup>

As Ziegler noted for Zimirî-Lîm’s harem, the wives of the king were all ‘daughters of kings,’ *i.e.*, of ‘royal’ blood:<sup>284</sup> it can thus be assumed that also among the Ladies of the king of Ebla were high-ranking ‘foreign’ women who arrived in the City after marrying to the king. A possible clue comes from two Ladies of the court mentioned in the Small Archive L.2712, both named *Ha-na-ba-du*. In the documents of the Great Archive only three texts mention a woman named Ġanabatu: in two of these reference is made to one Ġanabatu lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en *Ša-dab*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> ([75.3821 = A III 740] o<sup>?</sup>.II’:2’-4’) and one Ġanabatu lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en *I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup> ([75.4403+ = A XII 243] o<sup>?</sup>.I’:12’-16’).

Like the Eblaite high-ranking women who became queen of foreign kingdoms through interdynastic marriages, also the divine ladies (→ DAM.DINGIR) had an important political role. These women all belonged to the Palace élite, since they were the daughters of the kings or the viziers: the importance of their role, both for Ebla’s political strategies and among the group of the Ladies of the court, is highlighted by the fact that they are mentioned at beginning of the dam en lists, immediately after

<sup>281</sup> See the data collected sub → MA-LIK-TUM (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

<sup>282</sup> An Eblaite high-ranking woman mentioned as dam en GN is so far unattested.

<sup>283</sup> Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987), p.47. The number of zara<sub>6</sub> garments suggests that two women were involved in the transaction. A set of one zara<sub>6</sub> garment and two toggle-pins is a common delivery (see *EbDA* s.v. bu-DI, passim).

<sup>284</sup> Ziegler, *FM* 4 (1999), p.44.

Lady Dusigu and the queen. The appointment of a Lady of the court as DAM.DINGIR was an important political matter, since it involved some among the most high-ranking officials: as [75.2022 = M 10 41 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.117–20] demonstrates, some of the lords offered to Tinīb-dūrum, soon-to-be divine lady of the god Hadda-Ba'al of Luban, silver, garments, and jewels, as well as a remarkable number of female servants.

As in Zimirī-Lîm's harem, which was composed by the female members of the royal family, the musicians, the personnel (maids, cooks, etc.), and three groups of guardians, to the group of the ladies of the court belonged the female relatives of the king: his wives, unmarried sisters and daughters, as well as different members of the Palace personnel. Particularly interesting is the presence at court of the group of female cultic dancers (→ NE.DI, §4.4 Entertainers, p.172) who are often mentioned in the documents after the ladies of the court. Some cultic dancers were also valets of the queen or wet-nurses (see sub → ga-du<sub>8</sub>, §4.5 Producers, p.186): they are often mentioned after the ladies of the court, as in [76.542 = A VIII 542] r.II:17-III:13. In this document (dam en list M<sub>9</sub>), after twenty-four Ladies of the king, are mentioned seventeen female cultic dancers and three daughters of the king: the presence of female performers is not surprising, since also in Zimirī-Lîm's harem were not only musicians, but also maids, cooks, and other attendants. More interesting is the fact that some female dancers act in some documents as wet-nurses. While the meaning of ga-du<sub>8</sub> as wet-nurse (ga “milk” + du<sub>8</sub> “to bring”) is not to be questioned, to this category of female personnel probably belonged not only women who breastfeed, but women who, in a broader sense, took care of children: it is thus possible that a dancer could occasionally be chosen as a wet-nurse, especially if she just gave birth to a child of her own. Another possible explanation is that Eblaite scribes indicated with the term ga-du<sub>8</sub> women who cared for children in a general sense: at Ebla the distinction between wet- and dry-nurses, which is attested in the Mari documents, is not present.

A further important piece of evidence with reference to the wet-nurses is their position within the dam en lists. Since the mentions of the Ladies of the court in these documents is characterized by a rigid hierarchy, it seems improbable that wet-nurses were randomly added to these lists. If, as has been suggested, the internal hierarchy which characterized the group of dam en also influenced the status of their children (especially male), it is likely that the position of the wet-nurses might be related to the woman they were providing their services for. Furthermore, the social status of a wet-nurse depended also on the child she was performing her services for: Qīšatu, the wet-nurse of king Yitgar-Damu, is one of the most often mentioned wet-nurses, and her death is recorded in [75.2247]; as Biga noticed, she probably spent her whole life at court.<sup>285</sup>

This description of the high-ranking members circulating in the Palace cannot disregard the more or less illustrious guests who often stayed at court even for extended periods of time.<sup>286</sup> Notably, these visits can be observed through the texts of the Small Archive L.2712: the fixed frequency with which rations are delivered to these guests reveal, for example, that several men from Armi lived in the Palace not long before the destruction of the City; likewise specific groups of individuals (such as Dāda-'il from Arḥadu, a diviner, a man from Dulu and two men from Nīrar) sojourned in the Palace, although the reason for their stay cannot be identified.

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<sup>285</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.258.

<sup>286</sup> On this topic see also the data collected in Archi, *Fs Neumann* (2018).

### 3.3.2. Life in the Palace and Administrative Organization

The topic concerning the Palace personnel and the life in the Palace has until now been addressed almost exclusively through the point of view of work organization. The theme has been addressed comprehensively since the early years of Eblaite studies: the methodology here adopted, however, allowed a more holistic view on many social positions which, in a more or less permanent way, participated in the life of the Palace. The following observations therefore aim at providing an overview of all the connections that emerged during the study of each social positions from the perspective of work organization.

As the discussion on the concept of household emphasized (§3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52), the Palace, or “house of the king,” corresponds both to the king’s extended family and the Palace/Organization as a productive unit. Generally speaking, the Palace personnel is composed both by men and women, *i.e.*, both by → guruš and → dam, as well as by → dumu-nita and → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>. This distinction is based on gender and probably age, *i.e.*, between men/women and experienced/non-experienced individuals. As stressed at the beginning of this paragraph, however, the male working personnel is almost exclusively accounted by the scribes in groups of twenty (e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>) or one-hundred (*ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>*): this “numerical view of reality” does not allow us to determine in which sectors these men were employed.<sup>287</sup> The main difference between male and female personnel is, in fact, that female work is described in detail: this situation can be partly attributed to the scarce mobility which characterized female labor compared to male one. Scarce mobility, however, does not imply segregation: there are no elements to argue that the women of the court, of any rank, were segregated; in addition, there is no evidence that a part of the Palace was exclusively attended by women.<sup>288</sup> The scarce mobility is connected to (and in part caused by) the type of activity in which female workers were employed, regardless of their social level: food production, child care, and manufacturing (mainly textile production). Women were thus, from an administrative point of view, more bounded to the Palace (intended as a physical space) than men: the key term is ‘administrative point of view,’ since data demonstrate that also women moved, even over long distances. Lady Dusigu and the queen, for example, undertook several cultic journeys:<sup>289</sup> other ladies of the court also traveled as far as to Emar to learn how to weave:

[75.10159] r.VI:13-VII:6: (3 t.) dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> geme<sub>2</sub>-geme<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM DU.DU *si-in Šadab*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> lu<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup> dub-zu-zu tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag; «3 textiles, for the apprentice female employees of the queen, (who) went to Šadab to learn (how) to weave»

As already stated, feminine Palace personnel was mainly concerned with food and textile production. Women involved in working activities are mainly addressed as → dam, “(adult) woman” and → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, “girl” (§4.5 Producers, p.186). As it can be noted in Figure 19, p.195, the term dam is most often attested in the documents of the Small Archives L.2712, while most occurrences of the term dam in the texts of the Great Archive L.2769 refer to the women of the royal family. Part of the women employed by the Palace were organized in some sorts of laboratories (see the discussions sub → ‘a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, → GA<sub>2</sub>×GI), mentioned only in the document [75.1743 = A XX 9] (see also Table 17, p.239). Archi recently suggested that they were «employed for menial functions:»<sup>290</sup> although these women mainly receive wool, among them are mentioned the dam ŠE+TIN (women entrusted with the

<sup>287</sup> Morgan, *Accounting* 13 (1988), p.480.

<sup>288</sup> See the data collected sub → dam (PN / en [GN]) (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249).

<sup>289</sup> See Biga, in *Atti dei convegni Lincei* 304 (2016).

<sup>290</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.215.

production of ‘beer’), the dam → *a-si-ra-tum* (waitresses), and other women probably in charge of food production. Biga suggested, however, that these → <sup>’</sup>*a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>* were «weaving houses»:<sup>291</sup> it must be stressed, however, that allotment of wool was not restricted to the female personnel responsible for textile manufacture: many individuals receive wool in the documents both as remuneration, as well as as raw material. Among these are, for example, the overseers of yoked kunga<sub>2</sub> equids<sup>292</sup> who receive wool for the manufacture of yoke collars, or the scribe Yādi and the cultic personnel involved in the purification of the house of the king.<sup>293</sup> Furthermore, women in charge of food and textile production are often mentioned (and sometimes mixed) together (see for example Table 16, p.238); consider for example the following document [75.537 = A IX 44]:

**[75.537 = A IX 44]**

o.I:1-III:9 nominative list of food rations for the dam en (maḥ)  
o.III:10-V:4: nominative list of food rations for the dam en tur  
o.V:5-VII:8: nominative list of food rations for the dam abba<sub>2</sub>  
o.VII:9-r.V:3: food rations for various categories of female personnel (fragmentary)

r.V,	5	19 še <i>bar</i>	19 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		19 dam	(for) 19 women
		giššerim	(of the) loom;
		3 š[e <i>bar</i> ]	3 [( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley]
		3 d[am]	(for) 3 women
	10	gada <sup>[lug2]</sup>	(of the) linen;
		2[+2 še <i>bar</i> ]	2+[2] ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		4 [dam]	(for) 4 women
		lu <sub>2</sub> gu	those of the spin;
		4 še <i>bar</i>	4 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		4 dam NE-ra	[...] (see discussion);
		2 še <i>b[ar]</i>	2 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		2 d[am]	(for) 2 women
VI,	1	ib <sub>2</sub> -III <sup>[lug2]</sup>	(of the) waistband;
		1 še <i>bar</i>	1 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		ṛ1` dam	(for) 1 woman
		lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -giš	the one of the oil;
	5	1 še <i>bar</i>	1 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		1 dam	(for) 1 woman
		lu <sub>2</sub> ḥa-ni <sub>2</sub>	the one of the ḥamru beverage;
		8 ½ še <i>bar</i>	19 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
		19 dam	(for) 19 women
	10	<i>a-si-ra-tum</i>	(who are) waitresses;
		3 dam	3 women
		4 dam	(and) 4 women

<sup>291</sup> Biga, in *Wool Economy* (2014), p.145.

<sup>292</sup> See sub → ugula, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101.

<sup>293</sup> See sub → dub-sar §4.5. Producers.

	lu <sub>2</sub> ŠE[+TIN]	those of the 'beer';
	4 dam	4 women
15	<i>a-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-tum</i>	bakers
	lu <sub>2</sub> 'ninda'	of the bread;
	1 dam lu <sub>2</sub> <i>ḥa-ri<sub>2</sub></i>	1 woman of the <i>ḥamru</i>
		beverage;
	1 dam lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -giš	1 woman of the oil;
	4 dam	4 women
20	<i>gu<sub>2</sub>-zu-zi</i>	...
	[...]	[...]
VII, 1	[...]	[...]
	[n d]am	[n wo]men
	<i>iš-lu-du</i>	
	1 dam ni-ba	1 woman ...
5	AN.ŠE <sub>3</sub> .GU <sub>2</sub> 50 še <i>bar</i>	Total: 50 ( <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-</i> ) <i>bar</i> of barley
	78 dam	(for) 78 women
	<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup></i>	of (the?) Buzuga.

In this document the 'women of the loom' (dam <sup>giš</sup>šerim), the 'women of the linen' (dam gada<sup>tug2</sup>), the 'women of the spin' (dam lu<sub>2</sub> gu), and the 'women of the waistband' (dam lu<sub>2</sub> ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup>) seem to form a group of female personnel responsible for textile manufacture. Extremely problematic is the group of the dam NE-ra: it is not clear if these women were involved in the production of food or textiles and, as already stated for the women working in the → 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, the wool allotments does not necessarily imply their involvement in textile production. Particularly relevant is the fact that a few documents of the Great Archive L.2769 concern the production of textiles by high ranking women: [75.1817 = A I 20], [75.1818 = A I 21], [75.2026 = A I 22], [75.2034 = A I 23]. Consider for example [75.1817 = A I 20]:

o.I,1	10 <i>du-za-mu</i> 'a <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-um</i> <sup>tug2-II</sup>	10 appliqués for cloaks
	9 <i>du-za-mu</i> 'a <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-um</i> <sup>tug2-I</sup>	9 appliqués for cloaks
	1 <i>du-za-mu</i> dul <sub>3</sub> <sup>tug2</sup>	1 appliqué for a dul <sub>3</sub> garment
	3 ib <sub>2</sub> +III <sup>tug2</sup> SAL gun <sub>3</sub>	3 embroidered waistbands
	2 ib <sub>2</sub> +III <sup>tug2</sup> u <sub>2</sub> -ḥab <sub>2</sub>	2 red waistbands
o.II,1	16 ib <sub>2</sub> +III <sup>tug2</sup> sa <sub>6</sub> bar <sub>6</sub>	16 white waistbands of good quality
	5 nig <sub>2</sub> -la <sub>2</sub> -sag	5 headbands
	tug <sub>2</sub> -nu-tag	weaved by/for the weavers of
	MA-LIK-TUM	the queen;
	2 'a <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-um</i> <sup>tug2-II</sup>	2 cloaks
	tug <sub>2</sub> -nu-tag	weaved by/for the weavers of
	dam en	the ladies of the king
o.III, 1	MA-LIK-TUM	the queen
	šu-ba <sub>4</sub> -ti	has received;
	2 <i>du-za-mu</i> 'a <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-um</i> <sup>tug2-II</sup>	2 appliqués for cloaks
	1 <i>du-za-mu</i> dul <sub>3</sub> <sup>tug2</sup>	1 appliqué for a dul <sub>3</sub> garment
	15 'a <sub>3</sub> - <i>da-um</i> <sup>tug2-II</sup>	15 cloaks
r.I,1	11 ib <sub>2</sub> +III <sup>tug2</sup> sa <sub>6</sub> bar <sub>6</sub>	11 white waistbands of good quality
	tug <sub>2</sub> -nu-tag	weaved by/for the weavers of

	dam en	the ladies of the king
	A-zi	Yāḏi'
	šu-ba <sub>4</sub> -ti	has received;
r.II	(blank)	
r.III,1	Diš mu	Year
	nig <sub>2</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub>	of the military campaign
	Aš <sub>2</sub> -da-rum <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	(against) Ašdarum (Y.-D). 10)

[75.1817 = A I 20]

It is difficult to establish if here the term → tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag is a verb or a noun: noteworthy is the fact, however, that the textile concerning the queen (or her employees) almost exclusively consist in appliqués and precious clothes.<sup>294</sup>

The information referred to the organization of female work recorded in the Small Archive L.2712 is difficult to compare with that provided by the texts of the Great Archive. This is mainly due to the chronological length of the two Archives: three/four generations is the life-span of the Great Archive, while the Small Archive had a more temporary nature and had been active since three to four years before the destruction of the City. A further element which must be considered is also the terminological differences between the two Archives: many terms (such as → GA<sub>2</sub>×GI), as well as the persons they refer to, are only mentioned in the Small Archive.<sup>295</sup>

As already stated, socio-historical information with reference to male personnel are extremely scanty: male workers are in fact mentioned mainly through numerical metaphors and the sectors to which they belong are rarely indicated. The term → guruš is most often attested in the documents concerning the Palace personnel (*ARET XX*) and in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712:<sup>296</sup> like the term → dam, guruš can take on different meanings depending on the context, and thus probably indicated a generic meaning of “(adult) man.”<sup>297</sup> In light of the available data, it is possible to make two considerations: the first with reference to the administrative practice, the second relating to the different kinds of male workers. As just explained, the scribes addressed the male personnel through the term → guruš or through the words that indicate teams of workers (e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num*): in the texts of the Small Archive the guruš are often mentioned, but the information on the ‘sectors’ in which they are employed are extremely scarce. On the contrary, in the Great Archive the male personnel is mostly accounted in groups and by ‘sector,’ but, as Archi noticed, the documents «concerning the personnel ordered in *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num* and according to crafts did not receive a fixed typology, and this makes the interpretation of these lists difficult.»<sup>298</sup> The groups of guruš mentioned in the documents of the Great Archive L.2769 have been studied in detail by Archi:<sup>299</sup> among these men are the high representatives of the chief families, physicians, employees, cooks, carpenters, cultic performers, and valets. However, why some of these workers do not appear in the food allotment documents of the Small Archive cannot be explained. Noteworthy is the fact that the men, divided in groups of twenty (e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>) or one-hundred men (*ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num*),<sup>300</sup> are supervised by an overseer: the proper name asso-

<sup>294</sup> On the appliqué (*du-za-mu*), see Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), pp.93–94.

<sup>295</sup> See also the data collected sub → dam (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

<sup>296</sup> On the Palace personnel, see most recently Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), esp. pp.189ff.

<sup>297</sup> The data collected sub → dam, → guruš, → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, → dumu-nita (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

<sup>298</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.189.

<sup>299</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.190ff.

<sup>300</sup> That the *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num* were groups composed by one-hundred men is demonstrated by [75.1960+ = A XX 14], where



ciated with the ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num* partly overlaps with that of the ugula GN,<sup>301</sup> while the lords seem to be almost completely absent. As already mentioned, terms such as *e<sub>2</sub>*, *ka<sub>2</sub>*, *e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, and *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num* are associated with urban features of the territory, but are also characterized by a social connotation, as the following table suggests:

Term	Translation
<i>e<sub>2</sub></i> (Akk. <i>bītum</i> )	house
<i>ka<sub>2</sub></i> (Akk. <i>babu</i> )	gate, (city) quarter
<i>e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup></i> (Akk. <i>kapru</i> )	village, suburban settlement
<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub></i> (Ug. 'r)	city, town

The data here presented suggest that the groups of male personnel recruited by the Palace for different purposes came from the territories surrounding Ebla. The reconstruction of the administrative organization of the territory under Ebla's control hypothesized in Figure 18, p.151 thus explains why some categories of personnel are not mentioned in the Small Archive: the latter mainly deals with the accounting of foodstuffs for the staff who lived *for* and *inside* the Palace for prolonged periods of time. More difficult to explain, however, is the lack of a similar type of documents for the external personnel. The document [75.10039] provides a list of plots of land measured in *gana<sub>2</sub>-kešda-ki* arranged according to different categories of personnel: the *maškim*, the *guruš*, the *ur<sub>4</sub>*, the *nagar*, the *abba<sub>2</sub>*, and the ugula *e<sub>2</sub>*. Although the apparently heterogeneous composition of the social groups mentioned in this document is not clear, Archi suggests that it «proves that maintenance [of the personnel of the Palace] was provided by the revenue field assigned to them according to their function.»<sup>302</sup> The text ends with a final sum of 229,640 *gana<sub>2</sub>-kešda-ki*:<sup>303</sup> since the extension of the *gana<sub>2</sub>-ki* is still a matter of debate, this datum can be compared to the total amount of plots of land divided between the sons of *Gīa-Līm* ([75.1768 = A VII 154], see also §3.1.2 Extended Families, Households, and Productive Units, p.52). In [75.1768 = A VII 154] 16,350 *gana<sub>2</sub>-ki* are mentioned: it is not clear how many of the plots of land mentioned in the document have been quantified in *gana<sub>2</sub>-ki*, and the estates are probably excluded from the calculation; note, however, that the land that the sons of *Gīa-Līm* have divided correspond to 1/14 of the 229,640 *gana<sub>2</sub>-kešda-ki* mentioned in [75.10039].

Lastly, a social position constituting a pivotal figure in the life of the Palace which has not been adequately investigated is that of the scribe. As already stressed, their importance and function is often underestimated in Eblaite studies, since no precise information is offered in the documents in this regard. In fact, the scribes of Ebla did not bother to provide information about themselves, the only exception being the colophons of the lexical compositions: the lack of any correspondence between the scribes of lexical texts and those of the administrative record lead scholars to consider these two written sources as markedly different. It should be emphasized, however, that the Palace administration took great care in keeping different accounting offices separated, as is the case with the Small and Great Archives: lexical documents were, however, kept in the Great Archive together with the administrative documentation, and this is certainly not by chance. As Veldhuis' attempt to contextualize lexical knowledge in the cultural framework in which it has been produced demonstrated,

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ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num* is replaced by the expression ugula *mi-at guruš*. See also Table 28, p.245.

<sup>301</sup> For a detailed prosopography of the ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num*, see Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.200.

<sup>302</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.197.

<sup>303</sup> Note that, contrary to Archi's conclusion, the sum calculated by the scribe seems to be correct. However, no picture of [75.10039] is currently available. See Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.197–8.

administrative praxis needs to be contextualized in its social context.<sup>304</sup> As Morgan wrote,

«Accountants often see themselves as engaged in an objective, value-free, technical enterprise, representing reality ‘as is.’ But in fact, they are subjective ‘constructors of reality:’ presenting and representing the situations in limited and one-sided ways. They are not just technicians practising a technical craft, they are part of a much broader process of reality construction, producing partial and rather one-sided views of reality, exactly as an artist is obliged to produce a partial view of the reality he or she wishes to represent.»<sup>305</sup>

The most famous scribes of the Archives were Һinna-il (*En-na-il*), Damda-’il (*Dam-da-il*), Yiptur-yiřar (*Ib-dur-i-řar*), Yāđi (*A-zi*), and Tīra-’il (*Ti-ra-il*): their names are, in fact, often mentioned in the colophons of the lexical texts.<sup>306</sup> According to paleographic data, the development of Eblaite cuneiform script can be divided into two phases: Phase I (archaic, ArrULUM) and Phase II (Yibriyum/Yibbi-Dikir), the latter further subdivided in II and late II.<sup>307</sup> It is generally assumed that Yāđi and Tīra-’il were active during the reign of Yirkab-Damu, and maybe already during the reign of his predecessor Yigriř-Đalab (paleographic Phase I), but a further element emerges from the analysis of the colophons of the lexical compositions. Yāđi was probably older than Tīra-’il, since in the colophon of [75.2231 = *M* 3 56 = ED Geographic A] Yāđi is the “teacher” (→ dub-zu-zu, or “teaches”), while Tīra-’il “writes” (dub mu-sar). Yiptur-yiřar supervised both Yāđi and Tīra-’il, and the former became the supervisor of the latter by the time Tīra-’il composed the List of Geographical Names. However, the lexical texts drafted by Yāđi contain signs which stylistically belong to Phase II: Sallaberger thus suggested that either dub-zu-zu should not to be interpreted as “teacher” (maybe “scribe apprentice”?),<sup>308</sup> or that there were two scribes named Yāđi. Pettinato noted, however, that the different colophons of the lexical texts suggest that Һinna-il and Damda-’il were the most experienced scribes, followed by Yiptur-yiřar, Yāđi, and Tīra-’il, who was probably the youngest.<sup>309</sup>

This reconstruction, however, presents two problems: even though the youngest among the scribes of the lexical compositions, Tīra-’il drafted one of the most ancient lexical texts, [75.2515+ = *M* 3 50 = ED Officials]. However, Tīra-’il always “writes” (dub mu-sar), and never takes the title of dub-zu-zu or um-mi-a in the lexical texts. He wrote [75.2515+ = *M* 3 50 = ED Officials] under the supervision of Yiptur-yiřar, the elder scribe according to Pettinato’s interpretation, so he was still an apprentice and not an experienced scholar at that time. Still, he was apparently experienced enough to write the Һamazi letter, dated to the first years of Yirkab-Damu’s reign. Furthermore, according to Sallaberger and Paoletti, even though the lexical texts composed by Yāđi and Tīra-’il can be stylistically dated to Phase I, they still exhibit features of the later Phase II.

The data presented so far exclusively concern the scribes of the lexical compositions: as the prosopography collected sub → dub-sar (§4.5 Producers, p.186) demonstrates, of the sixteen scribes mentioned in the Archives, seven are almost exclusively mentioned in the colophons of the lexical texts. The remaining nine are sporadically mentioned in the administrative documents, in contexts which does not seem to be explicitly related to the scribal activity:

<sup>304</sup> For a description of Veldhuis’ approach, see Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014), pp.2ff.

<sup>305</sup> Morgan, *Accounting* 13 (1988), p.477

<sup>306</sup> For data on which the present paragraph is based see sub → dub-sar, → dub-zu-zu, §4.5. Producers.

<sup>307</sup> See Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001): see also Paoletti, *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015), and Paoletti, in *Materiality of Writing* (2016).

<sup>308</sup> Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001), pp.443–44.

<sup>309</sup> Pettinato, *MEE* 3 (1981), p.xxix.

[75.1286 = A IV 9] r.I:1-9: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-I</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-BAD / dub-sar / šu mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / <sup>ga</sup>garaš<sub>x</sub><sup>sar</sup> / aš<sub>2</sub>-du / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / mi-nu / Da-la-um<sup>[ki]</sup>; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yilsī-BAD, the scribe, for the delivery of (onions or garlic) to Yibbi-Dikir, on his way back from Dalaum.»

From this passage emerges one of the most evident characteristics of the scribes of the Archives: their high mobility. Both the data relating to the scribes of lexical compositions and the few mentions of other scribes show that they often moved to very distant locations. Consider the following passage:

[75.2506]<sup>310</sup> r.V':\*-14: (1+1+1 t.) A-bu<sub>3</sub>-dKU-ra dub-sar in ud DU.DU si-in Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>; «(textiles), for 'Abu-Kura, the scribe, when he went to Mari.»

Although the reason of 'Abu-Kura's trip to Mari is not clear, this passage evokes the colophons of the most ancient lexical text (according to paleography),<sup>311</sup> in / ud / dumu-nita dumu-nita / dub-sar / e<sub>11</sub> / aš<sub>2</sub>-du / Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> («when the young scribes went to Mari»).<sup>312</sup> The same scribe traveled to Armi:

[75.1274 = A I 13 = M 2 7] o.I:7-IV:7: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / A-bu<sub>3</sub>-dKU-ra / dub-sar / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-I</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub> / ma-za-lum / [...] / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> / 'a<sub>3</sub> ti<sup>tug2</sup> / 1 DIB ma-na / 1 DIB 50 / Dar-zi-mu / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 1 gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lum ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> TAR-2 / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / en / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Dar-zi-mu / wa / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / lu<sub>2</sub> DU.DU / ki-sur' / ki-sur / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Dar-zi-mu / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup> / tag<sub>4</sub> / i<sub>3</sub>-ti / in / da-ma-ti / ki-sur: “1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality for 'Abu-Kura, the scribe; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband, for Wabarum, the watchman; 2 cloaks, (1?) ribbed cloak, 1 decorative disk (of the value of) 1 mina, 1 decorative disk (of the value of) 50 (shekels), for Tarmī-( 'i)lu (and) Šarmilu; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 bracelet (of the value of) 32 (shekels) of silver, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, the king has given; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, for Tarmī-( 'i)lu and Šarmilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, the queen has given, concerning the(ir) traveling to the borderlands; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistband of good quality for Tarmī-( 'i)lu (and) Šarmilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, from Armi, (when they) left (and) arrived to the boundary stones.”

This passage belongs to the dossier concerning the kingdoms of Ebla, Armi, and Nabu, studied in detail by Bonechi:<sup>313</sup> the chronology of the events is extremely difficult to establish, but it can be hypothesized that the Eblaite scribe followed some men from Armi on a trip to the boundary stones located between the territories surrounding the two cities. At a later time, according to Bonechi's reconstruction, Yišma'-damu (judge and lugal) and Nazzumu, both abba<sub>2</sub>, went to Armi for the “rendering of a verdict on the villages of Ebla” (di-ku<sub>5</sub> / al<sub>6</sub> / uru<sup>ki</sup>-uru<sup>ki</sup> / Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>; see sub → di-ku<sub>5</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

As already stated, the scribes are never mentioned in the documents concerning allotment of food: their activity took place in the Palace, but as just demonstrated was also characterized by a high level of mobility. The craft of the scribe was not a temporary function or a role associated with a high-ranking social position: the limited prosopographic data associated with this profession do not allow to recognize within this group other social positions. It must be stressed, however, that scribes

<sup>310</sup> Quoted in Archi, *MARI* 4 (1985), 78; Baldacci, *Partially Published Text* (1992), p.164 no.[1979].

<sup>311</sup> [75.1912+ = M 3 47+ = ED Word List C], [75.2515+ = M 3 50; = ED Officials]; [75.2657 = A V 20].

<sup>312</sup> Fronzaroli, in *Gs Marrassini* (2014).

<sup>313</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), p.78ff. (sub [δ4.1]).

are characterized also by a strong connection also with cultic activities, as their mention in connection with the purification of the house of the king suggests (see sub  $\rightarrow 'a_3-li-u_3, \rightarrow a-tu_{5/22}$ , §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153). Cult, law and justice, preservation of knowledge, information storage/retrieval: these are only some of the activities and sectors in which the scribes were involved.

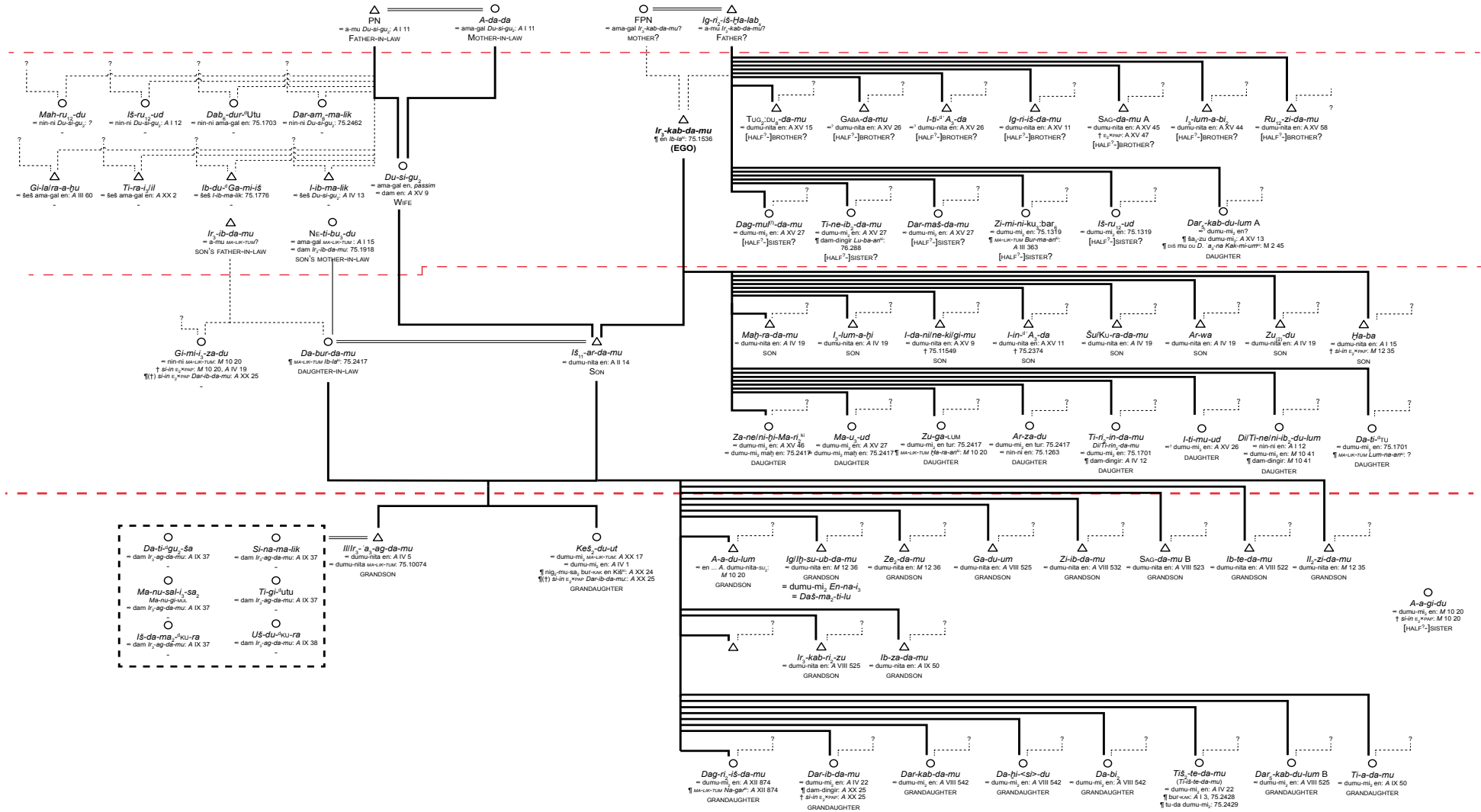


Plate I - The kings' family



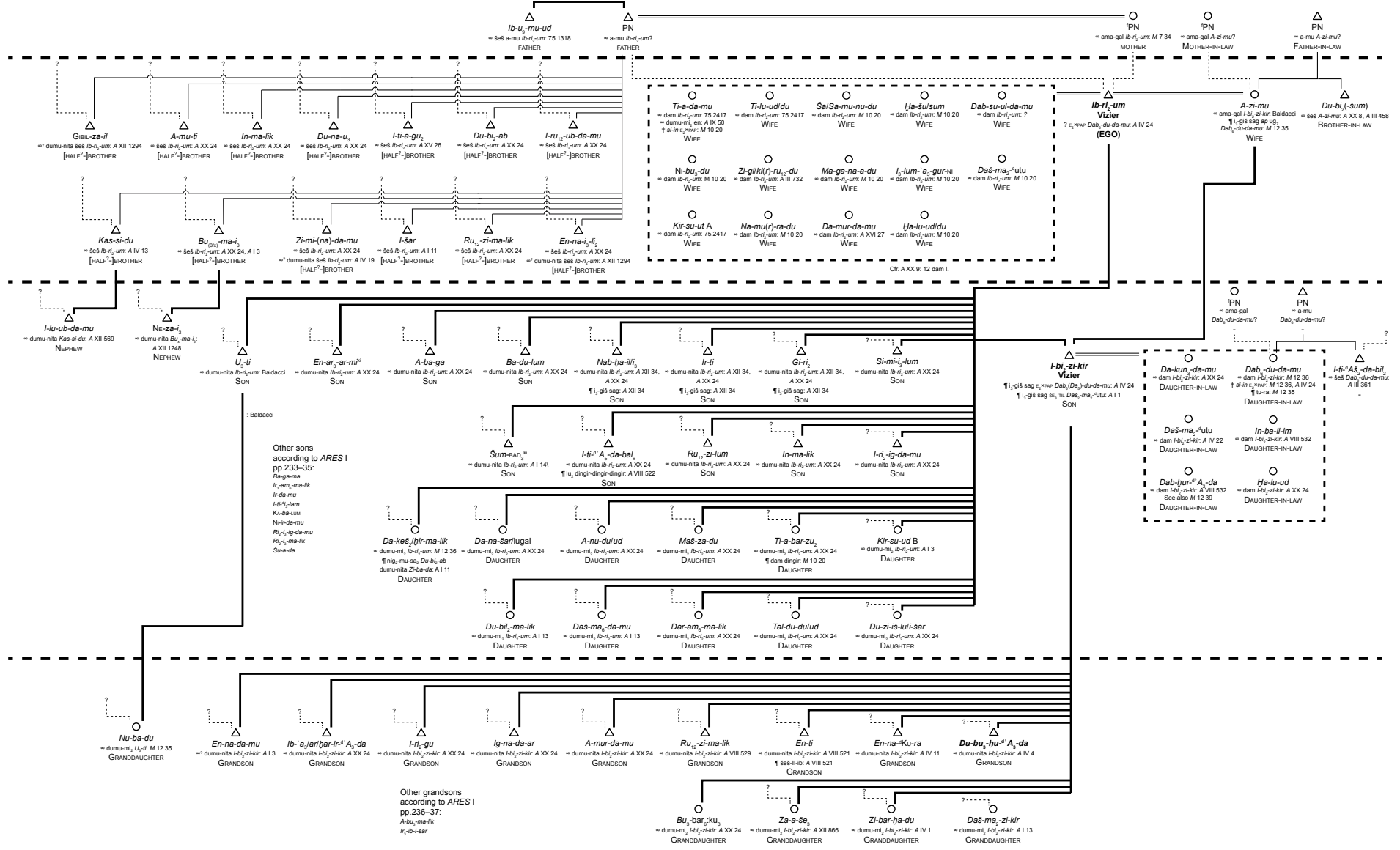


Plate II - The viziers' family









## Chapter 4. Social Groups Terminology

### 4.1. Administrators and Supervisors

**abba<sub>2</sub>** (329): «high representatives (of the chief families)». Members of the élite, who probably represented the most important families; the term does not seem to be age-related. At Ebla, they resided within the city and in the territories under its control.

**Previous translation(s):** «anziano»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXII, AXV, M2</sup>; «(town) elders»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «elder»<sup>AXX, M10</sup>  
«responsabile, capo»<sup>TIE</sup>

#### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43+	r.III:6a (r.III:3')	abba <sub>2</sub>
[β] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.I:7	abba <sub>2</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1309')	abba <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 53	r.I:15
[δ] VE (1309')	abba <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.XVIII:6'

Unknown provenance

[ε] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54+	o.VI:15	ṛabba <sub>2</sub> (LAK540)ṛ
[ζ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 61	o.X:18	abba <sub>2</sub> (LAK540)
[η] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 69	r.IX':10'	ṛabba <sub>2</sub> (LAK540)ṛ
[θ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 81	o.II':3'	ṛ*(AŠ)ṛ abba <sub>2</sub> (LAK540)

**Bibliography:** Archi, *SEb* 5 (1982), pp.207–20; Diakonoff, in *Eblaitica* 2 (1990), pp.14–15; Marchesi, *LUMMA* (2006), p.14, and fn.45; Pettinato, *Ebla impero* (1979), pp.98–100; Pettinato, *Ebla orizzonti* (1986), pp.26; Pettinato, in *Fs Lipiński* (1995), p.234, and fn.11; Porter, *Mortality* (2000), p.253; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), pp.232–38; Ristvet, *Ritual, Performance, and Politics* (2015), pp.61–62; Sollberger, *ARET* VIII (1986), p.51; Steinkeller, in *Fs Hallo* (1993), p.244; Steinkeller, in *Akkad* (1999), pp.123–27; *PSD* A/2, pp.129ff.; *TIE* A/1, p.154.

#### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *ba-da-lum*, *di-ku<sub>5</sub>*, *en*, *ib* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *ir<sub>11</sub>* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *lugal*, *maškim* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *ma-za-lum* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *u<sub>2</sub>-a* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *geme<sub>2</sub>* (§4.5 Producers, p.186)

**Places:** *e<sub>2</sub> en*, *e<sub>2</sub> maḥ*, see also Table 12, p.147

**Accounting models:** see Table 12, p.147

**abba<sub>2</sub>** (270)

**abba<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub>** (40)

**abba<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>** (12)

**dam abba<sub>2</sub>** (5)

**e<sub>2</sub> abba<sub>2</sub>** (1)

**mi<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>** (1)

[01] [metals] / abba<sub>2</sub> (/ GN)

[02] N še bar / (še-ba/ŠE+TIN) en abba<sub>2</sub>

See also Table 18, p.240, Table 19, p.240, Table 20, p.240.

**Prosopography:** *Ha-ba*, *Šu-ra-da-mu*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, *In-ma-lik*, *GABA-da-mu*, *[Ir<sub>3</sub>]-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-<ba->ir<sub>3</sub>*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ti*, *Na-zu-mu* ([75.2331 = A XX 19] o.XI:13-XII:3)

**Discussion:** Pettinato suggested the translation “elder(s)” for abba<sub>2</sub> and that the Semitic equivalent at Ebla was *a-bu*.<sup>314</sup> according to his reconstruction, the elders from Ebla were part of a sort of senate able to control the king’s actions, although “la figura dell’anziano, o patriarca, fa pensare a un struttura statale tribale, immagine che mal si adatta alla civiltà sviluppata e tecnologica di Ebla.”<sup>315</sup> According to Steinkeller, Eblaite society was stratified and characterized by the presence of an aristocratic ruling class, whose origins were tribal. Part of this aristocracy were the abba<sub>2</sub>: the author refers to them as “the chief families of the realm (AB×AŠ<sub>2</sub>.AB×AŠ<sub>2</sub>).”<sup>316</sup> Although Pettinato and Steinkeller do not agree on the tribal nature of the Ebla ruling class, they both acknowledge that the abba<sub>2</sub> were strongly connected with the royal family and had substantial decision-making power. Archi hypothesized that the abba<sub>2</sub> were a group of representatives of the chief families:<sup>317</sup> he further argued that, since a monarchy was in force at Ebla, the abba<sub>2</sub> were opposed to the king. It must be stressed, however, that the abba<sub>2</sub> were part of the Palace community, as they received rations with the king and the Palace personnel. Regarding the hypothesis of a tribal origin of such an organization (and the possibility of a persistence of tribal features even in later periods), Porter argued that the participation of the abba<sub>2</sub> to the Palace community as an autonomous group “in no way requires a tribal origin for such a political system.”<sup>318</sup>

Marchesi argued that the translation “elder” is inadequate and that AB×AŠ<sub>2</sub> should be read as *šaybum*, “respectable, estimable (person).”<sup>319</sup> A connection with the Semitic root \*šyb was already pointed out by Fronzaroli in 1993:<sup>320</sup> the lemma AB×AŠ<sub>2</sub> is mentioned in both versions of the ERR,<sup>321</sup> where it qualifies an ox (gu<sub>4</sub>). In this context, the Editor’s interpretation of the lemma is thus “di pelo grigio” (“gray-furred”). Furthermore, the entry nig<sub>2</sub>-ul / *si-bu<sub>3</sub>-um* is attested in the *VE*, probably to be interpreted as “seniority” (*VE* 108).<sup>322</sup> Pettinato later suggested the translation “rappresentanti” in a paper published in 1995,<sup>323</sup> and a similar translation can be found in the *TIE* (“responsabile, capo”), also published in 1995.<sup>324</sup> That the translation “elder” was unfit for the Ebla context was already noted by Diakonoff in 1990:<sup>325</sup> the abba<sub>2</sub> receive rations together with other officials, and many of them belong to the Palace. Porter argues that the abba<sub>2</sub> were “heads of households within

<sup>314</sup> Pettinato, *MEE* 2, 55 (1980), comm. ad r.II:1; see also Gelb, *JAOS* 87 (1967).

<sup>315</sup> Pettinato, *Ebla impero* (1979), p.98. Pettinato, *MEE* 2, 55 (1980), comm. ad r.II:1.

<sup>316</sup> Steinkeller, in *Akkad* (1999), pp.124–25, fn.48.

<sup>317</sup> Archi, *SEB* 5 (1982), p.207.

<sup>318</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.233.

<sup>319</sup> Marchesi, *LUMMA* (2006), p.14 and fn.45.

<sup>320</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1993), p.137.

<sup>321</sup> [75.1823+ = A XI, 1]:r.III:25; [75.1939+ = A XI 2] r.III:9 (1 gu<sub>2</sub> AB×AŠ<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>322</sup> See Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.79. See also the translation of nig<sub>2</sub>-ul in the *DCCLT* edition of *MEE* 4, 115 (P241972, obv. IV:2, “old age”).

<sup>323</sup> Pettinato, in *Fs Lipiński* (1995), p.124.

<sup>324</sup> Evidence for this interpretation were probably to be provided in a paper which never appeared (“Gli <Anziani> a Sumer e ad Ebla”, mentioned in Pettinato, in *Fs Lipiński* (1995), p.124, fn.11; “Gli anziani ed i giovani ad Uruk e ad Ebla” mentioned in *TIE* A/1, p.154).

<sup>325</sup> Diakonoff, in *Eblaitica* 2 (1990), pp.14–15.

the polity but located outside the Palace”.<sup>326</sup> This is of course, as the author states, an *argumentum e silentio*, since no domestic architecture has been excavated so far.

The *abba*<sub>2</sub> were an authority that characterized other political entities outside Ebla: these individuals are mentioned in connection with many kingdoms, since they often follow their leaders when they travel to Ebla. The textile allotments concerning the ‘foreign’ *abba*<sub>2</sub>s registered in the so-called *ARET I* 1-9 type texts<sup>327</sup> are characterized by a fixed textual pattern: delegations are characterized by the presence of at least one “leader”,<sup>328</sup> and one *abba*<sub>2</sub> (**Delegation-I** in Table 8, p.103 below). The “leader” is usually one person: the king, a *ba-da-lum*, an *ugula*, a PN, or a (representative from?) GN. The only constant exception to this pattern is *Šu-ra-gar*<sub>3-ru</sub><sub>12</sub>, who is always followed by his “brothers” (*šeš-šeš-SU*<sub>3</sub>).<sup>329</sup>

Required				Optional				
“Leader”		Delegation-I		Delegation-II				
goods	en	GN	goods	<i>abba</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	goods	guruš(-guruš)- <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub> or maškim(-maškim)- <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	goods	<i>ma-za-lum-SU</i> <sub>3</sub>
	<i>ba-da-lum</i>							
	<i>ugula</i>							
	PN ( <i>wa šeš-šeš-SU</i> <sub>3</sub> )							
	∅							

Table 8 - Schematization of the delegations mentioned in the texts of the *ARET I* 1-9 type.

Delegations can also be characterized by the presence of a second group of people (**Delegation-II** in Table 8, p.103): only twenty-eight of the occurrences summarized in Table 12, p.147, however, present a Delegation-II. It is noteworthy that a Delegation-II can never be composed of *guruš* and *maškim*: a passage in [75.10256 = *A I* 4] has a parallel in [76.530 = *A I* 5] where twenty *maškim* of the king of *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup> are instead called *guruš* (see also sub → *guruš* and → *maškim*, §4.5 Producers, p.186).

According to Archi, an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-II</sup> was more precious than an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-I</sup>:<sup>330</sup> although all the “leaders” always receive an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-II</sup>, the *abba*<sub>2</sub>s can receive an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-I</sup> or an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-II</sup>. A possible hypothesis is that the distribution criterion is geographical: it is in fact more common for the *abba*<sub>2</sub> of a *ba-da-lum* to receive an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-I</sup>, while the *abba*<sub>2</sub> of an important center represented by a king is usually given an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-II</sup>. This is of course not a rule: there are cases in which the *abba*<sub>2</sub> of a king receives an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-I</sup> of lesser value. Especially when a group of more than one *abba*<sub>2</sub> is the recipient of both *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-I</sup> and *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg-II</sup>, it is possible to recognize an internal hierarchy: there is of course no clear pattern in this case, but it seems that the sets of textiles were probably assigned to the representatives according to their rank. Regarding the *abba*<sub>2</sub> of Ebla, an important clue to their role is the list of PNs found in [75.2331 = *A XX* 19] o.XI:13-XII3 (see Table 9, p.104): these ten individuals, qualified as *abba*<sub>2</sub>, receive one complete set of textiles. With the exception of *Na-zu-mu*, whose identity is difficult to determine, all are members of the élite: sons of the king and the viziers, lords, and judges.<sup>331</sup>

<sup>326</sup> Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), p.232–33.

<sup>327</sup> Bonechi, *AuOr* 8 (1990).

<sup>328</sup> The generic word “leader” denotes here the main recipients of the allotment, without any further social connotation.

<sup>329</sup> Other exceptions are: [75.2590 = *A I* 6] o.IX:13-X:3 (2 persons from *Hu-ti-mu*<sup>ki</sup>); [75.1591 = *A I* 8] o.VI:6-11 (2 persons from *Ti-sum*<sup>ki</sup>); [75.1285 = *A IV* 6] o.I:1-7 (2 persons, *ba-da-lum* *Ha-ra-an*<sup>ki</sup> *wa* *Hu-ḥa-da-bir*<sub>3</sub>); [76.527 = *A VIII* 527] r.VI:18-VII:2 (2 persons, *En-na-ma-lik* *Ni-la-ar*<sup>ki</sup> *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>-li* *šeš-mu* *en* *Ni-la-ar*<sup>ki</sup>); [76.529 = *A VIII* 529] r.VIII:12-16 (2 persons, *en* *I-bu-ib<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>); [76.531 = *A VIII* 531] o.V:1-4 (5 persons from *Ti-sum*<sup>ki</sup>); [76.533 = *A VIII* 533] o.IX:5-9 (2 persons, *en* *Ni-la-ar*<sup>ki</sup>). *Šu-ra-gar*<sub>3-ru</sub><sub>12</sub> is usually followed by six “brothers” (the allotment concerns seven people in total); only in [75.10256 = *A I* 4] eight people, instead of seven, are involved.

<sup>330</sup> Archi, in *Fs Heltzer* (1999<sup>2</sup>), p.311. According to the author an *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg2-II</sup> is “double” or “folded”, and thus of a higher value than a single *'a*<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tüg2-I</sup>.

<sup>331</sup> The son of a man named *Na-zu*<sub>(2)-mu</sub>, however, is mentioned in both versions of the ERR; see Fronzaroli, *ARET XI* (1993), p.130.

Name	Role
<i>Ĥa-ba</i>	dumu-nita en ( <i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-da-mu</i> , see Plate I, p.95)
<i>Šu-ra-da-mu</i>	dumu-nita en ( <i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-da-mu</i> , see Plate I, p.95)
<i>I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu</i>	dumu-nita <i>Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i> (see Plate II, p.97), → lugal
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu</i>	→ lugal, and → di-ku <sub>5</sub>
<i>In-ma-lik</i>	dumu-nita <i>Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i> (see Plate II, p.97), → lugal?
<i>GABA-da-mu</i>	dumu-nita en ( <i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-da-mu</i> , see Plate I, p.95), → lugal
<i>[Ir<sub>3</sub>]-i<sub>3</sub>-ba</i>	→ lugal
<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-&lt;ba&gt;ir<sub>3</sub></i>	→ lugal
<i>U<sub>3</sub>-ti</i>	dumu-nita <i>Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i> (see Plate II, p.97), → lugal
<i>Na-zu-mu</i>	?

Table 9 - The individuals qualified as *abba<sub>2</sub>* in [75.2331 = A XX 19].

The *abba<sub>2</sub>* were thus probably members of the élite: some lived in Ebla (and probably in the Palace), while others lived in the surrounding regions. Since only three among the sons of the king are mentioned, the *abba<sub>2</sub>* were probably nominated or selected: how this selection took place is, however, impossible to determine.

An *e<sub>2</sub>* *abba<sub>2</sub>* is mentioned in [75.523 = A IX 43]: part of this unit is a group of women qualified as *dam abba<sub>2</sub>* in [75.537 = A IX 44]. In this second list, one woman, *La-peš<sub>2</sub>-tum* is *dam* of *Ih-su-ub-da-mu*, one of the king's son; another one, *Su-na-im-ma-du*, is sister to *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*, the chief steward of the house of the king. However, most of these women are not mentioned elsewhere.

The *abba<sub>2</sub>* also took part in military expeditions, as shown in [75.1899 = A XX 11], where 43 *abba<sub>2</sub>* receive garments on the occasion of a military expedition: the number of *abba<sub>2</sub>* involved resembles the one given in the documents from the Small Archive L2712. Milano hypothesizes the presence of 35, 38, and 48 *abba<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>332</sup> See also the discussion *sub* → *aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>* (§4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149).

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**agrig *e<sub>2</sub>* en (1):** «chief steward of the Palace»

see also → *BAD(-mi<sub>2</sub>) e<sub>2</sub>*

**Previous translation(s):** «Verwalter»<sup>AlI</sup>; «intendente»<sup>AXIII</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.III:39	agrig
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 32	r.V':7'	agrig
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 39	r.II':5'	agrig
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	r.II:10	agrig
[ε] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	? III:7	agrig
[ζ] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43+	o.VIII:8b	agrig
[η] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.III:40	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub>
[θ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 17	o.II':3'	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub>
[ι] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 18	o.III':3'	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub>
[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	r.II:11	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub>
[λ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	? III:8	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub>

<sup>332</sup> Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), p.333 and fn.39.

Ebla bilingual

[μ] VE (706)	agrig / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ga-ra-gu <sub>2</sub> -um	MEE 4, 1+	r.VII:5-6
[ν] VE (706)	agrig / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ba-ra-gu <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4, 47+	o.VIII:13-14
[ξ] VE (706)	agrig / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ga-ra-gu <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4, 65+	o.XIX:12'
[o] VE (707)	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub> / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ga-ra-ga-tum	MEE 4, 1+	r.VII:7-8
[π] VE (707)	'agrig <sup>-</sup> -[mi <sub>2</sub> ] / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ga-ra-gu <sub>2</sub> -um	MEE 4, 13+	r.VII:1'-2'
[ρ] VE (707)	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub> / 'a <sub>3</sub> -ba-ru <sub>12</sub> -[ga]-tum	MEE 4, 47+	o.VIII:15-16
[σ] VE (707)	agrig-mi <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+	o.XIX:13'

Abu Salabiḥ

[τ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 55+	o.III:2'	'agrig(IGI.[DUB])'
[υ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 57	o.? <sup>?</sup> III:1'	'agrig(IGI.DUB)'
[φ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 60	o.III:11	'agrig(IGI.DUB)'
[χ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	HSS 10, 222	o.III:3	agrig
[ψ] ED Names and Professions	OIP 99, 61	o.VII:7	'agrig(IGI.DUB)'
[ω] ED Names and Professions	OIP 99, 74	o.VI:2b'	'agrig(IGI.DUB)'

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, in *Fs Milano* (2016), p.9, fn.22; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.183; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 7 (1984), p.163; Fronzaroli, in *StLE* (1984), p.134; Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.32; Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.261–62, with bibliography; Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.164.

**Discussion:** the term agrig e<sub>2</sub> en recurs only once in the chancery document [75.2342 = A XIII 3] o. I:3-4, and probably refers to *I-bu<sub>3</sub>-KA×KID*, who is the “chief steward of the Palace” of Ḥamazi. The glosses in the bilingual lists (*VE* 706-707, [μ]-[σ]) demonstrate that the lemma is a Sumerian loanword in Semitic, equivalent to Akkadian *abarakku*, “chief steward.”<sup>333</sup> This lemma corresponds to the lemma BAD e<sub>2</sub> en, attested in the documents of the Great Archive: the term agrig can be considered a local spelling (in Ḥamazi). See also the discussion sub → BAD e<sub>2</sub>.

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*ba-da-lum* (75) *ba-da-li-im* (1), *ba-da-lu-um* (1): «(king's) deputy»

**Previous translation(s):** (NF; limitato a località nell'area di Ḥarran, vi rappresenta una delle massime cariche politiche)<sup>41</sup>; «(capo) mercante»<sup>AIII, AIV</sup>; «mercante»<sup>AXII, M2</sup>; «capo dei mercanti»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sostituto (del re)»<sup>AXVI</sup>; «minister»<sup>AXX</sup>; «addetto»<sup>M7</sup>; «diplomat»<sup>M10</sup>; «addetto, sostituto»<sup>TIE</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	o.III:23	nig <sub>2</sub> -banda <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga
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Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (95)	niġ <sub>2</sub> -banda <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / <i>ba-da-lu-um</i>	MEE 4, 1+ o.III:22-23
[γ] VE (95)	niġ <sub>2</sub> -banda <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / <i>ba-da-ru<sub>12</sub></i>	MEE 4, 12 o.VIII:7-8
[δ] VE (95)	niġ <sub>2</sub> -banda <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / <i>ba-da-lum</i>	MEE 4, 13+ o.III:8"

**Bibliography:** Archi, *UF* 20 (1988<sup>2</sup>); Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.536–37 with bibliography; Lipiński, in *HSAO* 2 (1988), pp.258–60 (with bibliography); Milano and Rova, in *Gs Cagni*, p.721 fn. 9; Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010), p.77 and fn.25

**Contextual association(s):**

<sup>333</sup> See *CAD* A/1 (1964), s.v. *abarakku*, p.32–33.

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *abba*<sub>2</sub>, *en*, *maškim* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *ma-za-lum* (§4.5 Producers, p.186)

**Places:** *A-bar-sal*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*da-da-num*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ḫa-ra-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḫal-sum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḫu-ša-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir-i-ib*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ir-i-dum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Sa-nab-zu-gum*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ur-sa*<sub>2</sub>-*um*<sup>ki</sup>

### Accounting models

[01] [fabrics] / *ba-da-lum* / GN / {[fabrics] / *abba*<sub>2</sub>-*SU*<sub>3</sub>] / ([*wa ma-za-lum-SU*<sub>3</sub>] or [*maškim-SU*<sub>3</sub>])}

See also Table 12, p.147.

**Prosopography:** *Za/Zi-mi-su ba-da-lum Ur-sa*<sub>2</sub>-*um*<sup>ki</sup>;

**Discussion:** the interpretation of *ba-da-lum* as “merchant” has been definitively denied by Lipiński: the term derives from the Semitic root \* *bdl*, “to replace,” and thus indicated a deputy of the king.<sup>334</sup> The gloss *ba-da-lum* (varr. *ba-da-ru*<sub>12</sub>, *ba-da-lu-um*) of *nig*<sub>2</sub>-*banda*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>11</sub>-*ga* ([β]-[δ]) is probably not related to the term *ba-da-lum* attested in administrative documents.<sup>335</sup>

The *ba-da-lum* is generally mentioned without his sovereign: *ba-da-lum* of kingdoms without a sovereign are not attested and, as it can be noticed from the data collected in Table 10, p.136, only one *ba-da-lum* is present in each delegation, while the number of the high representatives of the families can change (see sub → *abba*<sub>2</sub>). As noted by Milano and Rova, the *ba-da-lum* is present only in north-eastern regions (see sub contextual associations: places) and can be described as a “great vizier” or “viceroy.”<sup>336</sup> A *ba-da-lum* with his king is mentioned in [75.3287 = A III 247]:

[75.3287 = A III 247] o.ʔII:1ʔ-5ʔ: [...] 2 *ib*<sub>2</sub>-[x] *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *en* / *Ur*<sub>2</sub>-*sa-um*<sup>ki</sup> / *wa* / *ba-da-lum-SU*<sub>3</sub>; «N embroidered waistsbands of good quality / for the king of Ursa’um and his deputy».

A *ba-da-lum* with his king is also mentioned in the case of *Ḫalšum*: several passages mention the king, his deputy, and the deputy’s brothers (*Li-ma*-(<sup>d</sup>)*Da-gan*, *Ti-iš-ga-nu/num*<sub>3</sub>, and *ʔA*<sub>3</sub>-*ti-ir*).

As Archi observed, three are the main characteristics of the *ba-da-lum*: the title is attested in a specific geographic area; only one *ba-da-lum* at a time can be in charge; he is the deputy of the king.<sup>337</sup>

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**BAD(-mi<sub>2</sub>) e<sub>2</sub> (15):** «chief steward(ess) of the house»

**Previous translation(s):** (Un funzionario (?). Talvolta NP)<sup>4IV</sup>; (tar-e<sub>2</sub>) an official<sup>4VIII</sup>; «lord»<sup>4XX</sup>; «maggiordomo»<sup>M7</sup>; «maggiordomo (lett.: ‘signore della casa’)»<sup>TIE</sup>

see also → *agrig e*<sub>2</sub> *en*; → *sukkal-du*<sub>8</sub>

### Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1325ʹ)	BAD	MEE 4, 63+	r.II:21-22
[β] VE (1326ʹ)	BAD-mi <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4, 63+	r.II:21-22

**Bibliography:** Archi, *Subartu* XXXIX (2017), p.165 fn. 11; Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016); Sjöberg, in *Fs Renger* (1999), p.544 (see also Sjöberg, in *Fs Limet* (1996), p.120 and p.125 with bibliography).

**Contextual association(s):**

<sup>334</sup> Lipiński, in *HSAO* 2 (1988), p.258. See also *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *bdl*, p.214, “substitute, reserve personnel.”

<sup>335</sup> See Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.85 fn.7.

<sup>336</sup> Milano and Rova, in *Gs Cagni*, p.721 fn.9.

<sup>337</sup> Archi, *UF* 20 (1988<sup>2</sup>), p.402–3.



**Social position(s)/role(s):** a-am, ib, u<sub>2</sub>-a

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en; e<sub>2</sub> maḥ.

**People:** *Ib-du-lu/-ra*

**Accounting models:**

[01] (fabrics) / 3 *KU-TU* / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak 1 *gigir* / lu<sub>2</sub> *giš-giš* / PN / BAD e<sub>2</sub> / en

[02] (fabrics) / dam-dam / pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mi<sub>2</sub> / DN / lu<sub>2</sub> *nig<sub>2</sub>-ba* / *MA-LIK-TUM* / PN / BAD e<sub>2</sub> / en / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

[03] (fabrics) / PN / maškim / PN / BAD e<sub>2</sub> / en

**Prosopography:** *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi* (BAD e<sub>2</sub> en); *Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum* (BAD-mi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ).

**Discussion:** the term is attested in the bilingual lexical lists without gloss. BAD e<sub>2</sub> can be interpreted both as a function name and as a proper name:<sup>338</sup> when occurring as a function name, the sign sequence should be interpreted as “lord of the house (= majordomo)”:<sup>339</sup> that the sequence should be read as a function name, and not as a proper name, is out of doubt when the house is that of the king (BAD e<sub>2</sub> en), or when explicit reference to the “upper apartments” of the Palace is made (BAD-mi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> maḥ).<sup>340</sup> In this latter case the chief steward is always a woman. The most prominent majordomo of the house of the king has been *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*: his role has been studied in detail by Bonechi, who interprets this function name as *ba‘al bayti malki*.<sup>341</sup> According to his reconstruction, Yilsī was the son of judge *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, while his sister *Su-na-im-ma-du* was a lady of the court (dam en tur) (see sub → di-ku<sub>5</sub>; see sub → dam [PN/en], §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). Yilsī is often mentioned without his title of chief steward in the texts of the Small Archives L.2712.

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**di-ku<sub>5</sub> (57):** «judge»

**Previous translation(s):** «giudice»<sup>AIII, AIV, AXII, AXV, AXVI, M2</sup>; «judge»<sup>AVIII, AXX, M10</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] ED Practical Vocabulary      *MEE* 3, 44      o.VII:6      di-ku<sub>5</sub>

Ebla unilingual

[β] *VE* (1327')      di-ku<sub>5</sub> / *ba-da-gu da-ne-um*'      *MEE* 4, 63+      r.II:21-22

**Bibliography:** Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003); Fales, in *StLE* (1984), p.185; Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.185–86 with bibliography; Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p.43; Viganò, *Liber Annuus* 41 (1991<sup>2</sup>).

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** abba<sub>2</sub>, lugal

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en; e<sub>2</sub> maḥ.

<sup>338</sup> For the occurrences of BAD-e<sub>2</sub> as a proper name, see *The Prosopography of Ebla - B*, s.v. (2019-02-13) and Pomponio, *ARET* XV/2 (2013), pp.95–296, s.v. *be-e<sub>2</sub>* (NP?).

<sup>339</sup> Steinkeller, *ZA* 71 (1981), p.22 initially refused the reading *be* of the sign BAD as an abbreviated form of Semitic *bēlum*, but he later admitted the possibility that BAD can be used as an abbreviation for the construct state; see Steinkeller, *RA* 78 (1984), p.85.

<sup>340</sup> The individual most often mentioned with the name BAD-e<sub>2</sub> was a musical performer (see sub → nar, §4.4 Entertainers, p.172).

<sup>341</sup> Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016), pp.9ff. See also Archi, *Subartu* XXXIX, (2017), p.165 fn.11.

## Accounting models:

[01a] [goods] / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[01b] [goods] / PN / GN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[01c] [goods] / PN / dumu-nita / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[02a] [goods] / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub> / *si-in* / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

[02b] [fabrics] / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / PN di-ku<sub>5</sub> / PN / šu-ba4-ti

[02c] [fabrics] / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / PN / *wa* / PN / 2 dumu-nita PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[03a] [fabrics and objects] / PN / *si-in* / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub> / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

[03b] [fabrics and silver] / mu-DU / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[03c] [fabrics and/or silver] / mu-DU / (PN / *wa* / PN / 2) di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[04] N gana<sub>2</sub>-kešda-ki / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub>

[05] [fabrics] / PN / dumu-nita / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

[06] [fabrics] / PN / di-ku<sub>5</sub> / na-ru<sub>2</sub>

**Prosopography:**<sup>342</sup> (see also sub groups) *Ga-nu-LUM*, EN-*da-za* (d. SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *En-na-il*, *En-na-ni-il*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *Il-a/e-i-šar*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ga-bu<sub>3</sub>* (*Uš-du-lum<sup>ki</sup>*), *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*, *I-zu<sub>2</sub>-kum-i<sub>3</sub>* (*A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sub>ki</sub>*), *La-da-ad*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḥa-al<sub>6</sub>*, *U<sub>3</sub>-da-sa*

## Groups:

<sup>343</sup>

- 1) *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (*wa*) *La-da-at*
- 2) *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (*wa*) *Ib-dur-i-šar*
- 3) *En-na-ni-il* (*wa*) *Ib-dur-i-šar*
- 4) *En-na-ni-il wa Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*
- 5) *En-na-ni-il wa Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*
- 6) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu wa Il-a/e-i-šar*
- 7) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu (wa) Ga-nu-lum*
- 8) *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-wa Ga-nu-lum*
- 9) *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu wa En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*

**Discussion:** the gloss *ba-da-gu da-ne-<sup>u</sup>um* of *VE* (1327') can be interpreted as *battāqu daynim*, “to cut/render a verdict.”<sup>344</sup> The Semitic equivalent of di-ku<sub>5</sub> was thus *dayyanu*: this hypothesis is supported by presence of a spelling *da-nu* attested, albeit rarely, in the administrative documents.<sup>345</sup> The judges often appears in the documents concerning the lugals (see sub groups): they are usually mentioned in pairs and probably belonged to the group of the lords (see sub → lugal). They were also part of the Palace élite, as the mention of Yir'am-damu among the abba<sub>2</sub> demonstrates (see sub → abba<sub>2</sub>). Little can be said about the judges, since most documents concerning their duties are still unpublished: their legal activity is only partially mentioned in the administrative texts, as in [75.2428 = *M* 12 35]:<sup>346</sup>

[75.2428 = *M* 12 35] o.XIII:3-13: ša-pi gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN / nig<sub>2</sub>-kaskal / *Na-zu-mu* / *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* / DU.DU / *si-in* / *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>* / di-ku<sub>5</sub> / *al<sub>6</sub>* / uru<sup>ki</sup>-uru<sup>ki</sup> / *Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>*; «140 shekels (of silver) is the travel provision of Nazzumu and Yišma<sup>i</sup>-damu, (who) went to Armi (for the) rendering of a verdict

<sup>342</sup> See also the prosopography published in Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), pp.263–65.

<sup>343</sup> See the data published in Archi, *VO* 12 (2000).

<sup>344</sup> Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), pp.264; see also Viganò, *Liber Annuus* 41 (1991<sup>2</sup>), p.303 with previous bibliography.

<sup>345</sup> See also *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. /d-n/, pp.272–73, 1) “to judge,” 2) “to decree, proclaim, promulgate with authority.”

<sup>346</sup> See Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), p.230 and 233–35.

on the villages of Ebla.»<sup>347</sup>

[75.2428 = M 12 35] refers to a border dispute between Ebla and Armi: the dossier was reconstructed by Bonechi, who identified several passages referring to problems relating to the border between the two cities.<sup>348</sup> Two men from Ebla, Yišma<sup>1</sup>-damu (judge and lugal) and Nazzumu, both abba<sub>2</sub>, went to Armi for the “rendering of a verdict.” Yišma<sup>1</sup>-damu was probably involved as a judge in an ‘international’ legal dispute concerning Ebla, Armi, and other cities or towns locate on the border (ki-sur ki-sur). Judges were also involved in litigations concerning rural estates transactions, as three documents kept in the Great Archive demonstrate.<sup>349</sup>

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en (2521): «king»

**Previous Tranlations:** «re»<sup>AI, AIII, AVII, AIX, AXI, AXII, AXV</sup>; «re» (in eblaita *ma-lik*, vedi testo 24)<sup>AIV</sup>; «Herrscher»<sup>AII</sup>; A) «king», B) «master»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «signore, re»<sup>AXIII, AXVI</sup>; «king»<sup>AXX</sup>; «sovereign»<sup>M10</sup>.

var. en-en: «re (di paesi stranieri)», ma anche «re (defunti di Ebla), antenati reali»<sup>AIX</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115+	r.IX:5	EN
[β] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115+	r.XIII:33	nam-en
[γ] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115+	r.XIII:34	nam-nam-en

Ebla unilingual

[δ] VE (906)	EN / ša-[š]a-ḫu-[lu]-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.XIII:39-40
[ε] VE (906)	EN / šu-šu-ḫu-lum	MEE 4, 13+	r.XII:2'-3'
[ζ] VE (906)	EN / ša-ša-ḫu-lum	MEE 4, 65+	r.V:33-34
[η] VE (1088)	ˀnam <sup>1</sup> -en / [ma]-ˀli <sup>1</sup> -[gu <sub>2</sub> ]-ˀum <sup>1</sup>	MEE 4, 1+	r.XIX:38-39
[θ] VE (1088)	nam-en / ma-li-gu <sub>2</sub> -um	MEE 4, 65+	r.XI:11-12
[i] VE (1089)	[nam]-ˀnam <sup>1</sup> -en / du-da-<li>-gu <sub>2</sub> -um	MEE 4, 1+	r.XIX:40-41
[κ] VE (1089)	nam-nam-en / du-da-li-gu <sub>2</sub> -um	MEE 4, 65+	r.XI:13-14

**Bibliography:** Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.426–28, 635–36 with bibliography; Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.478, fn.7; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979), pp.5–6; Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p.38; Marchesi and Marchetti, *MC* 14 (2011), pp.103–5; Pettinato, *Ebla orizzonti* (1986), pp.138–39; Seminara, *AuOr* 14 (1996), p.80 fn.1, with bibliography; Steinkeller, in *Priests* (1999), p.111, p.113 fn.34; Tonietti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.238–39

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** abba<sub>2</sub>, dam PN/en [GN] (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-nita en/PN (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en/PN (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), *MA-LIK-TUM*, maškim (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *ma-za-lum* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), ugula

<sup>347</sup> On di-ku<sub>5</sub> with the preposition al<sub>6</sub>, see Tonietti, *Sistema Preposizionale* (2013), p.137; on travel provisions (nig<sub>2</sub>-kaskal), see Milano, in *Paleonutrition* (2014), p.287.

<sup>348</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), pp.78–81.

<sup>349</sup> [75.1768 = A VII 154], [75.2514 = A VII 155], [75.1620 = A VII 156]. For the duties of the judge with regards to rural estates transactions mentioned in unpublished documents, see Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), pp.233–35.

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en; e<sub>2</sub> maḥ. GNs related to foreign kings: *A-bar-SAL*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-li-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-du-ur*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-ga-ga-li-iš*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ḥa-na-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ma-ri<sub>2</sub>-im*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ma-rum*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ša*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-ḥa-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-ma-a*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-mi(-um)*<sup>ki</sup>, *Aš-dar-lum*<sup>ki</sup>, *'A<sub>3</sub>-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *'A<sub>3</sub>-za-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Bu<sub>14</sub>-ur-tin*<sup>ki</sup>, *Bur-ma-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-bu<sub>14</sub>-nu-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Da-da-nu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-na-NE*<sup>ki</sup>, *Dal-la-zu-gur*<sup>ki</sup>, *Dar-ra-zu-gu<sub>2</sub>-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-su/zu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-nu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ga-kam*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Gar<sub>3</sub>-me/mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gar<sub>3</sub>-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-num*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra(-ra)-bal*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥa-ma-zi-im*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥa-ra-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥa-su/zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥal-sum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥu-ma-KA*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥu-ti-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḥu-za-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-bu-bu*<sub>16</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *I-bu<sub>(16)</sub>-ib*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *I-bu<sub>16</sub>-bu*<sup>ki</sup>, *I-NI-su*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *I-NI-tum*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>-bu*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-la-ar*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-ra-ar*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-la*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-su*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir-i-dum/tum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir-i-ib*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Kab-lu<sub>(5)</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup>, *Kab-lu<sub>(5)</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup>, *Kak-kam*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Kak-me/mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Kiš*<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-mu-na-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-ri<sub>2</sub>-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Lum-na-an/nu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-nu-wa-ad/du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-ša-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma/mu-nu-ti-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Mar-tu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Na-bu*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Na-gar*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *NE-na-su*<sup>ki</sup>, *NI-la/ra-ar*<sup>ki</sup>, *NI-za-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ra-'a<sub>3</sub>-ag/gu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša(-na)nab-zu-gum*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-da-gu/ḥu-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-da-ḥu-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-kam*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Sa-mu-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša/še<sub>3</sub>-ti-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ši-bi<sub>2</sub>-li*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Si-da-ri<sub>2</sub>-in*<sup>ki</sup>, *Su-NE-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-ti-gu<sub>(2)</sub>/ig*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-za-mi-im*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-za-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-sa*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ur<sub>(2)</sub>-sa<sub>(2)</sub>-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Uš-ḥu-lum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Za-bur-rum*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Za-la-bu<sub>16</sub>-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Za-ma-rum*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Za-'a<sub>3</sub>-ar*<sup>ki</sup>, *Zu-gur-lum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Zu<sub>2</sub>-mu-na-anki* (see also Figure 17, p.137).

**People:** *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*

**Accounting models:** given the high number of attestations of the term, the most relevant textual patterns are shown below. The term en is often attested in syntagmatic expressions of the type e<sub>2</sub> en (“house of the king”), dam en (“lady of the king”), ama-gal en (“mother of the king”). See sub contextual associations for a list of these lemmas (see Figure 16, p.136).

#### [01] Ebla kings

- [fabrics] sag en
- [fabrics] en PN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [fabrics] en *si-in* GN
- [fabrics] PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> za<sub>x</sub> en (*in* GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti)
  - [fabrics] en *si-in* GN (goods) en *si-in* GN PN ugula za<sub>x</sub> šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [fabrics] †PN<sub>1-n</sub> dam en (tur)
  - [goods] †PN dam en *in* GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [fabrics] PN<sub>1-n</sub> dumu-nita en
- [fabrics] šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> udua<sub>x</sub> en šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub> DN GN
- [fabrics] mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> en *wa I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*
- [fabrics] PN<sub>1-n</sub> ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> en (*in* GN)
- [fabrics] (2 šu) en e<sub>2</sub>-ti<sup>ug2</sup>
- [fabrics] lu<sub>2</sub> mu-DU *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* en šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
  - [fabrics] mu-DU GN i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag en *wa* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum PN *in* ud ḥul<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> tug<sub>2</sub>? *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>
- [silver] nig<sub>2</sub>-ki-za en e<sub>3</sub>

#### [02] en GN

- [fabrics] en GN {[goods] (N) abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>] (goods) maškim-su<sub>3</sub> (and/or) (goods) ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>}
- [fabrics] en GN (*in* gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>) šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [fabrics] i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag en GN (PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>)
- [fabrics] dumu-nita en GN (*in* GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti)
  - [fabrics] N dumu-nita en GN
  - [fabrics] ga-du<sub>8</sub> dumu-nita en GN *in* GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
  - [fabrics] N dumu-nita N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en GN
- [fabrics] †PN DAM.DINGIR dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en GN *in* GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [goods] nig<sub>2</sub>-ba en GN
- [goods] mu-DU en GN
  - [goods] mu-DU PN en GN *in* ud DU.DU nidba<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-giš e<sub>2</sub> DN e<sub>2</sub>-siki al<sub>6</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub>
- [fabrics] PN *wa* PN maškim PN GN ḥi-mu-DU gi<sub>4</sub>-e-maškim PN en GN DU.DU *si-in* GN

**Discussion:** the bilingual texts offer the gloss *ša-ša-ḥu-lu(-u)m / šu-šu-ḥu-lum* ([δ-ζ]) for the

Sumerian sign EN. Pettinato interpreted this gloss as *ša ša-ḫi-LUM* “colui che è preposto”<sup>350</sup> or “quello degli sceicchi”.<sup>351</sup> Marchesi and Marchetti suggested the interpretation of the gloss as *šašḫurum/šušḫurum*, i.e., a variant of Akk. *šušruḫu* from *šarāḫu* (“to become laden with glory, pride,” and Gt “to have a pre-eminent, glorious status”),<sup>352</sup> with metathesis of the second and third radical. It must be stressed, however, that the verb *šarāḫu* is not attested before the Old Babylonian period,<sup>353</sup> and that *šušruḫu* is attested only in Standard Babylonian, as an epithet of the god Marduk in the Assurbanipal’s Hymn to Aššur.<sup>354</sup> Krebernik hypothesized that the glosses of VE 906 ([ḏ]-[ḫ]) do not represent a Semitic word, and there is, in fact, no proof that the logogram should be read en.<sup>355</sup> Scholars agree that the Semitic word for “king” at Ebla should be *malikum* or *malkum*:<sup>356</sup> the gloss *ma-li-gu<sub>2</sub>-um* (/malīkum/, “kingship”) of nam-en ([ḫ-ḫ]) and *du-da-li-gu<sub>2</sub>-um* (/tumtallikum/, “practice of kingship”) of nam-nam-en ([ḫ-ḫ]), both derive from the root \**mlk*. Besides, *MA-LIK-TUM* is the Semitic logogram for “queen” (see sub → *MA-LIK-TUM*): most Semitic terms related to kingship have thus a spelling based on the root \**mlk*. However, a direct equivalence en = *mal(i)kum* can not be demonstrated: the theophoric element *-ma-lik* can be interpreted both as “counsellor” (*mālik*) and as “king” (*malik*). Although most scholars are in favor of the latter interpretation, the meaning “counsellor” for the root \**mlk* seems to be attested in at least one Eblaite proper name, *Miliktum* (*Mi-li-gi-du*).<sup>357</sup> Furthermore, the sign en with a logographic value never occurs in proper names, and there is no alternation between en and *ma-lik* in onomastics. For a detailed discussion on the meaning(s) of the root \**mlk*, see sub → *MA-LIK-TUM*.

The translation of en as “king,” despite its meaning “high priest” in Mesopotamia, relies mainly on the contexts in which the term is attested: particularly puzzling has been, since the beginning of Eblaite studies, the difference in meaning associated with the terms en and lugal.<sup>358</sup> Although lugal has been often interpreted as logographic writing for *ba‘lum*, “lord”, the onomastic element lugal alternates with *šar* (see sub → lugal). As it happens for the Semitic logogram for queen (see sub → *MA-LIK-TUM*), the kings of Ebla are never mentioned by name, and the title en is used to designate the king(s) of Ebla and the kings of foreign kingdoms, with the exception of the kings of Mari and Kiš, who are called lugal. At least two pieces of evidence, however, suggest that the term en with the meaning “king” was a widespread feature of the Syrian area in this historical period. In the administrative documents from Tell Beydar/Nabada is attested the term en.<sup>359</sup> Beydar had no independent ruler during the III millennium B.C.E., and most mentions of an en thus refer to the king of Nagar.<sup>360</sup> The sovereigns of all geographical areas in the Ebla horizon (with the exception mentioned above of Mari and Kiš), probably shared the same idea of kingship which, contrary to Northern Babylonia, was expressed through the term en as opposed to lugal. Although the texts from Tell Beydar are the only available evidence in support of this hypothesis, the use of the term en to indicate the ruler of Nagar demonstrates the presence of a concept of kingship

<sup>350</sup> Pettinato, *Ebla orizzonti* (1986), p.139.

<sup>351</sup> Pettinato, *Città sepolta* (1999), p.219.

<sup>352</sup> Marchesi and Marchetti, *MC* 14 (2011), p.105; *CAD* Š/2 (1992), s.v. *šarāḫum*, p.36ff.

<sup>353</sup> See *CAD* Š/2 (1992), s.v. *šarāḫum*, p.36ff.

<sup>354</sup> Livingstone, *SAA* 3 (1989), p.9.

<sup>355</sup> Krebernik, in *LLLE* (1992), pp.111–12. See also Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979), p.6, who suggested that the gloss of VE 906, not based on the root \**mlk*, might be an “attributo protocollare” of the king, “cioè l’appellativo del formulario di corte usato per indirizzarsi al sovrano,” without any further interpretation.

<sup>356</sup> Tonietti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.238–39, observed that onomastic and lexical data suggest that the Semitic word for “king” had a *pars-* (*malkum*) rather than a *paris-* (*malikum*) pattern.

<sup>357</sup> van Soldt, *OLA* 118 (2003), p.456, with bibliography.

<sup>358</sup> See Seminara, *AuOr* 14 (1996), pp.79–80, and fns.1 and 2, with bibliography.

<sup>359</sup> The 247 cuneiform documents found at Tell Beydar have been published in Ismail et al., *Subartu* II (1996), and by Milano, in *Subartu* XXXIII (2014). For the en of Nagar see esp. Ismail et al., *Subartu* II (1996), p.105, and pp.121–22.

<sup>360</sup> A few other en are mentioned, although Nagar is the only GN attested also in the Ebla Archives. See the text *Subartu* II nr.122, discussed in Sallaberger, in *OLA* 96 (1999), p.403f.

shared among the sovereigns of Upper Mesopotamia, at least from Ebla to the Ḥabur triangle. The different perspectives on kingship which characterized Upper Mesopotamia and Northern Babylonia during the age of the Archives, also echo in the Old Akkadian period: Naramsin, in his inscription concerning the military campaign against Tallḥadum,<sup>361</sup> calls the rulers of the Upper Mesopotamian region EN.EN 'aliātīm (ENSI<sub>2</sub>.ENSI<sub>2</sub> ŠUBUR.KI u<sub>3</sub> EN.EN a-li<sub>2</sub>-a-tim, “the city rulers of Subartu and the rulers of the Upper (Lands)).”<sup>362</sup>

The features which distinguished the Upper Mesopotamian kingship from the Northern Babylonian one are difficult to identify: as Catagnoti observed, the Eblaite concept of kingship must be linked to the West Semitic root \*mlk.<sup>363</sup> In light of the above, the most problematic aspect in the translation “king” of the term en is that it implies a concept of monarchy that cannot be demonstrated. The en was certainly supported in the exercise of power by the vizier: a role of great importance also had the lords (→ lugal) and the group of high representatives of the chief families (→ abba<sub>2</sub>). In the absence of a more adequate term, “king” is the most appropriate translation: other solutions would be excessively generic.<sup>364</sup>

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\*enku (ZAG.ḤA) (2): ?

**Previous translation(s):** «esattore»<sup>AIV</sup>; «riscossore»<sup>AXV</sup>

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.135

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, a:tu<sub>5/22</sub>

**Other:** d' A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>

**Discussion:** the term enku recurs only in [75.1438 = A XV 21] o.II:10-14 and [75.1520 = A IV 17] o.IV:5-9. In both texts the term is connected to the god Hadda-Ba'al: as Bonechi noted,<sup>365</sup> enku recurs in the same position (between du<sub>11</sub>(.ga) and a DN) where the terms nidba<sub>2</sub> or i<sub>3</sub>-sa-ri<sub>2</sub> are expected. See sub → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, → a:tu<sub>5/22</sub>, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153.

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en-nu(n)-ak (6): «keeper»

See also → igi!(ME)-sig

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AIII, AIV</sup>; «sorvegliare, custodire»<sup>AXI</sup>; «custode»<sup>AXII, AXIII</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.IX:7	en-nun-ak
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.V:31	en-nun-ak
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 48	r.III':1	en- <sup>ˀ</sup> nun <sup>ˀ</sup> -ak
[δ] Practical Voc. A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 44	o.IV:13	en-nun-ak
[ε] List of PNs	<i>MEE</i> 3, 59	r.III:4	en-nun-ak

<sup>361</sup> See Westenholz, in *OBO* 160/3 (1999), p.47, and fn.151. Westenholz also rules out a possible meaning “lord” (*bēlum*) for en, considering it “wildly anachronistic.”

<sup>362</sup> *RIME* 2.1.4.25, 33-37; see also *RIME* 2.1.4.2, col. i, 2-6.

<sup>363</sup> Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), p.228.

<sup>364</sup> See also Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), pp.201–3.

<sup>365</sup> Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.135 fn. 8.

Ebla bilingual

[ḡ] VE (908)	en-nun-ak / <i>na-za-lum</i>	MEE 4, 13+	r.XII:6'-7'
[ḡ] VE (908)	en-nun-ak / <i>na-za-lum</i>	MEE 4, 65+	r.V:36-37

**Bibliography:** Archi, *NABU* 1998/87 (1998); Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.87, with bibliography; Catagnoti, *AsiAna* 1 (2019), with bibliography; Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.498–500, with bibliography; Sanmartín, *AuOr* 9 (1991), pp.198–99.

**Accounting models:**

[01] [...] en-nun-ak / agrun / en / in / GN

[02] [fabrics] / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> PN / en-nun-ak

[03] [...] PN / e-nun-ak / ambar / DN

**Prosopography:** *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ma<sub>2</sub>-LUM*,

**Discussion:** see the discussion sub → igi[!(ME)]-sig.

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igi[!(ME)]-sig (35): «keeper»

See also → en-nu/nun-ak

**Previous translation(s):** (un funzionario?)<sup>4IX</sup>; «attendente; custode» (LL722)<sup>4XII</sup>; «guardiano»<sup>4XVI</sup>; «custodian, watchmen»<sup>4XX</sup>; «me-si<sub>11</sub> people»<sup>M10</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.IV:14	igi-sig
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Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (722)	igi- <sup>˘</sup> sig / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	o.IX:17
[γ] VE (722)	igi-sig / <i>na-zi-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	o.XIX33'
[δ] VE (722)	igi-sig / <i>na-zi-bu<sub>3</sub>-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.VII:30

**Bibliography:** Catagnoti, *AsiAna* 1 (2019); Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.498–500.

**Accounting models:**

[01] [fabrics] / PN / igi-sig / *a-ba-lun*

[02] [goods] / igi-sig / e<sub>2</sub>-en

**Prosopography:**<sup>366</sup> *Gu<sub>2</sub>-za*

**Discussion:** the term igi-sig has been recently studied in detail by Catagnoti.<sup>367</sup> The parallelism in the use of this term and en-nun-ak, as well as the close semantic relationship between the two terms, demonstrate their equivalence. The gloss *na-za-lum* of en-nun-ak (VE 908) can be interpreted as an infinitive, *našārum*, from \**nzr*, “to watch.” the gloss *na-zi-bu<sub>3</sub>(-um)* of igi-sig (VE 722) is instead based on the root \**nšb*, “to stand.” The keepers watched over important places or properties: among the important places are several temples, cultic places, and the Palace.

<sup>366</sup> See the prosopography published in Catagnoti, *AsiAna* 1 (2019), p.36–37.

<sup>367</sup> Catagnoti, *AsiAna* 1 (2019), esp. pp.21–24.

KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG (16): «gatekeeper»

**Previous translation(s):** (una professione)<sup>41V</sup>; «guardiano»<sup>41X, 4XV</sup>;<sup>368</sup> «addetto alla porta»<sup>4XII, 4XIII</sup>; «gatekeeper»<sup>4XX</sup>.

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	o.VII:37	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 7	o.III':3'	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG
[γ] EBK	MEE 15, 27	r.VI:28	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG
[δ] List of PNs	MEE 3, 59	o.IV:5	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG
[ε] Word List A	MEE 3, 53	o.IV:5	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG

Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (269)	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 13+	o.VIII:15'
[η] VE (269)	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG / ša-ḥa-lum	MEE 4, 24	o.VII:7
[θ] VE (269)	KID <sub>2</sub> .SAG / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+	o.VIII:17
[ι] VE (269)	siki sag / saraga <sub>x</sub> (SAG.RIG <sub>9</sub> ) / [x-x] <sup>r</sup> ra <sup>r</sup> -um	MEE 4, 81 <sup>369</sup>	r.III:10-11

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Fs Giorgadze* (2002); Bonechi, *RA* 106 (2012); Civil, *AuOr* 8 (1990), p.111; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.110; Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.766.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam en, dam abba<sub>2</sub>, ga-du<sub>8</sub>, ib-ib, a-am-a-am, ir<sub>11</sub>, lu<sub>2</sub> GA<sub>2</sub> and gišnu-kiri<sub>6</sub>, ur<sub>4</sub>

**Places:** GIGIR<sup>ki</sup>, Ḥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>

### Phraseologies:

[01] (fabrics) NP / dumu-nita / NP / KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG / in / NG / šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[02] N še (gu<sub>2</sub>-bar) KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG

[03] N KIN siki / KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG / E<sub>2</sub>×KASKAL / DN / in u<sub>4</sub> / [m]a-da-u<sub>3</sub> dumu-nita en / e<sub>3</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> / DN

[04a] (fabrics) / KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG / en / NG

[04b] (fabrics) / KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG / ka<sub>2</sub> / NP

### Prosopography:<sup>370</sup>

*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-<sup>2</sup>a<sub>3</sub>/u<sub>9</sub>, *A-da*<sub>5</sub>, *A-zu*<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, *Ar-si-a-ḥa*, *Aš*<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, *Ba-li*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik, *Da/Du-bu*<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>/šu, *Da-nu*-LUM, *Du-bu*<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-NI, *En*-BE, *En-na-ba-al*<sub>6</sub>, *Gul-la*, *Gul-la*(-II), *I-i-bu*<sub>16/3</sub>, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-gul/ig, *I-šar*, *Ib-dur*-i<sub>3</sub>, *Il*<sub>x</sub>-zi-ma-NI, *I-lu*<sub>5</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik, *I*<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL, *Ig-na-da-im*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>3</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-a-ti-lu, *Ḥi-bi*<sub>2</sub>-a, [Mi-nu-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra], *Na-zi*, *Nab-ḥa-il*, *Puzur*<sub>4</sub>-ra-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, *Puzur*<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, *Šu*-i<sub>3</sub>-lum, *Šu*-i<sub>3</sub>-lum-II, *Šu-ni/ne*-ar<sub>3</sub>, *U*<sub>2</sub>-gu-ša-nu, *Zu-a-bu*<sub>3</sub>, (based on [75.537 = A IX 44] rev.X:3');

**Groups:** two different groups of gatekeepers can be identified. Both groups are dated to the time

<sup>368</sup> Vedi anche commento *ARET IX*: 393.

<sup>369</sup> Originally read by Pettinato, *MEE* 4 81 (p.102), as KID<sub>2</sub>-sag / ḥub<sub>2</sub>-sag <sup>r</sup>x / [...-r]a-um. See the *DCCLT/MEE* 4, 18 edition of the text, esp. note 16.

<sup>370</sup> See also the Prosopography of Ebla Project ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list\\_of\\_pn/kid-sag.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list_of_pn/kid-sag.pdf)) (2018-03-15).



of minister Yibrium.

Group 1: *Da-bu<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> / Da-bu<sub>3</sub>-šu / Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-šu, Da-nu-LUM<sub>2</sub>, Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-hu-NI, I-i-bu<sub>16</sub> / I-i-bu<sub>3</sub>, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu / I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig, I-šar, Ib-dur-NI, Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba, [Mi-nu-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra], Šu-ni-ar<sub>3</sub> / Šu-ne-ar<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>2</sub>-gu-ša-nu* (based on [75.2590 = A I 6], [75.1743 = A XX 9], and [75.10183]; see Bonechi *RA* 106 (2012), p.34).

Group 2: *A-bi<sub>2</sub>-’ a<sub>3</sub> / A-bi<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>9</sub>, A-da<sub>5</sub>, A-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, Ar-si-a-ḥa, Aš<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ba-li, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik, En-BE, En-na-ba-al<sub>6</sub>, Gul-la, Gul-la(-II), I-lu<sub>5</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik, I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL, Ig-na-da-im, Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba, Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>3</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ti-lu, Ḥi-bi<sub>2</sub>-a, Na-zi, Nab-ḥa-il, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum, Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum-II, Zu-a-bu<sub>3</sub>* (based on [75.1263], [75.1298], and [75.1318]); see Archi, in *Fs Giorgadze* (2002<sup>2</sup>), p.155].

**Discussion:** The gloss *ša-ḥa-lum* (*VE* 269, [ḥ]) has been interpreted as /taggārum/ (Ug. *tgr*, “gatekeeper”), interpretation commonly accepted by most scholars.<sup>371</sup> Civil prefers to interpret KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG as “doorkeeper” rather than “gatekeeper”: the term for “door”, <sup>giš</sup>TAG<sub>4</sub>.SAG, is mentioned in the *EDPV* A (240; EA, EC: <sup>giš</sup>TAK<sub>4</sub>.SAG; AA: <sup>giš</sup>LAM.SAG) among the entries that list types of wooden objects.<sup>372</sup> Civil and Powell both agree that the verbs ḡal<sub>2</sub>--tak<sub>4</sub> and tak<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> (“to open”) form a different semantic group and should be treated separately from šu--tak<sub>4</sub> (“to send”).<sup>373</sup> Two verified lists of KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG are available at present: the first (Group 1) has been published by Archi, the second (Group 2) by Bonechi.<sup>374</sup> Bonechi recognized a parallel between [75.2590 = A I 6] rev. X:1-29 and two other unpublished texts, [75.1743] and [75.10183]: in [75.2590 = A I 6] the gatekeepers are mentioned by name and followed by *aš<sub>2</sub>-da* GN. These geographical names are mentioned also in [75.1671 = A II 18] where they are connected to the ugula *še*. According to Archi both lists can be dated to the time of minister Yibrium (see further).

In [75.1318], one of the three texts through which Group 2 has been reconstructed, KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG is replaced by ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>: a further connection between ur<sub>4</sub> and KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG can be found in [75.1560 = *AR* XV 28], where a man named *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* bears both qualifications.<sup>375</sup>

In [75.455 = A IX 41] and [75.457 = A IX 42] the gatekeepers are the recipients of food provisions alongside with *dam en*, *dam abba<sub>2</sub>*, *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*, *ib-ib*, (*a-am*-)*a-am*, *ir<sub>11</sub>* of the GIGIR<sup>ki</sup>, *lu<sub>2</sub> GA<sub>2</sub>*, and <sup>giš</sup>nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>: it thus seems that at least one group of KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG was connected to the Palace. According to Milano,<sup>376</sup> the quantity of cereals delivered suggests the presence of 8 KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG. Only one more gatekeeper is mentioned (by name) in the texts from the Small Archive L.2712 (*Il<sub>x</sub>-zi-ma-NI*, in [75.537 = A IX 44] rev. X:1’-4’). A KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG is mentioned in connection with a “gate” (*ka<sub>2</sub>*) only in two texts: [75.1585 = A XV 31] obv.IV:14-18 a KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG of the gate of *Ḥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>* receives one SAL<sup>lug<sub>2</sub></sup>, while in [75.1727 = A XV 33] obv.XIII:10-13 a KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG of the gate of Arrulum receives a *gu-dul<sub>3</sub><sup>lug<sub>2</sub></sup>* and a SAL<sup>lug<sub>2</sub></sup>. See also the discussion sub → ur<sub>4</sub>.

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*KU-TU* (46): «guarantor, trustee».

**Previous translation(s):** (interpreted as a PN)<sup>AI, AVII, AXV, M10</sup>; [Unklar. Personenbezeichnung]<sup>AI</sup>; «an object from Mari, or of Mari style»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «(agente) fiduciario»<sup>AXII, AXVI</sup>; (un tipo di personale)<sup>AXIII</sup>; «delegate, emissary»<sup>AXX</sup>; «funzionario-K.»<sup>M7</sup>; (K.-Tiere)<sup>M12</sup>

<sup>371</sup> Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.110; *DUL*<sup>3</sup>: 901-902; Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), p.393.

<sup>372</sup> Civil, *ARES* IV (2008), p.110.

<sup>373</sup> Civil, *AuOr* 8 (1990), p.111; Powell, *ZA* 68 (1978), p.184, fn.34.

<sup>374</sup> Archi, in *Fs Giorgadze* (2002<sup>2</sup>), p.156; Bonechi, *RA* 106 (2012), p.34.

<sup>375</sup> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* is listed by Archi, in *Fs Giorgadze* (2002<sup>2</sup>), p.156, among the gatekeepers of the time of minister Arrulum. It is not possible to ascertain if this *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* is the same person mentioned in both Group 1 and Group 2.

<sup>376</sup> Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), p.126 (see table).

**Bibliography:** Milano, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), pp.421–22; Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI, p.248;

**Prosopography:** for *KU-TU* as a PN, see *The Prosopography of Ebla* K.

**Discussion:** Milano compares Eblaite *KU-TU* to Akk. *kattû*, «one who guarantees, guarator».<sup>377</sup> For a list of PNs containing the element *KU-TU*, see Milano, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), pp.421 fn.56.

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**lugal** (177): «lord»

**Previous translation(s):** «signore»<sup>41</sup>; [no transl.]<sup>411</sup>; «re» (per Mari e le regioni orientali); «governatore» (per la regione eblaita)<sup>411</sup>; «re» (per Mari; ad Ebla e in altre città il termine indica un tipo di funzionario)<sup>414</sup>; «signore» (titolo dei più alti funzionari eblaiti), «re» (titolo riferito ai sovrani di stati mesopotamici, come Mari e Kish)<sup>417</sup>; «king»<sup>418</sup>; 1) «signore» (titolo dei più alti funzionari eblaiti); 2) «re» (titolo riferito ai sovrani di Mari e Kish)<sup>421</sup>; 1) «signore»; 2) «re» (titolo riferito ai sovrani di stati mesopotamici, inclusa Mari)<sup>423</sup>; «governatore»<sup>425, M2, M7</sup>; «re» (titolo riferito ai sovrani di stati mesopotamici, inclusa Mari)<sup>426</sup>; 1) «lord» (title of Eblaite highest officials); 2) «king» (title of the rulers of Mari and Kiš)<sup>427</sup>; «governor»<sup>M10</sup>

lugal kunga<sub>2</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>: «governatore dei mercenari»<sup>M7</sup>

lugal dam-AN: «governatore delle ‘donne della divinità’»<sup>M7</sup>

lugal lal<sub>3</sub>: «responsabile del miele»<sup>M7</sup>

lugal udu-udu: «signore degli ovini»<sup>428</sup>

## Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1402')                      lugal / [no gloss]                      MEE 4, 63+                      r.VII:15

**Bibliography:** Archi, *SEb* 4 (1981); Archi, *MARI* 4 (1985); Archi, *MARI* 5 (1987); Archi, *PdP* 46 (1991), pp.205ff.; Archi, in *Fs Szarzyńska* (1998); Archi, *VO* 12 (2000); Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.513; Geller, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987); Pettinato *Ebla impero* (1979), p.26; Pomponio, *AuOr* 2 (1984); Seminara, *AuOr* 14 (1996).

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** en

**Places:** *A-ba-su*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ba-tum*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-na-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-ra-’a*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-sa-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *A-wa-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ti-in*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-zu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ab*<sub>2</sub>-*sa-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ra-tim*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*na-ga-nelnu*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-ad*<sup>ki</sup> *lu*<sub>2</sub> *Za-lu-ud*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*nu-ga-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ag/gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *’A*<sub>3</sub>-*wa-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *Bi*<sub>2</sub>-*na-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Bur-ma-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-gar*<sub>3</sub>-*za-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *Dag-ba-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Dar-ab*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-ra-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ĥu-za-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gar*<sub>3</sub>-*la-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ra-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *I-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ib*<sup>ki</sup> *I-ti-NI*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ig-du-ra*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*i-tum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ku-u*<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Iš-du-mu-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Kiš*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma*<sub>2</sub>-*NE*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Mu-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig/gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *NE-zi-gi-NI*<sup>ki</sup>, *NI-gi-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-da-u*<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Mar-tum*<sup>ki</sup>, *Na-na-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *Sa-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *Su-u*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-da-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-da-dub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Uš-du-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>, *Za-ar*<sub>3</sub>-*zu-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *Za-la-ga-tum*<sup>ki</sup> *Za-ra-mi-iš*<sup>ki</sup>, *Zi-da-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>. See also Archi, *MARI* 5 (1987), p.41–42.

## Accounting models

[01a] [silver] / PN / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / lugal [/ GN (/ iti MN)]

[01b] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / lugal / PN / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / lugal (/ iti MN)

[01b] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / lugal / GN

<sup>377</sup> Milano, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), pp.421–22; CAD K (1971), s.v. *kattû*.

**Prosopography:** A-BAD, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub> [*Dul*<sub>3</sub>/*Ti-wa-ga-ba-al*<sub>6</sub>], *A-bu*, *A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-*lum*, *A-da-mu*, *A-gi*-NI, *A-ma-lik* [lugal NE-*zi-gi*-NI<sup>ki</sup>], *A-me/mi*-*i*<sub>3</sub>, *A-mi-du*, *A-mu-ti* [lugal *A-ra*-*'a*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup> / lugal Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup> / lugal *Bi*<sub>2</sub>-*na-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>], *A-mur-da-mu*, *A-na-ma*, *A-zu*<sub>2</sub>-*ma/mu*, *A*-*'a*<sub>3</sub>-*lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM [*Lu-da-u*<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>], *Ar-si-a-ḥa*, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*gi* [ur<sub>4</sub>], *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*i-šar*, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*teš*<sub>2</sub>, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*wa-ra* [dumu-nita *I-gi*], *Ba-ga-ma*, *Ba-ḥa/ḥi-ga*, BAD-*da-mu*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*gi-su*, *Da*-*'gar*<sub>3</sub>-*'du*, *Da-zi-ma-ad*, *Dab*<sub>6</sub>-*da-ar*, *Dam-da-il* lugal *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*nu-ga-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *Dar-mi-a/lu*, *Du-bi*<sub>2</sub> [ugula *A-ba-tum*<sup>ki</sup> / *A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*lu*<sup>ki</sup>], *Du-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*šum* [lu<sub>2</sub> EN-šID / ur<sub>4</sub>], *Du-na-sa-gi* [ur<sub>4</sub>], *Du-nu-si-ki*, *Du-zi-kir* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Su-ba-ti*], *Dub-da-ar*, EN-*a-mar*, EN-*ar-ma*, EN-*da-za/zi*, EN-*ga-u*<sub>9</sub> [lugal DAM. DINGIR], EN-*gi-iš* *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*wa-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, EN-*gi-iš-ar*, EN-*ma-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *U*<sub>3</sub>-*sa*, EN-*ma-lik*, EN-*mar-ru*<sub>12</sub>, EN-*mar*, EN-*na-il*, EN-*na*-BAD [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa*<sub>2</sub>-*gu-si*], EN-*na-da-mu* [lu<sub>2</sub> / lugal *lal*<sub>3</sub>], EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>/*il* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*da-mu* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Zi-ba-da* / ugula *Dag-ba-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *A-wa-du*<sup>ki</sup> / lu<sub>2</sub> TAR.ḤUR / lu<sub>2</sub> *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-du* / lugal IGI. NITA-IGL.NITA / ugula IGL.NITA / ugula], EN-*na-ma-lik* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ri*<sub>2</sub> / lugal *ir*<sub>11</sub>-*ir*<sub>11</sub>], EN-*na-ma*, EN-*na-ni-il* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*da-mu* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], EN-*šum*, EN-*zu-mu*, *Ga-da-ba-an* [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*ne-gi-mu*], *Ga-da-mu*, *Ga-ma-da-mu* [dumu-nita *Iš-u*<sub>3</sub>-*ra*], *Ga-nu*-LUM [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], GABA-*da-mu*, GABA-TUG<sub>2</sub>, *Gi-gi*, *Gi/Ki-li-im*, *Gi-ra-ma-lik*, *Gi-ti-ir*, GIBIL dumu-nita *I-gi*, GIBIL-*ma-lik*, GIBIL-*za/zi-il*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*gi-wa-an* [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-gi*], *Gur-am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa-mu-um*, *Ḥa-ra-i*<sub>3</sub> [lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*su*], *Ḥa-zu-um*, *Ḥab*<sub>2</sub>-*ra-ar*, *Ḥu-mi-lu*, *I-ba/ba*<sub>4</sub>/*ba*<sub>x</sub>-*zi-nu*, *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu* lugal NE-*ba-ra-at*<sup>ki</sup>, *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*da-si-in*, *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*šum* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-lu-šum* / lugal *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-ad*<sup>ki</sup> lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-lu-ud*<sup>ki</sup> / *Ša-da-dub*<sup>ki</sup>], *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-kir* [ugula], *I-da-il*, *I-da-ne/ni-gi/ki-mu* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ḥar*<sup>2</sup>-*il*], *I-du-ba* lugal *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *I-gu-uš* [dumu-nita *Na-a-ma*], *I-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš*<sup>ki</sup>, *I-ib-ma-lik* [lugal *Ti-ga-mi*], *I-mu-da-mu* [dumu-nita en / lugal *I-ti*-NI<sup>ki</sup>], *I-mu-ud-da-mu*, *I-mur-li-im*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*gu*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*gu*-*u*<sub>2</sub>/*um*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig-da-mu*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig-i*<sub>3</sub>, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig-ze*<sub>2</sub>, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*in-na-ba*, *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*su Zi-da-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *I-šar* dumu-nita *I-gi*, *I-ti-ba-li-im*, *I-ti*-[d]Ga-*mi-iš* [ugula], *I-ti-gi-li-im*, *I-ti-in*-NI-LAM, *I-ti*-NE lugal *Ab*<sub>2</sub>-*sa-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-da-ra-ak*, *Ib-du-ra* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-NE-la*, *Ib-dur-a-ru*<sub>12</sub> šeš *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*kab-ar*, *Ib-dur-i-šar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Me*<sup>2</sup>-*la-lu*<sub>x</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-gi-ti-ma* / maškim *I-dub-da-mu*], *Ib-dur-il*, *Ib-gi-da-mu* [*A-na-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> / dumu-nita en / *U*<sub>3</sub>-*ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>14</sub>], *Ib-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*i-šar* lugal *Iš-du-mu-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-NE-um*, *Ib-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*um*, *Ib-su-ul-da-mu* lugal *Ša-da-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-u*<sub>9</sub>-*da-mu* [lugal NI-*gi-mu*<sup>ki</sup>], *Ib-u*<sub>9</sub>-*mu-ud* [ugula], *Ig-na-da-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Gi-gi* / ugula *A-ba-su*<sup>ki</sup> / ugula *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>], *Ig-na-da-mu* [UL.KI / ur<sub>4</sub>], *Ig-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*iš*, *Ig-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*sa/su*, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*a/e-i-šar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], *Il*<sub>3</sub>-*ba-um*, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*gu-uš-ti*, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš*<sup>ki</sup>, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-da-mu*, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*zi*, *In-gar*<sub>3</sub>-*du*, *In-ma-lik*, *In-na-zu-ra*, *In-ti*, *In-ze*<sub>2</sub>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ma-lik*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-ar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu*], *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ma-lik* [dumu-nita *I-gi* / ka<sub>2</sub> *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ra-tim*<sup>ki</sup> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-ḥa-ga*], *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ga-bu*, *Uš-du*-LUM<sup>ki</sup>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ib-ga-ar*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*kab-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Su-ba-ti* / ugula], *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-NE, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*ba* [*A-lu*<sup>ki</sup> / ur<sub>4</sub>], *Iš-da-ma*<sub>2</sub> [lugal *'A*<sub>3</sub>-*na-ga-ne/nu*<sup>ki</sup>], *Iš-da-mah*<sub>2</sub>, *Iš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu* [lugal *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup> / lugal *Na-na-ab*<sup>ki</sup>], *Iš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*gar-du*, *Iš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*il*, *Iš-ra-il*, *Iš*<sub>(11)</sub>-*ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ut* [ugula *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> / ugula *Ḥu-za-an*<sup>ki</sup>], *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*a-ma-lik*, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*a-NE-ḤAR*, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*da-mu* di-ku<sub>5</sub>, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*gi-ba-ir*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*gi-bar-zu*<sub>2</sub>, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ma*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-mu*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*zi*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*a-il*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*a-ma-lik* [ugula LAM<sub>7</sub>.KI *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>(?)], *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*da-mu* [dumu-nita *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*kab-ar* / lu<sub>2</sub> BAD-E<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Zi-ba-LUM*], *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*gi-ba-ir*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*gi-da-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-lu-šum*], *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*gi-da-mu* [lugal *Sa-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>], *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*gi*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-ar*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-mu*, *Iš*<sub>12</sub>-*zi*, *Kam*<sub>4</sub>-*da-mu*, *Ki-ti-ir* [dumu-nita *I-gi*], *Ku-šar* ur<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Dam-na-ud*, KU-*tu* [*Da-gar*<sub>3</sub>-*za-ab*<sup>ki</sup>], *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-*a-NE-NAM*, *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ar*, *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ba-an*, *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-*ze*<sub>2</sub>, [*Kun*<sub>3</sub>/*In*]-*ze*<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Da-du-lu*, *La-da-at* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>], *La-ti-a-at*, LAM-*da-mu*, *Li-ba*-*'du*, *Li-ba-at* šeš *I-gi*, *Li-ba-kam*<sub>4</sub>, *Li-kam*<sub>4</sub>, *Na-a-ma* lugal *ir*<sub>11</sub>-*ir*<sub>11</sub>, *Na-am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu*, *Na-ma-da-mu*, *Na-su-um*, *Nab-ḥa-i*<sub>3</sub>/*il*, NE-*zi-ma-a-ḥa* lugal *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-GIG, PUZUR<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ḥa-al*<sub>6</sub>, PUZUR<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik* [lu<sub>2</sub> *A-NI-um*], *Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik* [ugula *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> / ugula *kunga*<sub>2</sub> / ugula *Ig-du-ra*<sup>ki</sup>], *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>3</sub>-*uš-li-im*, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-ar*, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-li-im A-ti-in*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-ma-lik*, *Sa*<sub>2</sub>-*gu-si/šum* [ugula], *Ša-mu-um*, *Ša-u*<sub>3</sub>-*um*, SAG-*da-kam*<sub>4</sub>, *Si-da* GUL.A, *Šu-ma-lik* [dumu-nita *Ba-ti-iš-lu*<sub>x</sub>], ŠUBUR, *Šum-ma-il*, *Ti-ir*, *Ti-ti-na/nu* [lu<sub>2</sub> *kunga*<sub>2</sub>-*kunga*<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> EN-*ga-da-ba-an* / lu<sub>2</sub> *In-sa-da* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa-da-LUM* / lugal *kunga*<sub>2</sub>-*kunga*<sub>2</sub>], *U*<sub>3</sub>-*ti*, *Za-a-ti* dumu-nita *I-gi*, *Za-ba-rum*<sub>2</sub>, *Za-za-LUM*, *Ze*<sub>2</sub>-*kam*<sub>4</sub>, *Zi-ba-da*, *Zi-ba-LUM* šeš *I-gi*, *Zi-ra-ma-lik*, *Zu-zi-da*

See Archi, *VO* 12 (2000), pp.48–58 for detailed prosopography. See also Pomponio, *AuOr* 2 (1984), pp.132–35.

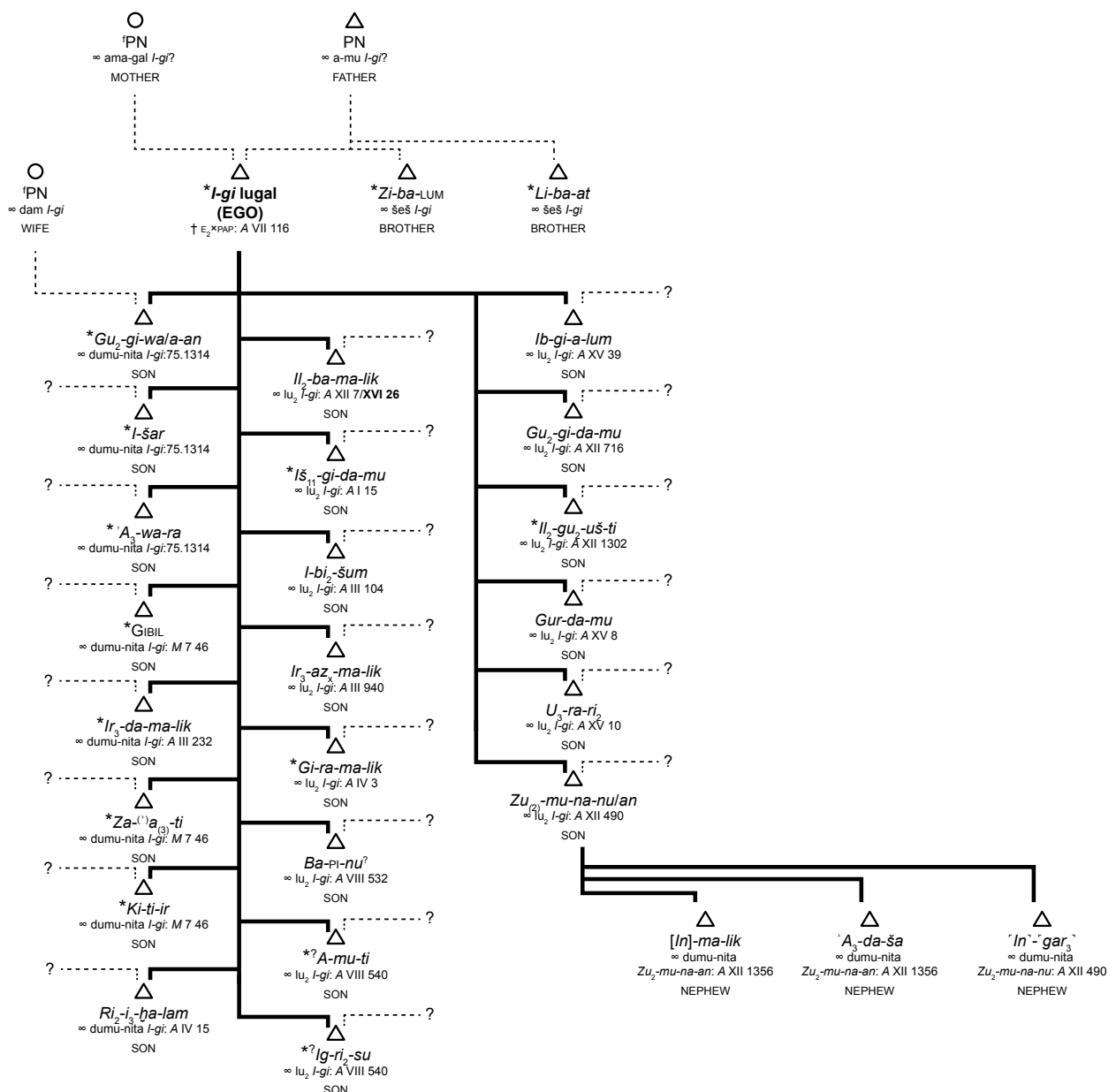


Figure 13 - Lord Yiqqi's family diagram. The members of the family who held the title of lugal are marked by a (\*).

**Discussion:** The term lugal is used to define a group of Eblaite high officials. This lemma never refers to foreign officials: contrary to en, foreign lugals are never attested in the documents. The only exception is the lugal of Mari/Kiš: in these contexts, however, lugal retains the meaning of “king.” At Mari, lugal corresponded to Semitic *šarrum*: Eblaite scribes used the sumerogram en to express their Semitic term for king, maybe *mal(i)kum* (see sub → en, → MA-LIK-TUM). These differences in the use of the terminology of kingship, although difficult to explain, certainly indicate a different conception not only of kingship itself but of the whole organization of power. Archi suggests that the Semitic reading of lugal is *ba<sup>l</sup>lum*,<sup>378</sup> which is also the Semitic equivalent of the sign BAD (see sub → BAD[-mi<sub>2</sub>] e<sub>2</sub>): an alternation between BAD/BE and lugal is attested in the divine epithet of Dagan, “lord of Tuttul” (<sup>d</sup>BAD/BE *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*), which corresponds to lugal *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>* at Mari. However, the epithet lugal *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>* is attested at Ebla in only two texts.<sup>379</sup>

<sup>378</sup> Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.513; Archi, *SANER* 7 (2015), p.37 and fn.7. See most recently Archi, *Subartu* XXXIX, (2017), p.165 fn.11.

<sup>379</sup> See Pomponio and Xella, *AOAT* 245 (1997), pp.102ff. (<sup>d</sup>BAD/BE *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*), and p.252 (lugal *Du-du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*).

Furthermore, the term *lugal*, even though no gloss is provided in the bilingual lexical lists, seems to be equivalent to *šarru*, as some graphic variants in proper names suggest: *Lugal-a-ba<sub>4</sub>* / *Šar-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*, *Da-na-lugal* / *Da-na-šar*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-lugal* / *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-sa-ru<sub>12</sub>*.<sup>380</sup> Akk. *šarru* and Ug./W.Sem. *šr* are all based on a Semitic root *\*šr* (>*\*šr*):<sup>381</sup> the origin of Akk. *šarru* are, however, difficult to establish.<sup>382</sup> The meaning “king” of *šarru* is typical of the Akk. cognate, while a meaning “prince” or “high functionary” is characteristic of West Semitic.

Liverani suggested that *lugal SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>* might be the title of the vizier:<sup>383</sup> a particularly relevant fact is the complete absence in the documentation of a term that indicates the vizier. The term ‘vizier’ was introduced to describe the political role of ArrULUM, Yibriyum, and Yibbi-Dikir: ‘vizier’ is not, however, a translation of an ancient term, since these individuals are always referred to only by their proper names. All are mentioned among the *lugals* in the mu-DU documents, but there are no elements to establish the reasons for their political prominence compared to the other lords. The *lugals* were a different social group compared to that of the high representatives of the chief families (see sub → *abba<sub>2</sub>*): some among the *abba<sub>2</sub>* were, in fact, sons of the king who, on the contrary, never appear among the *lugals*. The data on the *lugals* contained in the mu-DU documents seem to show that this title was closely linked to the family context. It is not clear if this office was hereditary: the diagram in Figure 13, p.118 shows, however, that more members of the same family could be part of the *lugal* group.<sup>384</sup> The criterion of selection does not seem to be the descent since some among Yiqqī’s sons do not appear among the *lugals*. The king is often associated with cultic events: there are no elements, however, to argue that the king’s duties were mainly cultic, since also Yibriyum and Yibbi-Dikir are mentioned in connection with cultic practices.

Archi divided the texts concerning the *lugals* in four periods, according to the most prominent *lugal(s)* mentioned in the documents:<sup>385</sup>

- Ia and b: Darmia and Tir (group Ia concerns annual deliveries, while group Ib concerns occasional deliveries);
- II: ArrULUM;
- III: Yibriyum;
- IV: Yibbi’-Dikir.

Periods III and IV seem to be internally coherent and substantially different, on a prosopographical basis, from periods I and II. The graph in Figure 14, p.122 illustrates the chronological distribution of the *lugals* according to the texts. The nodes represent the texts and the *lugals*:<sup>386</sup> each link represents the mention of a *lugal* in a given document.

As it can be noticed, Archi’s chronology is largely confirmed: Groups Ia, Ib, and II (colors blue, orange and magenta) are clearly detached from Groups III and IV (yellow, green). The nodes bridging the gap between the two poles are very common PNs, like *En-na-il*, *Ti-ti-na*, and *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*: if these were deleted, almost no connection would persist between the two poles, *i.e.*, there would be almost no match between the prosopography of periods I and II, and that of periods III and IV. The graph reflects what has already been noticed, *i.e.*, a substantial change in the administration during the transition from Yirkab-Damu/ArrULUM’s to Yitgar-Damu/Yibriyum’s

<sup>380</sup> See also Marchesi and Marchetti, *MC* 14 (2194), pp.103–4 and fn.57.

<sup>381</sup> *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *šr* III, p.829, “prince, sovereign, divine title”; *DNWSI*, s.v. *šr*<sub>2</sub>, p.1190–1, “prince, high functionary”; *CAD* Š/2 (1992), s.v. *šarru*, p.76ff., “1. king (when referring to foreigners, often petty king, tribal chief); 2. Regulus.”

<sup>382</sup> See Kogan, *Genealogical Classification* (2015), p.92.

<sup>383</sup> Liverani, *Ancient Near East* (2014), p.122.

<sup>384</sup> A high resolution image file can be downloaded from the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/Figures/Yiqqi.svg>.

<sup>385</sup> Archi, *VO* 12 (2000).

<sup>386</sup> An interactive version of the graph is available at the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/lugal-network/index.html>.

A high resolution image file can be downloaded from the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/Figures/lugal-network.svg>.

periods: this change is detectable not only in the administrative practice and in the prosopography, but also in the scribal administrative habits.<sup>387</sup>The texts concerning the mu-DU lugal published to date are:

Text	Period	Colophon
[75.1219 = Archi, in <i>Eblaitica</i> 1 (1987), pp.77–78]	la 1	[total] mu-DU (on edge: mu-DU 97)
[75.1296 = M 2 15]	la 2	mu-DU / lugal-lugal / 6 mu / i[ti] [M]A× <i>ganatenû</i> -SAG
[75.1350 = M 2 34]	la 3	dub lugal-lugal na-ru <sub>2</sub>
[75.1357 = M 2 36]	la 4	dub / dingir <i>i<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu</i> / 6 mu
[75.1370 = M 2 44]	la 5	[broken]
[75.1373 = M 2 47]	la 6	mu-DU / lugal-lugal / in / iti <i>i<sub>3</sub>-nun</i> / DU / <i>Dar<sub>5</sub>-kab-du-lum</i>
[75.1549 = A II 25]	la 10	[total] / udu-udu / in-na-sum / lugal-lugal / 6
[75.1655 = M 7 16]	la 12	[total] guruš-guruš / tuš / aš <sub>2</sub> -ti / <i>ˁTi-in</i> <sup>ki</sup> / iti <i>i-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub></i>
[75.1702 = A I 29]	la 14	[total]
[75.1733+4511+4514 = M 7 36]	la 15	[broken]
[75.1762 = M 7 43]	la 16	[broken]
[75.2018 = A VII 21]	la 18	[broken]
[75.2349 = M 12 33]	la 21	[broken]
[75.1226 = Archi, in <i>Eblaitica</i> 1 (1987), pp.75–76]	lb 5	in-na-sum / 2 mu / [total] / lugal-lugal
[75.1267 = Archi, in <i>Eblaitica</i> 1 (1987), pp.78]	lb 6	1) lugal na <sub>4</sub> <i>i-ra-sum</i> 2) na <sub>4</sub> en / mu-DU
[75.1295 = M 2 14]	lb 8	dub / nidba <sub>2</sub> / na-ru <sub>2</sub>
[75.1338 = M 2 26]	lb 10	dingir <i>i<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu</i>
[75.1339 = M 2 27]	lb 11	[total]
[75.1359 = M 2 38]	lb 12	mu-DU / lugal-lugal / za <sub>x</sub> / <i>Dar<sub>5</sub>-kab-du-lum</i>
[75.1702 = A I 30]	lb 15	mu-DU / en
[75.1714 = M 7 31]	lb 16	2 mu
[75.1769 = M 7 46]	lb 17	7 mu
[75.1283 = A VII 71]	lb 18	--
[75.3195 = A III 168]+[75.3197 = A III 170] +[75.3391+75.3395 = A III 344]+75.5643 +75.11421 (75.5643 and 75.11421 still unpublished)	II 2	3 mu
[75.1897]+[75.3390 = A III 343] (75.1897 still unpublished)	II 3	dub-gar / mu-DU / lugal-lugal
[75.1378 = M 2 50]+[75.3064 = A III 52]	II 4	[broken]
[75.1746 = M 7 38]	III 1	2 mu / til / en
[75.2015 = A II 13]	III 6	mu-DU / wa / e <sub>3</sub>
[75.1587 = M 7 2]	III 12	[broken]
[75.1261 = M 2 1]	III 18	DIŠ mu til / <i>lb-ri<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
[75.2022 = Archi, in <i>Eblaitica</i> 1 (1987), pp. 117–120 = M 10 41]	IIIa 4	dub / DU-DU / <i>Sa<sub>3</sub>-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-du-lum</i> / DAM.DINGIR / dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> / en / <i>si-in</i> / <i>Lu-ba-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>
[75.2070 = M 12 3]	IV 11 (?)	--
[76.528 = A VIII 528]	IV 13	--

<sup>387</sup> The differences in the drafting of documents during ArrulUM's and Yibriyum's vizierates are particularly evident. For the change in scribal customs, see the studies of Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001); Paoletti, in *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015); Paoletti, in *Materiality of Writing* (2016).

There seems to be a direct connection between the function of lugal and the “stele.” The term for “stele” (na-ru<sub>2</sub>) is mentioned in the colophons of at least two documents concerning the lugals ([75.1350 = M 2 34], [75.1295 = M 2 14]) and in the bilingual lexical lists (VE 899), with the gloss *maš-ar-tum* (M 4 65+) or *maš-ar-du-um* (M 4 1+). This term has been interpreted by D’Agostino and Seminara as “high priestess,” on the basis of the parallel function attested in texts from Emar.<sup>388</sup> The term *maš-ar-tum* is attested in the Ebla administrative documents only in [75.3106 = A III 91]: it follows the PN *Da-hir-ma-lik*, although the context does not clear if *maš-ar-tum* is referring directly to the woman. The second occurrence is in [75.1796 = M 10 4], where clear reference is made to the decoration in precious metal of an object:

[75.1796 = M 10 4] r.II:1’-4: 6 g[in<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN] ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / nu<sub>11</sub>-za 1 an-dul<sub>3</sub> / *maš-ar-tum* / *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*; «6 DILMUN-shekels of gold for the decoration of one coating (of) the standing stone (of) Yibriyum».<sup>389</sup>

The Sumerian term na-ru<sub>2</sub> is attested also in VE 166, KUR-pad na-ru<sub>2</sub>, which presents three different glosses: *na-ša-du* (M 4 12), *ma-da-u<sub>3</sub> zi-ga-na-tim* (M 4 13), and *ma-da-u<sub>9</sub> NA<sub>4</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub>* (M 4 65+).<sup>390</sup> The writing NA<sub>4</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub> in place of na-ru<sub>2</sub> in M 4 65+ obviously indicates a stone object, while *zi-ga-na-tim* of M 4 13 has been interpreted as a plural (*sikkanātum*) of *sikkanum*, “betylus, standing stone.”<sup>391</sup> The gloss *maš-ar-tum* / *maš-ar-du-um* of VE 899 might be interpreted as a *maPRaSt*-form (nomina instrumenti),<sup>392</sup> from a root \*yšr (“to be straight, right,” see Akk. *išaru*, *ešēru*, Ug. *yšr*), i.e., “standing stone.”<sup>393</sup> The lugals are connected with the stele also in the administrative documents: the expression *in ud* HUL<sub>2</sub> na-ru<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>, as well as the diachronic variant *in ud* nidba<sub>2</sub> na-ru<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> which recurs often in the texts of ArrULUM’s period, often refers to lugals.<sup>394</sup> The sign HUL<sub>2</sub> has been interpreted as “festival” (Sum. “to rejoice”), and the parallel pattern *in ud* nidba<sub>2</sub> na-ru<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> clearly indicates that a kind of ceremony concerning these stone took place. Furthermore, the expression (dub) dingir *i<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu* is attested in the colophons of [75.1357 = M 2 36] and [75.1338 = M 2 26]: Bonechi suggested that *i<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu* might correspond to Amorite *ramû*, from the Semitic root \*rmy/\*rmw/\*rmm («ériger », «jeter (les fondations)» → «prendre demeure» ).<sup>395</sup>

However, while the term *i<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu* might not be related to the cult of stones,<sup>396</sup> the term na-ru<sub>2</sub>, *zi-ga-na-ti-im*, and na<sub>4</sub>, attested in lexical as well as in administrative texts, all suggest that a cultic activity revolving around standing stones was practiced at Ebla, and that it probably involved the lugals. The *sikkanum* is a vertical stone consecrated to a deity and object of adoration: however, the bétyls “ne représentent pas des réalités religieuses définitives, pierres que l’on dresse et à qui un culte sera rendu désormais, mais des symboles ‘épisodiques’ que l’on amène pour une cérémonie précise.”<sup>397</sup>

<sup>388</sup> D’Agostino and Seminara, RA 91 (1997).

<sup>389</sup> Note that Mander, MEE 10 (1990), p.32 translates: “6 gold shekels (sheet-metal) embossed (to ornament) a statue (for the ceremony of the raising (of) the stela (of) Ebrium.”

<sup>390</sup> Conti, MisEb 3 (1990), p.91. The term *ma-da-u<sub>9</sub>* is, on the other hand, a gloss to Sumerian *igi-ĝar* (VE 145).

<sup>391</sup> Fronzaroli and Catagnoti, in *Fs Pennacchietti* (2006), p.280 with previous bibliography.

<sup>392</sup> GAG §56.5.b, p.79. On the formations with *m-* prefix at Ebla, see Fales, in *HSAO* 2 (1988).

<sup>393</sup> The root \*yšr is attested at Ebla also in PNs (*I-šar-DN*); see Mangiarotti, MisEb 4 (1997), p.200. See also Fales, in *HSAO* 2 (1988), p.208, for the interpretation of *maš-ar-tum* as Akk. *musarû/mušarû*, “inscription.” Akkadian *mušarû* is, however, a Sumerian loanword (*mu-sar*) attested from Middle Babylonian onwards (see *CAD* M/2 [1977], s.v. *mušarû* A, p.232).

<sup>394</sup> Archi, in *Fs Szarzyńska* (1998), see esp. the passages quoted on pp.18–19.

<sup>395</sup> See Bonechi, MARI 8 (1997), pp.515ff., 518–19, and 521. See also Archi, SEB 1 (1979), pp.45–48.

<sup>396</sup> See Archi, in *Fs Neumann* (2018), p.38 fn.27.

<sup>397</sup> See Durand, in *Mél. Birot* (1985), p.83. See also Fleming, MC 11 (2000), pp.83–84 and fn.142: “the *sikkanu* stones are not merely a rudimentary form of temple construction [...] these upright stones mark the divine presence itself, like statues or figurines, but unformed or partially so” (p.83).

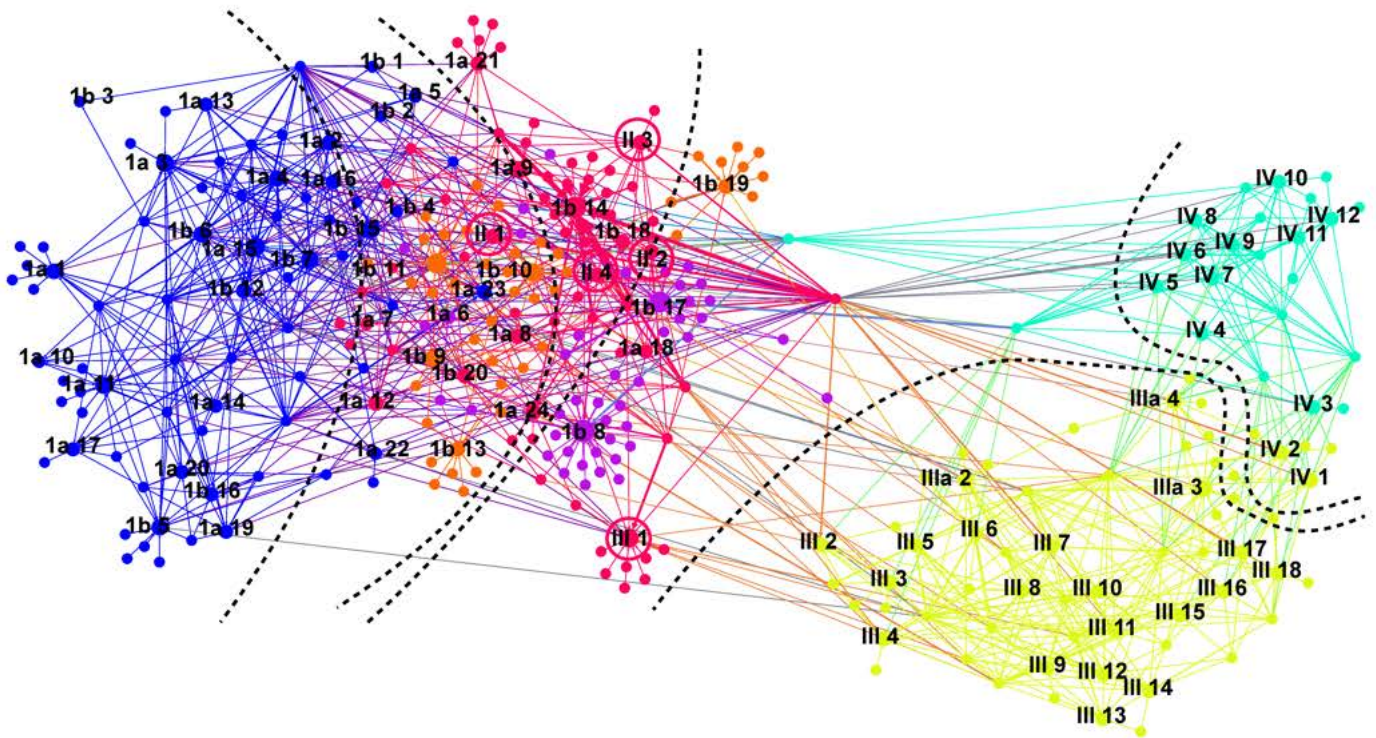


Figure 14 - Network graph of the lugals

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*MA-LIK-TUM* (461): «queen»

See also → en

**Previous translation(s):** «regina»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXI, AXII, AXV</sup>; «Königin»<sup>AII</sup>; «queen»<sup>AVIII, AXX, M10</sup>.

**Bibliography:** Biga, in *Isimu* 1 (1998); Biga, in *Fs Lanfranchi* (2014); Biga, in *Henoch* 38 (2016); Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012) pp.20–22 and pp.29–30; Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.523–28; Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016); Mander, in *HSAO* 2 (1988); Marchesi and Marchetti, *MC* 14 (2011), pp.103–5; Pasquali, *NABU* 2014/36 (2014); Pomponio, *Afo* 40/41 (1993-1994); van Soldt, in *OLA* 118, pp.465–67; Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Tonietti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.238–39; Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010)

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-nita en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), ga-du<sub>8</sub> (§4.5 Producers, p.186), pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), ša<sub>3</sub>-zu (§4.5 Producers, p.186), tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag (§4.5 Producers, p.186)

**Places:** *Ha-ra-an*<sup>ki</sup>; *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>; *Lum-na-an*<sup>ki</sup>; *Na-gar*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>; *I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>; *Bur-ma-an*<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01] i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

[01-01] (goods) PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

[01-02] (goods) PN 1 dumu-nita PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

[01-03] (goods) PN *wa* PN (goods) PN *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum lu<sub>2</sub> DU.DU ki-sur' ki-sur

[01-04] (goods) PN nig<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-gaba-gaba *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

[01-05] (goods) PN ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> in GN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

[01-06] (goods) PN muḥaldim *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum



- [01-07] (goods) PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum in GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [01-08a] (goods) PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum in ud nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti wa *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub>
- [01-08b] (goods) *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti GN
- [01-09] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN dam PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-10] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en in ud mu-DU e<sub>2</sub>-en *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-11] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN *sa-dib-tum* *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-12] (goods) en GN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-13] (goods) nin-ni PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-14] (goods) GN NE-di *MA-LIK-TUM* in-na-sum
- [01-15] (goods) 1 dam NI-za-ra-nu 1 dumu-nita en *MA-LIK-TUM* in-na-sum
- [01-16] (wool) dam GN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [01-17a] (goods) PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN ŠEŠ.II.IB
- [01-17b] (goods) PN ur<sub>x</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an *MA-LIK-TUM* PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN ŠEŠ.II.IB in GN
- [01-17c] (goods) PN nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an PN ŠEŠ.II.IB in GN *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [02] tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag
- [02-01a] (goods) dam nu-tug<sub>2</sub>-tag *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [02-01b] (goods) tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag *MA-LIK-TUM* in-na-sum
- [02-02] (goods) tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [02-03] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> nu-tug<sub>2</sub>-tag *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [02-04] (goods) tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag *MA-LIK-TUM* (goods) tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag dam en *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [02-05] (goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag dam-dam en iti MN <sup>f</sup>PN PN
- [02-06] (goods) nu-tug<sub>2</sub>-tag (goods) lu<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* <sup>f</sup>PN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [03] tu-da
- [03-01] (goods) PN (goods) dam-SU<sub>3</sub> zi-ga *MA-LIK-TUM* lu<sub>2</sub> tu-da
- [03-02] (goods) DN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum in ud maš-da-u<sub>3</sub> dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>
- [03-03] (goods) dumu-nita *MA-LIK-TUM* (goods) ga-du<sub>8</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> (goods) 1 dam mu-wa-li-dum *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [03-04] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN ga-du<sub>8</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM*:
- [03-05] (goods) PN maškim PN gu<sub>3</sub>-di-ii al<sub>6</sub> ur<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-ra lu<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* tu-da dumu-nita<sup>398</sup>
- [03-06] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti e<sub>3</sub> tug<sub>2</sub>-tug<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ti<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> lu<sub>2</sub> tu-da *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [03-07] (goods) PN šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* in ud tu-da
- [03-08] (goods) PN (goods) maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> GN mu-DU nig<sub>2</sub>-ki-za PN en GN lu<sub>2</sub> tu-da *MA-LIK-TUM* :
- [03-09] (goods) en e<sub>2</sub>-simug ŠE<sub>3</sub> tu-da *MA-LIK-TUM* si-in du-u<sub>9</sub>-na PN nig<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>f</sup>DU<sup>7</sup>
- [03-10] (goods) PN GN lu<sub>2</sub> PN<sup>?</sup> mu-ti-iš ma-a *MA-LIK-TUM* dumu-nita tu-da a-na-a 2 dumu-nita-a ḫal<sup>!!!</sup>:DU<sup>!!</sup> wa 1 ab<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum dumu-nita *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [03-11] (goods) PN (goods) ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> GN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* ŠE<sub>3</sub> tu-da-SU<sub>3</sub>
- [03-12] (goods) PN ur<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an <sup>f</sup>PN dumu-nita tu-da *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [04] DN
- [04-01a] (goods) ti<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> <sup>f</sup>DN DN GN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [04-01b] (goods) <sup>f</sup>DN DN GN *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [04-02] (goods) <sup>f</sup>DN GN *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum
- [04-03] (goods) 1 dumu-<sup>f</sup>nita<sup>7</sup> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* DN
- [04-04] (goods) 1 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* DN
- [04-05] (goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> 3 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> 1 dumu-nita nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* DN-DN GN<sub>1,3</sub>
- [04-06] (goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* DN
- [04-07] (goods) dam ki-{x-}za in ud nidba<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* e<sub>2</sub> DN
- [04-08] (goods) DN *MA-LIK-TUM* in-na-sum
- [04-09] (goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* DN GA<sub>2</sub>.KI DN
- [04-10] (goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-ba DN gu<sub>2</sub>-num<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum in ud šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir
- [04-11] [...] K[ALAM.]KAL[AM]? NI-še-na-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>7</sup> *MA-LIK-TUM* e<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> PN ap Il<sub>2</sub>-<sup>f</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu i[n] [...]

<sup>398</sup> For gu<sub>3</sub>-di/ga<sub>2</sub>-ii / ba-a-lum, ba-a-lu-um (VE 182a/b), see Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.95. For ur<sub>3</sub> / za-ra ba-tim, [za-r]a ba-tum (VE 1199), see Bonechi, *NABU* 1992/128 (1992). See also sub §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153

- [04-12] (goods) *MA-LIK-TUM in ud DU.DU si-in* <sup>f</sup>DN  
 [04-13] [...] *nig<sub>2</sub>-ba MA-LIK-TUM DN GN wa* <sup>f</sup>DN-SU<sub>3</sub>
- [05] *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš*  
 [05-01a] (*siki bar<sub>6</sub>/gi<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>*) N (44!/28!) *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš-mi<sub>2</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [05-01b] [... *wool*?] N (65!) *šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [05-02] (goods) *dam-dam pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš-mi<sub>2</sub>* <sup>f</sup>DN N *lu<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba MA-LIK-TUM PN BAD-e<sub>2</sub> en šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>*  
 [05-03] (goods) *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> NE-di šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [05-04] (goods) PN *šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> DN in ud dumu-nita MA-LIK-TUM* <sup>g<sup>is</sup></sup>DU *e<sub>2</sub>-DN*  
 [05-05] (goods) PN *šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [06] *i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag and E<sub>2</sub>×PAP*  
 [06-01a] (goods) *i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag* <sup>f</sup>PN *MA-LIK-TUM GN*  
 [06-01b] (goods) *i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag MA-LIK-TUM GN PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>*  
 [06-02] (goods) *MA-LIK-TUM {GN [si-in]}* *E<sub>2</sub>×PAP [PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>]*  
 [06-03] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN *nin-ni MA-LIK-TUM si-in E<sub>2</sub>×PAP šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>*  
 [06-04] (goods) *mu-DU nig<sub>2</sub>-ba MA-LIK-TUM E<sub>2</sub>×PAP*
- [07] *šu-dub*<sup>399</sup>  
 [07-01] (goods) *sa šu-dub en wa MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [07-02] (goods) *kin<sub>3</sub>-ak [ha]-za-nu* '2 *šu-dub*' *en wa MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [07-03] (goods) *kin<sub>3</sub>-ak 2 šu-dub en wa MA-LIK-TUM* 'in ud' [...]  
 [07-04] (goods) *kin<sub>3</sub>-ak 1 šu-dub MA-LIK-TUM* 'a<sub>3</sub>-lum  
 [07-05] (goods) *1 šu-dub MA-LIK-TUM*
- [08] *igi-du<sub>8</sub>*  
 [08-01] (goods) PN<sub>1,2</sub> GN (goods) *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [08-02] (goods) PN<sub>1,9</sub> *abba<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub> GN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [08-03] (goods) PN *maškim PN BAD-e<sub>2</sub> šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM si-in GN*
- [09] *NE.E<sub>2</sub>*  
 [09-01] (goods) {[PN] GN (*I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>*)} / PN *lu<sub>2</sub> PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>* *NE.E<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [09-02] (goods) *maškim* <sup>f</sup>PN *MA-LIK-TUM GN nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an* *NE.E<sub>2</sub>*
- [10] *ga-bir<sub>5</sub>-du(m)*  
 [10-01a] (goods) *dam ga-bir<sub>5</sub><sup>!!</sup>-dum MA-LIK-TUM Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>*  
 [10-01b] (goods) *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* <sup>f</sup>PN *ga-bir<sub>5</sub>-du MA-LIK-TUM al<sub>6</sub>-tuš Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>*
- [11] *sa-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*  
 [11-01a] (goods) *sa-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš en wa MA-LIK-TUM si-in* *NE-na-aš<sup>ki</sup> PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>*  
 [11-01b] (wool) *sa-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš en wa MA-LIK-TUM si-in* *NE-na-aš<sup>ki</sup>*
- [12] *NE.NIG<sub>2</sub>*  
 [12-01] (goods) PN *in x?* *NE.NIG<sub>2</sub> (izi-gar) MA-LIK-TUM [šu-ba<sub>4</sub>]-ti*  
 [12-02] (goods) *1 NE.NIG<sub>2</sub> dingir en 1 NE.NIG<sub>2</sub> en 1 NE.NIG<sub>2</sub>* *MA-LIK-TUM*
- [13] *maš-da-bu<sub>3</sub>*  
 [13-01] (goods) *dam GN kin<sub>3</sub>-ak maš-da-bu<sub>3</sub> dumu-nita MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [13-02] (goods) *šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> maš-da-bu<sub>3</sub> dumu-nita MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [13-03] (wool) *maš-da-bu<sub>3</sub> en wa MA-LIK-TUM in GN*
- [14] *nig<sub>2</sub>-ba*  
 [14-01a] (goods) PN<sub>1,4</sub> GN *šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [14-01b] (goods) PN (goods) PN *maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> (goods) ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> GN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba MA-LIK-TUM*  
 [14-02] (goods) *nig<sub>2</sub>-ba Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um in ud nig<sub>2</sub>-mu-sa MA-LIK-TUM*  
 See also [04-03]-[04-06], [04-09]-[04-10]
- [15] *DU.DU*  
 [15-01a] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN *MA-LIK-TUM GN in ud DU.DU mi-nu GN si-in* *SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*  
 [15-01b] (goods) <sup>f</sup>PN *MA-LIK-TUM GN in ud DU.DU mi-nu GN*

<sup>399</sup> VE 498: *šu-dub / in-gu*, “ring” or “necklace.” See Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.143; Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), p.25.

[15-02] (goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* GN ama-gal en šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> in ud DU.DU si-in GN

[16] **Miscellanea**

(goods) *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* in ud edi[n] dumu-nita *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* GN u<sub>3</sub> ama-SU<sub>3</sub> PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> GN

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* GN PN di-ku<sub>5</sub> šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

(goods) PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> ku<sub>2</sub> 2 dug en *MA-LIK-TUM* GN

(goods) [ʔPN] *MA-LIK-TUM* GN

(goods) ʔPN *MA-LIK-TUM* GN PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

(goods) GN maškim-e-gi<sub>4</sub> ʔPN si-in *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) [lu<sub>2</sub>] mu-DU *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

(goods) e<sub>2</sub> ti<sup>mg2</sup> en GN *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

(goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-DU ninda-u<sub>9</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM*

2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) ni-gi *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) sa-du en wa *MA-LIK-TUM* si-in GN

(goods) lu<sub>2</sub> dur 2 si-du<sub>3</sub> en wa *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) PN lu<sub>2</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag 2 en GN PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> in ud til *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM* mu-DU PN GN in ud nig<sub>2</sub>-mu-sa<sub>2</sub> ʔPN

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* GN wa dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>

(goods) 1 SIG<sub>7</sub>.igi *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* en šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti si-in DAR *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*

(goods) ʔPN ama-gal *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) ʔPN dam PN ama-gal *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) al<sub>6</sub> PN in kin<sub>3</sub>-ak N ti-gi-na *MA-LIK-TUM*

(wool) 4 balag-d[i] e<sub>2</sub>-nu[n] *MA-LIK-TUM* [...]

(goods) PN (goods) maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> (goods) ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> GN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ki-za *MA-LIK-TUM*

[...] šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti in ud i-ba-ti *MA-LIK-TUM*

(wool) nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> ra-gi-i<sub>3</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

(goods) 2 dumu-nita PN šeš *MA-LIK-TUM*

(ninda<sub>2</sub>) *MA-LIK-TUM*

(nig<sub>2</sub>-sagšu) *MA-LIK-TUM*

1 e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> al<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) mu-DU GN *MA-LIK-TUM* in GN

(goods) PN maškim PN a-de<sub>3</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> ša-ti [...] *MA-LIK-TUM* i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* PN ur<sub>4</sub> šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

(sheeps) *MA-LIK-TUM* aš<sub>2</sub>-du *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*

(goods) šu-du<sub>7</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba ama-gal en wa *MA-LIK-TUM*

(goods) PN maškim PN šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> udua<sub>x</sub> *MA-LIK-TUM* in šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub>

(goods) *MA-LIK-TUM* Il<sub>2</sub>-<sup>2</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu Za-a-še<sub>3</sub>

1 udu dingir-a-mu *MA-LIK-TUM* Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-du nidba<sub>2</sub>

n udu DN GN *MA-LIK-TUM* nidba<sub>2</sub>

n udu ku<sub>2</sub> DN in GN *MA-LIK-TUM* nidba<sub>2</sub>

(goods) ʔPN *MA-LIK-TUM* GN in ud al<sub>6</sub>-tuš-SU<sub>3</sub> in-na-sum dumu-nita dumu-nita *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*

**Prosopography:** Bu<sub>14</sub>-ga-LUM (*MA-LIK-TUM* Ḫa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>); Da-bur-da-mu (*MA-LIK-TUM* Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>); Da-mur-da-še<sub>3</sub>-in (*MA-LIK-TUM* Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>); Da-ti-<sup>d</sup>TU (*MA-LIK-TUM* Lum-na-an<sup>ki</sup>); Dag-mul-da-mu (*MA-LIK-TUM* Lum-na-an<sup>ki</sup>); Dag-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš-da-mu (*MA-LIK-TUM* Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>); Ti-ša-li-im (*MA-LIK-TUM* I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>); Zi-mi-ni-ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> (*MA-LIK-TUM* Bur-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>)

**Discussion:** The spelling *MA-LIK-TUM*, which does not appear in the bilingual lists, has been defined as an ‘eblaitogram’:<sup>400</sup> the value *lik* of the sign UR is attested in fact only in this term and in the onomastic element *-ma-lik*.<sup>401</sup> Moreover, the term also appears reduplicated to indicate the plural (see [75.10161 = A I 32] r.VI:13, *MA-LIK-TUM MA-LIK-TUM*). These elements lead scholars to consider *MA-LIK-TUM* as a crystallized Semitic spelling for /malkatum/.<sup>402</sup> Catagnoti observed that “the real nature of Early Syrian kingship is not yet fully determined, but it must lie within the notions expressed by West Semitic \**mlk*, ‘to possess, to dominate, to own, to rule, to be master’”.<sup>403</sup> The Semitic stem \**mlk* is in fact correlated to two semantic fields, that of “counseling” (East Semitic) and that of “ruling” (West Semitic).<sup>404</sup> The *CAD* distinguishes between a meaning *malāku* A (“to give advice”) and *malāku* B (“to rule, to hold power”), the latter being the meaning proper of the Western Semitic linguistic area.<sup>405</sup> Kogan has recently synthesized the state of the art with respect to the root \**mlk*,<sup>406</sup> underlining the possibility that Akk. *malāku* B would be a late loanword from Western Semitic, while *malāku* A would be the semantic origin of Proto Western Semitic *mal(i)k*-“king”. Kogan further argues that the attestations of \**mlk* at Ebla should be attributed to a Western Semitic influence: thus, according to these interpretations, the scribes operating at Ebla expressed the term “queen” with the Akkadian word *malkatum* (*pars-at-um*, East Semitic) rendered through sclerotic writing *MA-LIK-TUM*.<sup>407</sup> The Akk. form *malkatum*, however, would retain the proper West Semitic meaning of \**mlk* (“to rule”).<sup>408</sup> While the verb *malāku* B is attested only at Ugarit, the noun *malkatum* is attested also in Old Akkadian.<sup>409</sup> Furthermore, the word *mālikum* (fem. *māliktum*), more similar to Ebl. *MA-LIK-TUM*, is attested in Old Assyrian with the meaning “counsellor, advisor.” The occurrences of the term *MA-LIK-TUM* in the documents of the Archives can be divided into two groups: those referring to the queen(s) of Ebla, and those referring to queens of foreign kingdoms. With the exception of [75.2417] r.VII 6-18, the queen of Ebla is never mentioned by her name:

[75.2417] r.VII 6-18: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>+III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> Ti-ti-nu maškim Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an ama-gal en maš<sub>2</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> dingir a-mu Da-bur-da-mu *MA-LIK-TUM* Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>, “1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for) Tidīnu, appointee of Yibriyum, (for reporting) the news (to) the mother of the king (about) the favorable omen of the god of the father (?), (concerning) Tabūr-Damu, queen of Ebla”<sup>410</sup>

As for the queens of Ebla who preceded Tabūr-Damu, there is no consensus among scholars on

<sup>400</sup> Conti, *QdL* 4 (1993), p.106, defined an akkadogram as a “grafia sclerotizzata [...] derivata da una lingua semitica.” *MA-LIK-TUM* cannot however be considered an ‘akkadogram’, since the Akk. term for “queen” is *šarratum*. Catagnoti, *Grammatica* (2012), p.7, thus introduced the definition ‘eblaitogram.’ The bilingual lists offer two terms whose glosses derive from the same stem \**mlk*: *VE* 1088 nam-en / *ma-li-gu<sub>2</sub>-um*, and *VE* 1089 nam-nam-en / *du-da-li-gu<sub>2</sub>-um*: see also sub → en.

<sup>401</sup> See Pomponio and Xella, *AOAT* 245 (1997), pp.458–65; Pagan, *ARES* III (1998), pp.139–40. On the onomastic element *-ma-lik*, see van Soldt, in *OLA* 118 (2003), esp. pp.465ff.

<sup>402</sup> Krebernik, in *Albright Centennial Conference* (1996), p.249; Biga, in *Henoah* 38 (2016), p.199; Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.478 and fn.7; Tonietti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.238; Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), p.228; Catagnoti, *Grammatica* (2012), p.7 and fn.34; Hasselbach-Andee, *JNES* 75 (2016), p.170; Di Filippo et al., *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 29 (2018), p.124 and fn.6.

<sup>403</sup> Catagnoti, in *HdO* 72/1 (2003), p.228.

<sup>404</sup> Renger, in *ARES* I (1988), p.165.

<sup>405</sup> *CAD* M/1 (1977), p.154ff., and 158.

<sup>406</sup> Kogan, *Genealogical Classification* (2015), pp.91–92.

<sup>407</sup> *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. /m-l-k/, p.543ff.

<sup>408</sup> *CAD* M/1 (1997), s.v. *malkatu* A (“queen”); s.v. *malku* A “king, (foreign) ruler”. *AHW* M (1972), s.v. *malkatu* “Fürstin, Königin; s.v. *malku* I “Fürst, König.”

<sup>409</sup> See Gelb, *MAD* 3 (1957), *malkatum* = princess (p.177), and *malkum/malikum* “counsellor (or prince?)” (p.176). See also Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.478, fn.7; Tonietti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.238–39.

<sup>410</sup> Quoted in Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012), p.21.

their identities.<sup>411</sup> The queens of foreign kingdoms also bear the title *MA-LIK-TUM*, the only exception being the queen of Mari: she is called *ereš* in [75.2460 = *A XX 10*] o.V:18, in accordance with the Eblaite habit of calling the Mariote sovereigns with the Mesopotamia terms for king/queen (*lugal/ereš*).<sup>412</sup> When the queen of a foreign kingdom is mentioned, the term *MA-LIK-TUM* is followed by a GN. Noteworthy is that the foreign queens whose names are preserved were Eblaite women: ZugalUM, queen of Ḫarran, was the daughter of king Yiṭḡar-Damu;<sup>413</sup> Ta'mur-Dašin, queen of Dulu, was the daughter of Ḫin-malik, brother of vizier Yibriyum;<sup>414</sup> Simini-kaspi, queen of Burman, and Tagriš-damu, queen of Nagar, were daughters of the king;<sup>415</sup> Taddi-Nintu<sup>(dTU)</sup>, probably an Eblaite princess, was queen of Lumnan;<sup>416</sup> also Tagmul-damu, daughter of the king, was queen of Lumnan;<sup>417</sup> Tiša'-līm, queen of Emar, was probably from Ebla, although she is never mentioned as a *dumu-mi*<sub>2</sub> PN/en. Kīšdūt, the daughter of Yiṭḡar-Damu and Tabūr-Damu, married the (son of the) king of Kiš:<sup>418</sup> she is, however, never called *MA-LIK-TUM* or *ereš*, probably because her wedding took place not long before the destruction of the city, and she never had the opportunity to ascend to the throne (or was she a secondary wife of the (son of the) king of Kiš?). The consistency shown by the scribes in differentiating between en / *MA-LIK-TUM* on the one side, and *lugal/ereš* on the other, demonstrates the existence of two different conceptions of “kingship” (see also sub → en, → *lugal*). The scribes clearly understood the semantic differences between *lugal/ereš* (*šarrum/šarratum*) and en/*MA-LIK-TUM*, and chose to describe their concept of “kingship” through the latter terms.

Textual data prove that the kings of Ebla consolidated their power through interdynastic marriage: as one might expect, [75.1867] r. III 8-17 further suggests that this practice was common also in other kingdoms:

[75.1867] r. III:8-17: 2 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> 4 bu-DI sag ku<sub>3</sub>-gi GA<sub>2</sub>×LA<sub>2</sub> ša-pi 2 bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> / 2 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / Ra- 'a<sub>3</sub>-ak<sup>ki</sup> / *MA-LIK-TUM* / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *MA-LIK-TUM* / Ir-i-tum<sup>ki</sup> / EN-mar / šu mu-tak<sub>4</sub>, «2 zara<sub>6</sub> garments, 4 toggle-pins with golden ‘head(s)’, of the weigh of 42 (shekels of) silver, for two daughters of the king of Ra'ag, (they are) the queen of Abarsal, (and) the queen of Iritum».<sup>419</sup>

The occurrences of the queens of Ebla have been studied in detail in Mander, in *HSAO 2* (1988). The queen of Ebla “gives” (*i*<sub>3</sub>/in-na-sum) as gifts garments and precious objects (see Accounting models [01]), as in [75.1775 = *M 7 48*]: Ṭūbī-Damu, apprentice of the female physician of crown prince Yirḡaq-Damu, received one tunic, probably as gift, from the queen.<sup>420</sup>

[75.1775 = *M 7 48*] r.III:2-9: 1 aktum<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu / dumu-nita / dam / azu-mi<sub>2</sub> / A-dab<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *MA-LIK-TUM* / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum; “1 tunic, (to) Ṭūbī-Damu, apprentice of the female physician from Adab, the queen has given.”

<sup>411</sup> On the identities of the Eblaite queens, see Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016), p.53, fn.3 (with bibliography).

<sup>412</sup> [75.2460 = *A XX 10*], o.V:18. For the reading *ereš* of the sign NIN, see Marchesi, *Or* 73 (2004), pp.186–89.

<sup>413</sup> See most recently Toniatti, *ZA* 100 (2010), esp. pp.77–78.

<sup>414</sup> Biga, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.17; Biga, in *Fs Lanfranchi* (2014), p.74 and fn.8.

<sup>415</sup> For *Zi-mi-ni-ku*<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>, see Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp.66–69; for *Dag-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš-da-mu*, see [75.5317 = *A XII 874*] o.V:13-22.

<sup>416</sup> Archi, in *Babel und Bibel* 2 (2005), p.17.

<sup>417</sup> Archi, *UF* 20 (1988<sup>2</sup>), p.403, fn.16.

<sup>418</sup> A daughter of Yibriyum according to Archi, *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), p.126 and Archi, *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), p.121–22. She was, however, daughter of Yiṭḡar-Damu and Tabūr-Damu.

<sup>419</sup> Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987), p.47. The number of zara<sub>6</sub> garments suggests that two women were involved in the transaction. A set of one zara<sub>6</sub> garment and two toggle-pins is a common delivery (see *EbDA* s.v. bu-DI, passim).

<sup>420</sup> The female physician Dūbil-Damu took care of crown prince Yirḡaq-Damu when he fell ill. She probably came from Adab, with two apprentices: [75.2525 = *A I 1*] r.V:1-8: [...] 2 aktum<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> / 10 ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> 2 bu-DI / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu / azu-mi<sub>2</sub> / Il<sub>2</sub>- 'a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu / A-dab<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> / 2 'a-da-um<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup>-1 2 aktum<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 2 dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>; “[...] 2 ribbed skirts, 10 (shekels of) silver (for) two toggle-pins, (for) Dūbil-Damu, the female physician of Yirḡaq-Damu, from Adab; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality for her two apprentices”.

On particular occasions, the king and the queen together sent precious gifts to individuals who performed relevant tasks. In [75.1274 = A I 13] three men from Armi received gifts from the royal couple:

[75.1274 = A I 13] o.II:6-IV:7: 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> / 'a<sub>3</sub> ti<sup>tug2</sup> / 1 DIB ma-na / 1 DIB 50 / Dar-zi-mu / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-III</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 1 gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lum ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> TAR-2 / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / en / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2-II</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Dar-zi-mu / wa / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-IV</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / lu<sub>2</sub> DU.DU / ki-sur<sup>!</sup> / ki-sur / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 2 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 2 ib<sub>2-IV</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Dar-zi-mu / Šar-mi-lu / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-III</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du / ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub> / Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup> / tag<sub>4</sub> / i<sub>3</sub>-ti / in / da-ma-ti / ki-sur: “2 cloaks, (1?) ribbed cloak, 1 decorative disk (of the value of) 1 mina, 1 decorative disk (of the value of) 50 (shekels), for Tarmī-(‘i) lu (and) Šarmilu; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 bracelet (of the value of) 32 (shekels) of silver, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, the king has given; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, for Tarmī-(‘i)lu and Šarmilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, the queen has given, concerning the(ir) traveling to the borderlands; 2 cloaks, 2 tunics, 2 embroidered waistband of good quality for Tarmī-(‘i)lu (and) Šarmilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Yitpuṭu, their watchman, from Armi, (when they) left (and) arrived to the boundary stones.”

This passage belongs to the dossier concerning the kingdoms of Ebla, Armi, and Nabu, studied in detail by Bonechi:<sup>421</sup> particularly relevant to the understanding of the role of the queen of Ebla, is the fact that she is present next to the king when precious gifts are delivered to the persons involved. She gave, along with the king, three complete set of garments to the men from Armi, but also a complete set to the man who brought the news that Nabu was conquered:

[75.1525 = A IV 18] o.I:1-18: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-V</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 2 ku<sub>3</sub>-gi 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / A<sub>3</sub>-zi / lu<sub>2</sub> La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM / en / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-III</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 2 ku<sub>3</sub>-gi 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / A<sub>3</sub>-zi / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / in ud / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / Na-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / wa / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub>; “1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 2 (shekels of) gold for 2 earrings, to Ḥaḏī, (man) of (the household of) La'alum, the king has given; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 2 (shekels of) gold (for) 2 earrings, to Ḥaḏī, the queen has given, when (he brought) the news (that) Nabu has been taken, and Yibbi'-Dikir resides (there)”

Also vizier Yibbi'-Dikir received gifts, both from the king and the queen, after the conquer of Nabu:

[75.1525 = A IV 18] o.I:19-II:18: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> / 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-IV</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 1 ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> 1 si-ti-tum 1 gir<sub>2</sub> kun / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / en / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2-III</sub><sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> siki / AN.ŠE<sub>3</sub> / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> / e<sub>2</sub> ti<sup>tug2</sup> / 3 ku<sub>3</sub>-gi 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / Na-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>; “1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 mina of gold, 1 ceremonial belt, 1 sheath, 1 kun dagger, to Yibbi'-Dikir the king has given; 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (from) the wool warehouse [...], 1 cloak, (from) the clothes warehouse, 3 (shekels of) gold (for) 2 earrings, to Yibbi'-Dikir the queen has given (...).”

Other important women of the Eblaitic court received gifts from the queen: Tištī-Damu, a daughter of the king who probably married one of Yibbi-Dikir's sons, received precious gifts when she gave birth to a son.<sup>422</sup> Tištī-Damu was probably residing in a place called Niab: a man name Ḥinna-Ba'al

<sup>421</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), p.78ff. (sub [δ4.1]). See also Archi, *JCS* 63 (2011) p.15, and the discussion sub → di-ku<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>422</sup> [75.2429 = M 12 36] o.XVIII:7-23: the precious gifts were given to her and her son in Niab.

received two earrings for having reported the news of her childbirth.

[75.2429 = *M* 12 36] o.XVI:22-XVII:8: 2 2-NI gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / šu-bal-ak / 2-NI <gin<sub>2</sub>> ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / *En-na-ba-al*<sub>6</sub> ur<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* / dumu-nita / tu-da / *MA-LIK-TUM* / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum; «2+2-NI weighted shekels of silver, of the value of 2-NI (shekels) of gold for two earrings, (to) Hinna-ba'al the collector, for (having reported) the news (that) Tištī-Damu gave birth to a son.»

The gifts given by the queen are also described through the proper term for “gift”, nig<sub>2</sub>-ba (see Accounting models [14]): most of the queen’s gifts (nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM*), however, were delivered to different gods, not to persons. In [75.1743 = *A* XX 9] the queen sends a gift to the chthonic god Rašap, part of which consisted in one boy and one girl:<sup>423</sup>

[75.1743 = *A* XX 9] o.V:19-VI:1: 1 gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> TAR / 1 dumu-nita / 1 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap* / <sup>ʼ</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-NI<sup>ki</sup>* / lu<sub>2</sub> tu-ra / 1 dumu-nita / [*M*]<sub>A</sub>-[*L*]<sub>K-TUM</sub>; “1 gu-mug garment (and?) 30 (shekels), 1 boy, 1 girl, gift for the god Rašap of AdANI, concerning the illness of one son of the queen.”

The unusual mention of two young persons being sent as gifts to a god, is paralleled by two similar passages, in which young girls are sent on two different occasions by the queen to the goddess Išhara (see Accounting models [04], see also sub → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> and → dumu-nita, §4.5 Producers, p.186, and sub → DAM.DINGIR, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153):<sup>424</sup>

[76.534 = *A* VIII 534] r.IV:15-23: TAR ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> 3 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / 1 dumu-nita / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / <sup>d</sup>BARA<sub>10</sub>-iš <sup>d</sup>BARA<sub>10</sub>-iš / *Šu-ra-mu<sup>ki</sup>* / Ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup> / U<sub>9</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>; “30 (shekels of) silver, price for 3 girls, 1 boy, gift of the queen for the Išharas of Duramu, MaNE, and Ugu'ad”

[75.1860 = *M* 10 20] r.XIX:17-25: 8 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / <sup>d</sup>BARA<sub>10</sub>:iš / Ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup> / wa / <sup>d</sup>BARA<sub>10</sub>:iš / *Zu-ra-mu<sup>ki</sup>*; “8 (shekels of) silver, price for 1 girl, gift of the queen to the Išhara of MaNE, and the Išhara of Zuramu”

It is not clear if in [76.534 = *A* VIII 534] and [75.1860 = *M* 10 20] the gifts consisted in the young people or the silver for their purchase. The queen, as other important women of the Eblaite court, had a strong link with goddess Išhara: the queen sent gifts to the goddess on multiple occasions and probably went to pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of Išhara with Lady Dusigu.<sup>425</sup> The queen also received gifts on the occasion of her childbirth, as the expression “šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba *MA-LIK-TUM*” suggests (see Accounting models [03]):

[75.1276 = *A* IV 7] o.II:7-IV:9: 4 <sup>ʼ</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup>* 4 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 4 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-zi-kir* / *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-ma-lik* / *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gur-da-mu* / *Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>* / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / 1 <sup>ʼ</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup>* 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *A-šar-gi-nu* / 1 <sup>ʼ</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup>* 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik* / maškim-SU<sub>3</sub> / 1 SAL<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>* / *I-bu<sub>16</sub>-bu<sup>ki</sup>* / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / 1 <sup>ʼ</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup>* 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub>

<sup>423</sup> The unnamed son is certainly not crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu: he fell ill in year Y.-D. 10, while [75.1743 = *A* XX 9] is dated to Y.-D. 5.

<sup>424</sup> The price for the ransom (nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>) of persons is, according to the data collected in Catagnoti, *RA* 106 (2012), p.51, between 10 to 4 shekels of silver. Even though the present contexts do not refer to the ransom of the persons involved, the price of 30 shekels for 3 girls, and 8 shekels for one girl is in accordance with the data collected by Catagnoti. The gift recorded in [75.1743 = *A* XX 9], quoted above, has been interpreted differently in Biga and Pomponio, *JCS* 42 (1990), p.187 fn.17, who suggested that the gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> was the gift, which had to be divided between the boy and the girl. See also Pomponio and Xella, *AOAT* 245 (1997), p.302. [76.534 = *A* VIII 534] and [75.1860 = *M* 10 20], however, clearly indicate that the silver was the “price” (nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>) for their purchase. See more recently Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016), pp.80–81, for a similar interpretation.

<sup>425</sup> See for example [75.3427 = *A* III 371] o.ʼII:1ʼ-11ʼ: [...] tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI [N+]1 SAL<sup>tug2</sup> / dam-dam / pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mi<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>BARA<sub>10</sub>:iš / Ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup> / lu<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi* / BAD-e<sub>2</sub> / en / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>; “[N] tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI garments, [N] SAL<sup>tug2</sup> garments, for the female valets of the goddess Išhara of MaNE, concerning the gift of the queen, Yilsī, chief steward of the house of the king, has delivered.” On the pilgrimages of the queen and Lady Dusigu, see Biga, in *Atti dei convegni Lincei* 304 (2016), pp.172–73. On the cult of the goddess Išhara at Ebla, see also Pomponio and Xella, *AOAT* 245 (1997), pp.214–17.

/ *En-na-da-gan* / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> ib<sub>2-IV<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>* / *Gar<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup>* / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / *MA-LIK-TUM* / šE<sub>3</sub> / tu-da-SU<sub>3</sub>; “4 cloaks, 4 tunics, 4 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) Yilbā-Dikir, Tūbī-Dikir, Yilbā-malik, (and) Yidkur-damu, (from) Kakmium, (for) delivering a gift to the queen; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, embroidered waistband, (for) Yašar-kīnu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality for Yir'am-malik, his appointee, 1 SAL garment for his watchman, (from) Ibbu, (for) delivering a gift to the queen; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality for Hinna-Dagan, 1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband, for his watchman, (from) Garmu, (for) delivering a gift to the queen; on the occasion of her childbirth.”</sub>

Childbirths are frequently recorded, both for the queens of Ebla and the queens of foreign kingdoms: on these occasions, gifts were delivered also to other women, like wet-nurses (ga-du<sub>8</sub>, see [03-03], [03-04]; see also sub → ga-du<sub>8</sub>, §4.5 Producers, p.186) and midwives (*mu-wa-li-dum*, [03-03]).

[75.1264 = A I 15] o.III:15-IV:8: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2</sup> / 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> / 1 ib<sub>2-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 1 ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / 2 geštug<sub>x</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> / *Ra-i-zu<sub>2</sub>* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tug2</sup> 10 ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> 2 BU-DI / dam-SU<sub>3</sub> / zi-ga / *MA-LIK-TUM* lu<sub>2</sub> tu-da; “1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 (shekel of?) gold (for) 2 earrings, (for) Rā'izu, 1 zara<sub>6</sub> garment, 10 (shekels of) silver (for) two toggle-pins, (for) his wife, expenditure (for) the queen concerning her delivery.”</sub>

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**ugula** (807): «overseer, chief»

**Previous translation(s):** «sorvegliante, soprintendente»<sup>AI, AIII, AVII, AXII</sup>; «Aufseher»<sup>AII</sup>; «soprintendente»<sup>AIV, AIX</sup>; «chief, overseer»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «sorvegliante, responsabile»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sovrintendente, capovillaggio»<sup>AXIII, AXVI</sup>; «overseer»<sup>AXX</sup>; «soprintendente»<sup>M2</sup>; «superintendent»<sup>AI0</sup>; «Vorsteher»<sup>M12</sup>

ugula bad<sub>3</sub>: «responsabile della fortezza»<sup>AXV</sup>

ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>): «responsabile degli onagri»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sorvegliante dei mercenari»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>: «sovrintendente delle coppie di muli» (LL 1065 senza glossa)<sup>AXII</sup>; «responsabile delle pariglie di onagri del re»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sorvegliante dei mercenari»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-IGI.NITA: «sovrintendente delle coppie di asini»<sup>AXV</sup>

ugula e<sub>2</sub>: «responsabile del palazzo»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sorvegliante della ‘casa’»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula é-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>: «sorvegliante di 20 persone»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula engar

ugula guruš-guruš: «responsabile dei lavoratori»<sup>AXV</sup>

ugula ka<sub>2</sub>: «responsabile della porta»<sup>AXV</sup>; «sorvegliante della porta»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>: «responsabile dei messaggeri»<sup>XV</sup>

ugula ki:lam<sub>7</sub>: «sorvegliante del mercato»<sup>M7</sup>

ugula maḥ: «responsabile superiore»<sup>AXV</sup>

ugula muḥaldim-muḥaldim: «responsabile dei cuochi»<sup>AXV</sup>

ugula nagar

ugula NG

ugula še

ugula simug



ugula za<sub>x</sub> (en) «responsabile dei beni (del re)»<sup>4XV</sup>

## Lexical

### Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:22	ugula
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 32	r.IV':1'	ugula
[γ] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:14	ugula e <sub>2</sub>
[δ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 41+	r.III':8'	ugula e <sub>2</sub> (GA <sub>2</sub> )
[ε] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VI':14'	ugula gukkal
[ζ] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XIII:10	[ugula sur <sub>x</sub> -kunga <sub>2</sub> ]
[η] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 53	r.III':5'	ugula sur <sub>x</sub> -kunga <sub>2</sub>
[θ] ED Officials	<i>MEE</i> 3, 50	o.IV:10	ugula unud

### Ebla bilingual

[i] VE (960)	ugula / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XV:23
[κ] VE (960)	ugula / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VII:15
[λ] VE (952)	ugula e <sub>2</sub> / 'a <sub>3</sub> ?-ru <sub>12</sub> ma-gi	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XV:11-12
[μ] VE (952)	ugula e <sub>2</sub> / 'a <sub>3</sub> ?-ru <sub>12</sub> ma-gi	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VII:5-6
[ν] VE (957)	ugula nar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VII:15
[ξ] VE (1065)	ugula sur <sub>x</sub> -kunga <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XIX:7
[ο] VE (1065)	ugula sur <sub>x</sub> -kunga <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 13	r.XVII:1
[π] VE (1065)	ugula sur <sub>x</sub> -kunga <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.X:25
[ρ] VE (953; 0447)	zilulu <sub>x</sub> / zu-ḥa-lu-um	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XV:13-14
[σ] VE (953; 0447)	zilulu <sub>x</sub> / zu-ḥa-lum	<i>MEE</i> 4, 76	r.IV:4-5

**Bibliography:** Archi et al., in *ARESI* (1988), pp.266–70; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.85; Ferrero, in *Ebla Landscape* (2013); Fronzaroli and Catagnoti, in *Fs Pennacchietti* (2006), p.280; Gelb et al., *OIP* 104 (1991), p.99; Peust, *ZA* 104 (2014), p.142; Pomponio, in *HSAO* 2 (1988); Pomponio, *NABU* 1996/84 (1996); Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), p.262

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** geme<sub>2</sub>, guruš, ir<sub>11</sub>, ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>, muḥaldim, nagar, SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, simug, u<sub>2</sub>-a

**Other:** mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>, za<sub>x</sub>, ka<sub>2</sub>, ma<sub>2</sub>-NE(-ma<sub>2</sub>-NE), še, sikil, sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, uru<sup>ki</sup>

**Places:** A-a-lu<sup>ki</sup>, A-ba-tum<sup>ki</sup>, A-ba-zu<sup>ki</sup>, A-bar-SAL<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-da-aš<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>, A-da-sa-ad<sup>ki</sup>, A-da-ti-ig<sup>ki</sup>, A-dar-ki-zu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-da-ad<sup>ki</sup>, A-ga-ga-li-iš<sup>ki</sup>, A-(a)-ḥa-da-mu<sup>ki</sup>, A-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup>, A-la-am<sup>ki</sup>, A-la-ga<sup>ki</sup>, A-la-zu<sup>ki</sup>, A-la<sup>ki</sup>, A-lu-lu/ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-ra-u<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-ri<sub>2</sub>-ša-ba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>, A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu/ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-sa-al<sub>6</sub>/lu<sup>ki</sup>, A-ša-lu-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-sa-lu<sup>ki</sup>, A-sa-sa-ba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-su/šu<sup>ki</sup>, A-'a<sub>3</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>, Ab<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Al<sub>6</sub>-u<sub>9</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup>, Ar-ra-tim<sup>ki</sup>, Ar-'a<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ma<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-na-ga-nu<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ti-ni<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-zu<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>5</sub>-a-a-ḥu<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>5</sub>-da-tum<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>5</sub>-du-ur<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>5</sub>-la-la-ḥu<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>5</sub>-sa-la<sup>ki</sup>, Ba-li<sup>ki</sup>, Ba-sa-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ba-ti-NE<sup>ki</sup>, Bur-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>, Da-du-du<sup>ki</sup>, Da-ra-ḥa-ti<sup>ki</sup>, Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-in<sup>ki</sup>, Da-sa-ad/du<sup>ki</sup>, Dar-ab<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Dar-ḥa-tum<sup>ki</sup>, Du-na-na-ab<sup>ki</sup>, Du-ra-lu<sup>ki</sup>, EN.NE<sup>ki</sup>, EN-mu<sup>ki</sup>, Ga-ra-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>, Ga-du-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ga-ra<sub>(2)</sub>-na<sup>ki</sup>, Ga-ra<sub>2</sub>-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>, Ga-ra-na<sup>ki</sup>, Gi-li-šu<sup>ki</sup>, Gi-za-an<sup>ki</sup>, GIŠ.GIŠ×GIŠ<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-su<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-du-ma-an/nu<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-ti(-um)<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-si-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ḥa-sa-šar<sup>ki</sup>, Ḥa-zi-ni-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ḥar-ti<sup>ki</sup>, Ḥu-ti-mu<sup>ki</sup>, Ḥu-za-an<sup>ki</sup>, I-li-NE<sup>ki</sup>, I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>, Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ig-du-ra<sup>ki</sup>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-ne-a-an<sup>ki</sup>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-ku<sup>ki</sup>, KA-ti<sup>ki</sup>, Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>, Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>, KA<sup>ki</sup>, Kul-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>, La-bu<sub>3</sub>-ki<sup>ki</sup>, La-ḥa-za-ni-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, La-ša<sup>ki</sup>, La-zu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, La<sub>2</sub>-da-ba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Lu-a-tum<sup>ki</sup>, Lu-ba-nu<sup>ki</sup>, Lu-du-ba-ni-um<sup>ki</sup>, Lu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ma-na-ni-a-ad<sup>ki</sup>, Mi-da-ḥi<sup>ki</sup>, Mu-a-a-du<sup>ki</sup>, Mu-lu-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Mu-ur/ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Mu-zu-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Na-ḥi<sup>ki</sup>, Na-na-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, NE-zi-gi-ni<sup>ki</sup>, NI-a-NE-in<sup>ki</sup>, Ni-da-dum<sup>ki</sup>, Ni-du-ur<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ni-ga-ga<sup>ki</sup>, Ni-ra-ar<sup>ki</sup>, Ni-ri<sub>2</sub>-ba(-a)<sup>ki</sup>, Ni-za-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Nu-ba-du<sup>ki</sup>, Nu-ga-mu<sup>ki</sup>,

*Ša-da-du<sup>ki</sup>, Ša-na-aš<sup>ki</sup>, Ša-na-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>/gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ša-na-šu<sup>ki</sup>, Ša-na-zu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Šar-ḥu<sup>ki</sup>, Šar-mu-du<sup>ki</sup>, Šu-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>, Sa-mi-du-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Sa-mu-du<sup>ki</sup>, Sa-na-su<sup>ki</sup>, Sa-ra-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Sa-še<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Sal-ba-a<sup>ki</sup>, Si-da-ri<sub>2</sub>-in<sup>ki</sup>, Si-na-mu<sup>ki</sup>, Si-zu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Su/Šu-ti-ig/gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Su-bi<sub>2</sub>-in/nu<sup>ki</sup>, Su-ne-nu<sup>ki</sup>, Su/Šu-ti-gu/ig<sup>ki</sup>, Ti-in<sup>ki</sup>, Ti-sum<sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-a-NE-nu<sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-na-am<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-gul-za-du<sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-la-NE-in<sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-nu-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>/si/š<sup>ki</sup>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, U<sub>3</sub>-ti-ig<sup>ki</sup>, Ur<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>, Wa-da-ḥa<sup>ki</sup>, Wa-ne-du<sup>ki</sup>, Za-a-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Za-ar<sup>ki</sup>, Za-ga-lu<sup>ki</sup>, Za-ga<sup>ki</sup>, Za-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>, Zi-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Zi-mi-ša-ga<sup>ki</sup>, Zi-NE-da<sup>ki</sup>, Zi-ne-šu<sup>ki</sup>, Zi-ni-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Zi-zi-nu<sup>ki</sup>, Zu-ti-ig<sup>ki</sup>*

## Accounting models

### [01] ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>

- [01-01a] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / en  
 [01-01b] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / en / in GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 [01-02a] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / PN  
 [01-02b] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / PN / [fabrics] / ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / PN / 2 dumu-nita en  
 [01-02c] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / PN / in GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 [01-03] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / (N) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / GN  
 [01-04] N ninda / (PN /) ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / (wa / ma-za-lum)  
 [01-05] N udu / PN / ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / N udu / in ud / DN / DN / GN / en-en / nidba<sub>2</sub>

### [02] ugula GN

- [02-01a] [fabrics] / ugula GN  
 [02-01b] [fabrics] / ugula GN / šu-du<sub>8</sub>  
 [02-01c] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1(n)</sub> / ugula GN / šu-du<sub>8</sub>  
 [02-02] [metals and/or fabrics] / mu-ḏU / PN / ugula GN  
 [02-03] [fabrics] / ugula GN / TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub>

For ugula associated with other professions, see sub each profession name.

## Prosopography:

ugula GN: *A-ba, A-ba<sub>4</sub>/bu-il, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥa, A-da-ar, A-dab<sub>6</sub>-il, A-du-ba, A-du-šum, A-du-uš-ga-mu, A-ga-li-im, A-mu-da/du/tum, A-na-aḥ/ḥu, A-ni-za-mu, A-šu-ur<sub>2</sub>-il, A-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, Aḥ-ra-ma-lik, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, 'A<sub>3</sub>-du-uš-ma-lik, Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-du-du, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Da-NE-lu, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, EN-dub-il, EN-mar, En-na-be, En-na-il, En-na-ma-lik, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>, EN-um-il, Ga-da-mu, Ga-mu-lum, Ga-si-du, Gi-a-ša-ḥa-ru<sub>12</sub>, Gi-i<sub>3</sub>-šar, Ḥa-la/lu, Ḥa-mu, Ḥa-bi<sub>2</sub>-du, Ḥab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, I-da-ma-lik, I-da-ni-ki-mu, I-dub-il, I-ga-li-im, I-gi-lum, I-in-i<sub>3</sub>, I-lu<sub>5</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik, I-ni-ḥi-li-im, I-nu-ud-da-mu, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ib-il, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-i<sub>3</sub>, I-še<sub>3</sub>-mu, I-ti-gi-li-im, I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>, Ib-da-a-bu<sub>14</sub>, Ig-na-da-ar, Il<sub>2</sub>-zi, In-ma-lik, In-ti, Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-nu, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik, Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>, Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik, Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-um, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud, KASKAL.DAB-u<sub>3</sub>, Keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik, Ki-da-i<sub>3</sub>, Ki-li-im, KU-TU, Ma-wa-gi-lu, Maš-ni-ba, Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>/il, Mu-ga-NE, Mu-NE-a-du, Na-zu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>, Ni-za-ba<sub>4</sub>, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-il, Ri<sub>2</sub>-ba-du, Ri<sub>2</sub>-dam-ma-lik, Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Ri<sub>2</sub>-ti, Ru<sub>12</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, Sa-ḥa-a, Ti-ti-nu, U<sub>3</sub>-ba-a-ba-u<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>-ti, U<sub>9</sub>-a-ne-an, Ze<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik, Zi-i<sub>3</sub>-šar, Zi-ir-a<sup>?</sup>-ḥu, Zi-ki-ar, Zi-kir-da-mu, Zi-mi-na-ma-lik, Wa-na* (see also Table 11, p.139).

ugula bad<sub>3</sub>: *Ni-da-u<sub>3</sub>*

ugula e<sub>2</sub>: *Ib-bi<sub>2</sub>-um, In-gar<sub>3</sub> (Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um), Kam<sub>4</sub>-'a<sub>3</sub>-lum, NE-zi-ma-lik (ur<sub>x</sub>, Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um)*

ugula E<sub>2</sub>×PAP: *Iš-a-il*

ugula edin: *En-na-be, Gi-a-da-mu*

ugula engar: *Ba-du-lum, En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>, Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub> (I-šar), Gur-da-mu, I-da-ni-ki-mu, I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>, Ib-dur-i-šar, Ir-NE, Zi-la-i<sub>3</sub> (Ib-du-lu)*

ugula geme<sub>2</sub>-gi: *Ga-'a<sub>3</sub>-du*

ugula gu<sub>4</sub>: *Šu-ma-lik*

ugula IGL.NITA: *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *EN-gi-lum*, *Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Nam-ba-lum*, *Ni-a-lu*, *Zi-ba-lum* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*)

ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>3</sub>*:<sup>426</sup> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *Ḫab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar*, *Ri<sub>2</sub>-ti*

ugula *ir<sub>11</sub>*: *EN-gi-šum*, *Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum* (ugula d.-n. *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*)

ugula ka<sub>2</sub>: *A-dam-ma-lik*, *Ar-si-a-ḫa*, *'A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Bar-zi*, *Da-nu-lum*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*), *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫu-ma-lik*, *EN-gi-iš-šum*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *EN-NI/NE*, *Ḫab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Ib-ḫur-ma-lik* (*Dana-aš<sup>ki</sup>*), *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-ma-lik*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *Ḫal-za-um*, *Ki-ti-ir*, *Keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik* (*Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*), *Za-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>* (see also the frequent mention of *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-ma-lik*, *A-dam-ma-lik*, 3 ugula ka<sub>2</sub>)

ugula kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>): *I<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*, *Zi-la-da-mu*

ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>): *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Ga-ti*, *In-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*, *Ti-ti-nu*, *Wa-na*

ugula ma<sub>2</sub>-NE-ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup>: *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*

ugula *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*: *Du-da-sa*

ugula muḫaldim: *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum*

ugula nagar: *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu*, *Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>*

ugula SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>: *'A<sub>3</sub>-gu-LUM*

ugula si: *En-na-il*

ugula simug: *En-na-be*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*

ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>:<sup>427</sup> *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-NE*, *A-za<sub>x</sub>-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>* (en), *A-wa-i-šar* (*Ig-su-ub-da-mu*), *Ar-si-aḫ* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *'A<sub>3</sub>-ga-lu* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *'A<sub>3</sub>-gar<sub>3</sub>* (*Il-e-i-šar*, *lul-gu-ak*), *'A<sub>3</sub>-lum* (en), *Ba-du-lum* (en), *Ba-du-nu*, *Ba-ga-ma* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Be-du-lum*, *Da-ni* (*Ib-du-lu*), *Da-zi-ma-ad/du*, *Daš-na*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*), *Dur-bad/be*, *En-bu<sub>3</sub>-il* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *En-bu<sub>14</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>* (en), *En-na-bad/be* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum ur<sub>4</sub>*), *En-zu-il* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Gu-la-bu* (*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫu-d 'A<sub>3</sub>-da*), *Gu<sub>2</sub>-li*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-šu* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *Ḫu-ba-an/nu* (en), *I-šar* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *I-ti-um* (*Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*), *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-ak*, *I-ti<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*, *Ib-du-ma-lik*, *Ib-du-ra*, *Ib-du<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap*, *Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ib-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* (en), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik* (en), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* (en), *Ka-ni* (en), *Ni-a-lu*, *Ni-da-nu* (*Gi-ir-da-mu*), *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik* (en), *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>* (en), *Ri<sub>2</sub>-ba-il* (en), *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-iš-lu* (*Ir<sub>3</sub>- 'a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*), *Sa-mi-um* (en), *Še-numun*, *Šu-NE*, *Ti-ba-mu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-KA(bu<sub>14</sub>)-na-an*, *Zi-ib<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* (*Ig-su-ub-da-mu*), *Zi-ba-lum* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Zu-ne*, *Wa-na* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Su-PI-si* (?).

ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-IGI.NITA: *Lu-a-i<sub>3</sub>* (en)

ugula še: *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*

ugula u<sub>2</sub>-a: *Ir-ra*

ugula za<sub>x</sub>: *A- 'a<sub>3</sub>-wa*,<sup>428</sup> *Ba-ga-ma* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Ba<sub>4</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>* (en *Gar<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup>*), *GIBIL-za-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>*, *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḫa-lu*, *NE-za-il* (en), *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-na-im* (*A-zi*), *Še<sub>3</sub>-ma<sup>d</sup>KU-ra* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>* (*Ib-du-ra*), *Ti-ti-nu* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Zi-ra* (en)

**Discussion:** several lemmas related to the term *ugula* are mentioned in the bilingual lexical texts: only two, however, present a gloss. The term *ugula e<sub>2</sub>* is glossed *'a<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> ma-gi* ([λ] and [μ], VE 952), of difficult interpretation;<sup>429</sup> the lemma *zilulu<sub>x</sub>* (PA.URU), glossed *zu-ḫa-lu(-um)*, “gang leader,” is

<sup>426</sup> See also the prosopography published in Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), pp.200ff.

<sup>427</sup> See also the prosopography published in Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), pp.266–70.

<sup>428</sup> A man from *Du-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-su<sup>ki</sup>*.

<sup>429</sup> See Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), p.262; Peust, *ZA* 104 (2014), p.142.

rarely mentioned in the administrative documents.<sup>430</sup> The Sumerian term *ugula* has been frequently compared with Semitic (*w*)*aklu*/*(w)akil* (\**wkl*):<sup>431</sup> there is, however, no consensus among scholars on whether *ugula* should be considered a Semitic loanword in Sumerian.<sup>432</sup> However, in two chancery documents from Ebla ([75.2366 = *A XVI 4*] o.VI:2, and [75.11094 = *A XVI 6*] r.II':1) is attested the Semitic dual spelling *wa-gi-lu-na* (/wakil-ū-na/ “our (two) overseers”).<sup>433</sup> As noted by Pomponio, *ugula* refers to a large number of terms: it is therefore one of those terms which are used in Ebla with a generic meaning, such as → dam, → guruš, and → maškim (see sub §4.5 Producers, p.186). The most frequent uses of the term *ugula* are: 1) in association with GNs; 2) with *sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>* (“pair of *kunga<sub>2</sub>*-equids”); and with properties (*za<sub>x</sub>*). However, after the publication of numerous other documents, new terms can be added to those highlighted by Pomponio (see Figure 15).

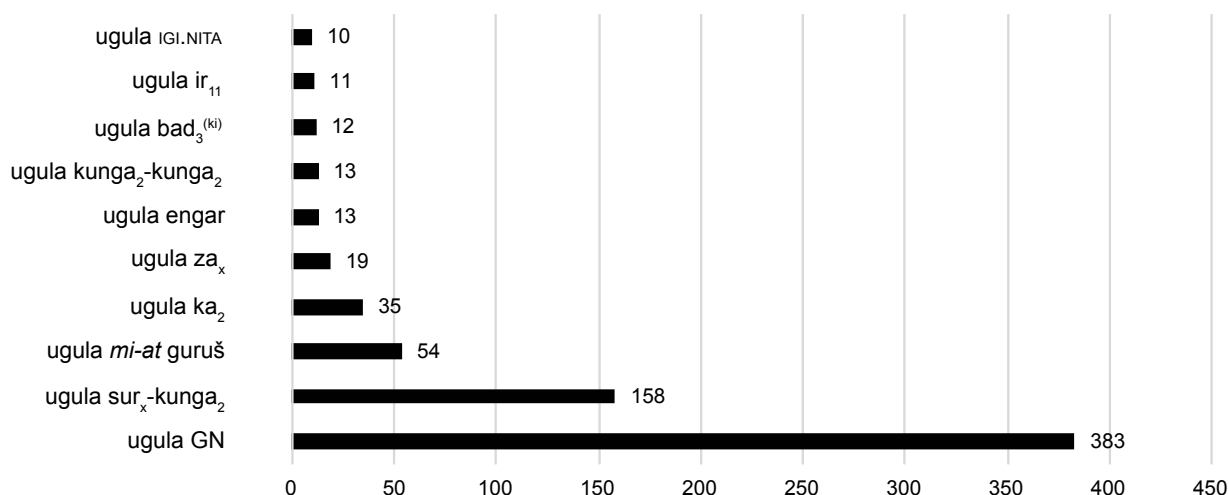


Figure 15 - Distribution by pattern of the term *ugula* (occurrences > 10).

The geographical distribution of the GNs connected to the office of *ugula* does not seem to present a pattern (see Table 11, p.139). In the cases of Garaman and Kakmi’um, for example, the frequent mention of one *ugula* (*Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>* and *I-nu-ud-da-mu* respectively) related to these GNs might suggest that this function was held for a prolonged period of time. A particular case is that of the *ugulas* of Ib’al: this is one of the few GNs mentioned in the Archives for which a high number of overseers is attested.

The overseers of yoked *kunga<sub>2</sub>s* are the type of *ugula* most mentioned in the documents after the *ugula* GN.<sup>434</sup> The *ugula* *sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>* took care of the pairs of animals (and probably also of the chariot itself) of high-ranking individuals such as the king, queen, and high officials.<sup>435</sup> The *kunga<sub>2</sub>* equids came from Nagar, a center specialized in the breeding of these animals: from Nagar, in fact, also came the acrobats, whose performances were particularly appreciated also at Ebla (see sub → HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI, §4.4 Entertainers, p.172). The Nagar *kunga<sub>2</sub>s* purchased by Ebla had great value: Eblaite men went to Nagar to buy these animals at the price of one silver mina each, but the price

<sup>430</sup> Gelb et al., *OIP* 104 (1991), p.99 (“gang leader, recruiter of workers, soldiers”); Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), p.262, *ugula-uru* (“servant, employee”); Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.85; Fronzaroli and Catagnoti, in *Fs Pennacchietti* (2006), p.280.

<sup>431</sup> See *DRS* 6, p.539.

<sup>432</sup> See *CAD* A/1 (1964), s.v. *aklu* A, p.280; Sommerfeld, in *Akkadian Language* (2006), p.65; Rubio, *JCS* 51 (1999), p.5, “a clear Semitic loanword from Akk. *waklum*.”

<sup>433</sup> See Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.55. For a different interpretation, see D’agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996), p.44, comm. ad o.III:1.

<sup>434</sup> See, however, Archi and Ferrero who translate *ugula* *sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>* as “superintendent of the charioteers”. Archi, in *Subartu* IV/1 (1998), p.10, and Ferrero, in *Ebla Landscape* (2013), p.273 fn.13.

<sup>435</sup> Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.266. On the value *sur<sub>x</sub>* of *EREN<sub>2</sub>*, see Steinkeller, *NABU* 1990/12 (1990); on the reading *kunga<sub>2</sub>* of (ANŠE).BAR.AN, see Krecher, *ZA* 73 (1973), p.245–56. On chariots at Ebla see Conti, *MisEb* 4 (1997).

could rise to two.<sup>436</sup> Several pairs of kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids could be assigned to one person: the king is not necessarily the individual to whom the highest number of animals is assigned. In [75.1446 = A IV 14] a man named Puzrī (an overseer of the yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>, see sub prosopography) receives twenty-five measures of wool for the ropes of the yoke collars:

[75.1446 = A IV 14] r.VII:23-VIII:11: 25 KIN siki / *HU-LI* / 6 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / en / 2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *In-gar*<sub>3</sub> / 13 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / 4 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-hu<sup>d</sup>-A<sub>3</sub>-da* / Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti; «25 kin measures of wool, (for) the rope(s)<sup>?</sup> of the yoke collars of 6 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of the king, 2 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of 'Inkar, 13 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of Yibbi-Ḍikir, 4 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of Ṭubuḥu-Hadda, Puzrī has received.»<sup>437</sup>

In the following passage a man named Ṭübī-karru receives wool for the ropes and for the coverage of four-wheeled wagons:

[76.541 = A VIII 541] r.X:4'-19':11: 27 KIN siki / *HU-LI-HU-LI* / 6 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / en / 2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / 2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *MA-LIK-TUM* / 2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu* / 15 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / 2 sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / *In-gar*<sub>3</sub> / 30 KIN siki / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak<sup>g<sub>is</sub></sup>gigir<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-IV-g<sub>is</sub>gigir<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-IV / *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu* / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti; «27 KIN measures of wool, (for) the rope(s)<sup>?</sup> of the yoke collars of 6 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of the king, 2 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of the queen, 2 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of Yirḥaq-Damu, 15 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of Yibbi-Ḍikir, 2 (pairs of) yoked kunga<sub>2</sub>-equids of 'Inkar; 30 KIN measures of wool to make the covered four-wheeled wagons, Ṭübī-karru has received.»

A man named Ṭübī-karru is the valet of crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu: in this context, however, the man mentioned is probably the overseer of the carpenters (see prosopography sub → nagar, §4.5 Producers, p.186). Noteworthy is the fact that in [76.541 = A VIII 541] the creation of the coverage involves a carpenter: Puzrī and the other overseers were probably in charge of the animals, but not of the vehicles.

As regards to ugula referred to other terms, ugula is probably to be interpreted generically as “foreman”. Data regarding these individuals are scanty: the ugula e<sub>2</sub> *Kam<sub>4</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>-lum* is also a valet of the king (see sub → pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153); *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu* and *Še<sub>3</sub>-ma<sup>d</sup>KU-ra* are ugula za<sub>x</sub> and also pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš (of the king and Yibbi-Ḍikir respectively); *A-dam-ma-lik* and *Da-nu-lum*, ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, are also “gatekeepers” (see sub → KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG)

<sup>436</sup> See the data collected in Archi, in *Subartu* IV/1 (1998), pp.7–8.

<sup>437</sup> On *HU-LU/LI*, see Pasquali, *NABU* 1995/59 (1995), and Conti, *MisEb* 4 (1997), pp.40ff.

Tables

<i>ba-da-lum</i>				<i>abba</i> <sub>2</sub>					Text	
'a-da-um <sup>lug2-II</sup>	aktum <sup>lug2</sup>	ib <sub>2</sub> -il/ilil/v gun <sub>3</sub> sa <sub>6</sub> <sup>lug2</sup>	GN	'a-da-um <sup>lug2-II</sup>	'a-da-um <sup>lug2-I</sup>	aktum <sup>lug2</sup>	SAL <sup>lug2</sup>	ib <sub>2</sub> -il/ilil/v gun <sub>3</sub> sa <sub>6</sub> <sup>lug2</sup>		Tot. <i>abba</i> <sub>2</sub>
1	1	1	<i>Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	1	1	2	-	1+1	2	[75.10256 = A   4]
1	1	1	<i>Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	2	1	2+1	3	[75.1828 = A   7]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	0	2	-	2	2	[75.1591 = A   8]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	4	-	4	4	[75.1443 = A   3]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	4	-	2+2	4	[75.10256 = A   4]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	2	2	2+2	4	[76.530 = A   5]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	5	-	2+3	5	[75.2590 = A   6]
1	1	1	<i>Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	3	2	3	2	3+2	5	[75.1828 = A   7]
1	1	1	<i>Ir-i-dum<sup>ki</sup></i>	1	1	4	-	1+3	4	[75.1591 = A   8]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	1	2	3	-	3	3	[75.1443 = A   3]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	3	-	2+1	3	[75.10256 = A   4]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	2	1	2+1	3	[76.530 = A   5]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	1	2	3	-	1+2	3	[75.2590 = A   6]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	2	1	2+1	3	[75.1828 = A   7]
1	1	1	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	2	1	2+1	3	[75.1591 = A   8]
1	1	1	<i>Ur-sa<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	4	-	2+2	4	[75.1591 = A   8]

Table 10 - The occurrences of *ba-da-lum* and *abba*<sub>2</sub>.

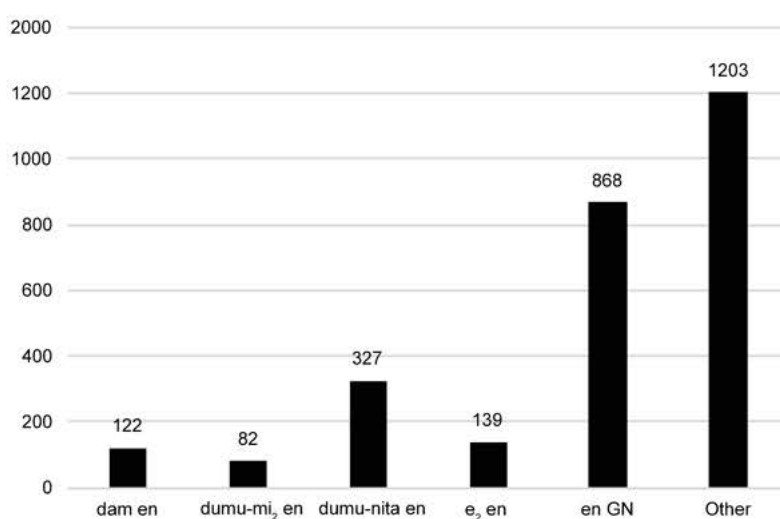


Figure 16 - Lemmas composed with en

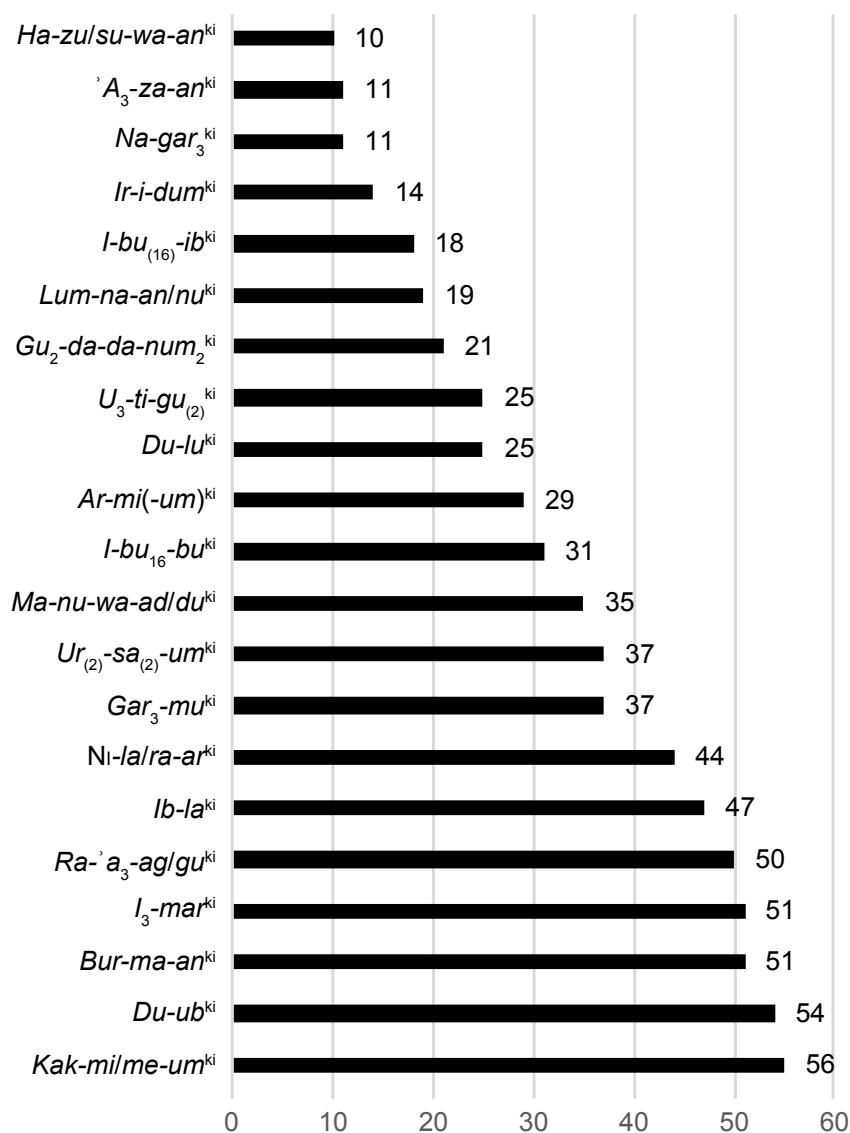


Figure 17 - Kings associated with a GN (occurrences > 10)

ugula NG	PN	Text	Vizier
ugula A-ba-tum <sup>ki</sup>	Du-bi <sub>2</sub>	A XII 1253 r.IV':5'	-
ugula A-bar-sal <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	Zi-i[ <sub>x</sub> ]-[ <sub>h</sub> u A-ni-za-mu	A IV 13 o.I:6 A XII 1011 r.II:5'	-
ugula A-da-aš <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A I 6 r.X:24	Yibbi-Dikir
	Ri <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -ma-lik	A II 13 o.IV:8	Yibriyum
	U <sub>9</sub> -ne-a-an	A IV 3 r.XI:4	Yibriyum
	-	A IV 5 r.VII:4	Yibbi-Dikir
	-	A IV 14 r.VI:16	Yibriyum
	-	A VII 93 r.III:2	-
	Nab-ḥa-ll	A XV,1 10 o.V:12	ArtulUM
	-	M VII 13 o.I:6	?
	Ri <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -Ma-lik	M VII 29 o.I:4	
	Iš-ru <sub>12</sub> -ut	M X 41 o.IV:11	
	Ig-na-da-ar	M XII 3 o.V:6	
ugula A-la-ga <sup>ki</sup>	Du-bi <sub>2</sub>	A XII 75 o.'III':3'	
	Ga-du-um šeš Wa-na ugula	M X 46 o.III:3	
ugula 'A <sub>3</sub> -du <sup>ki</sup>	2 ugula	A XII 996 o.II':2'	
	-	A XII 1089 o.II':2	
	-	A XV,1 15 o.VIII:3	ArtulUM

ugula 'A <sub>3</sub> -ma <sup>ki</sup>	(ugula-ugula)	A III 236 r.VIII:2'		
	-	A XV,1 14 o.V:2	ArrULUM	
	-	A XV,1 15 o.XII:3	ArrULUM	
	-	A XV,2 47 o.I:2	ArrULUM	
ugula Ab <sub>2</sub> -zu <sup>ki</sup> (Āb-zu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> ) (Āb-su <sup>ki</sup> )	Ga-si-du	A III 261 o.IV:8'		
	-	A IV 16 o.XI:1		
	-	A IV 17 o.II:13		
ugula Ba-ti-ne <sup>ki</sup>	In-ti	A XV,1 10 r.VIII:5	ArrULUM	
ugula Bur-ma-an <sup>ki</sup>	-	A III 387 o.I:1'		
ugula Da-bu <sub>2</sub> -na-ad <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XV,1 8 o.XI:8	ArrULUM	
ugula Da-mi <sup>ki</sup>	Ku-tu	A I 17 r.I:6	Yibriyum	
ugula Ga-ra-ma-an <sup>ki</sup>	-	A III 83 o.I:2'	-	
	Ir <sub>3</sub> -PEŠ <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub>	A III 255 o.IV:3'	Yibriyum?	
	lIr <sub>3</sub> -PEŠ <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub>	A III 523 r.V:19'	Yibriyum?	
	lIr <sub>3</sub> -PEŠ <sub>2</sub> -[z]e <sub>2</sub>	A III 535 o.I:3	Yibriyum?	
	Ir <sub>3</sub> -PEŠ <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub>	A III 562 o.II:2'	Yibriyum?	
	[Ir <sub>3</sub> ]-PEŠ <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub>	A III 562 o.VI:2'	Yibriyum?	
	-	A III 897 o.III:1'	-	
	-	A III 908 o.III:2	-	
	-	A XII 139 o.?'II':1'	-	
	Ir <sub>3</sub> -peš-ze <sub>2</sub>	A XII 1302 o.?'II':4'	Yibriyum?	
	Ir <sub>3</sub> -peš-ze <sub>2</sub>	M X 20 o.XVIII:10	Yibriyum	
	ugula Ga-ra <sub>2</sub> -ma-an <sup>ki</sup>	Ga-mu-lum	A III 468 r.II:9'	-
	ugula Ga <sub>2</sub> -la-mu <sup>ki</sup>	En-sa-du	A XIII 11 r.V:11	
ugula Gi-za-an <sup>ki</sup>	Maš-NI-ba	A XII 1249 o.?'III':8'	-	
ugula Gu <sub>2</sub> -du-ma-an <sup>ki</sup> (Gu <sub>2</sub> -du-na-nu <sup>ki</sup> )	Mi-ga-i <sub>3</sub>	A VIII 538 r.VII:27'		
	-	A XV,2 46 r.IX:5	ArrULUM	
ugula Gu <sub>2</sub> -ḥa-ti <sup>ki</sup>	Iḥ-ra-Ma-lik	A III 471 o.V:5	-	
Gu <sub>2</sub> -ḥa-ti-um <sup>ki</sup>	Iḥ-ra-Ma-lik	A III 420 o.III:4'	-	
ugula Gu <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub> -bu <sub>3</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XVI 27 r.VIII:2	Yibriyum?	
Gu <sub>2</sub> -si-bu <sub>3</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	Zi-ki-ar	A XV,1 34 r.IV:17	ArrULUM	
	En-na-Ma-lik	A XV,1 34 r.X:7'	ArrULUM	
	En-na-Ma-lik	A XV,1 45 o.III:4	ArrULUM	
ugula I <sub>3</sub> -mar <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XII 190 o.?'II':1'	-	
	En-mar	A XV,2 46 o.IV:11	ArrULUM	
	En-mar	M II 12 o.V:11	ArrULUM	
	Dam-da-Il	M II 25 o.II:7	Yibriyum?	
ugula Ib-aI <sub>6</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A I 8 o.X:11	Yibbi-Dikir	
	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-'a <sub>3</sub> -bi <sub>2</sub>	A I 12 o.I:4		
	A-ga-Li-im	A III 14 r.I:2	-	
	A-ba <sub>4</sub> -Il	A III 404 o.IV:3'	-	
	La-a <sup>!</sup> Ib-'a <sub>3</sub> EN-sa-gi-su I-ga-Li-im	A III 441 r.II:5'	-	
	-	A III 458 o.I:4'	-	
	Ri <sub>2</sub> -ba <sup>!</sup> -du	A III 469 o.IV:11	-	
	[...-r]a	A III 471 o.VII:2	-	
	Iš <sub>11</sub> -a-Ma-lik	A III 562 o.VII:4'	Yibriyum?	
	(ugula-ugula)	A III 830 r-I:3'	-	
	-	A IV 1 r.V:1	Yibriyum	
	A-ba-ni Ir <sub>3</sub> -ḥi-i <sub>3</sub> Ir <sub>3</sub> -a-i <sub>3</sub> Ri <sub>2</sub> -BAD Ip-dur-i <sub>3</sub> EN-gi-lum Ib-'a <sub>3</sub> Ra-u <sub>3</sub> I <sub>3</sub> -ti-lu Mar-za-i <sub>3</sub> (ugula-ugula)	A IV 6 o.VI:12	Yibriyum	
	l̄r-ib <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> Ga-la-ku-ki (?)	A XV,1 7 o.I:4	ArrULUM	
	Ga-la-mu-ud u <sub>3</sub> I-ri <sub>2</sub> -ib-Il	A XV,1 9 o.I:5	ArrULUM	
	-	A XV,1 31 r.VIII:13	ArrULUM	
	Na-zu <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>3</sub>	A XV,1 33 o.VII:8	ArrULUM	
	(ugula-ugula)	M X 3 o.XI:7	Yibriyum	
	-	M VII 34 r.VIII:24		
	Gi-da-i <sub>3</sub>	M VII 48 o.III:21		
ugula Ig-du-ra <sup>ki</sup>	-	A I 6 r.X:3	Yibbi-Dikir	
	Ri <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -Ma-lik	M VII 29 o.I:8	-	
ugula Kab-lu <sub>5</sub> -ul <sup>ki</sup>	Iš <sub>11</sub> -ga-um	A I 10 o.IV:8	ArrULUM	
	I-ni <sup>!</sup> -ḥi-Li-im	A III 858 r.VIII:3	-	
	I-ni-ḥi-Li-im	M XII 18 o.IX:9		



ugula <i>Kak-mi-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>I-nu-ud-Da-mu</i>	A I 11 o.XI:4	Yibriyum
	<i>I-nu-ud-Da-mu</i>	A I 11 r.II:7	Yibriyum
	[...]- <i>da-mu</i>	A III 263 o.III:2'	Yibriyum?
	<i>I-[nu]-ud-Da-mu</i>	A III 274 o.III:7	Yibriyum?
	-	A III 882 o.II:1'	-
	<i>I-nu-ud-Da-mu</i>	A IV 11 o.I:9	Yibriyum
	<i>I-nu-ud-Da-mu</i>	A XII 1035 o.II':3'	Yibriyum?
ugula <i>Kul-ba-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>I-nu-ud-Da-mu</i>	M II 25 o.VII:3	Yibriyum?
	-	A III 278 o.I:1'	-
ugula <i>La</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-ba</i> <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A III 781 r.II:5'	-
ugula <i>Lu</i> <sub>5</sub> - <i>a-tum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	(ugula-ugula)	A XV,2 49 r.VIII:2	ArrULUM
	<i>I-ni-ḫi-Li-im</i>	A XII 750 r.V:3'	-
ugula <i>Lum-na-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>En-na-Il</i>	M XII 18 o.X:14	-
ugula <i>Ma</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>ne</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>En-bu</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>Ma-lik</i>	M II 25 o.II:4	Yibriyum?
ugula <i>Ma</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>ne</i> <sup>ki</sup> - <i>Ma</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>ne</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>En-bu</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>Ma-lik</i>	A XV,2 49 o.VIII:13	ArrULUM
	<i>Du-bu</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>Ma-lik</i>	A III 230 o.II:10'	-
ugula <i>Mu-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Ma-wa-gi-lu</i>	A XV,2 46 r.IX:5	ArrULUM
	<i>Ma-wa-gi-lu</i>	A II 32 o.III:2	-
ugula <i>Mu-ur</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XVI 21 o.III:2	Yibriyum?
ugula <i>Ni-ra-ar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>I-ri</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>ig-ni</i>	A XV,1 34 o.XV:15	ArrULUM
	<i>Ki-li-im</i>	A III 261 o.V:6'	-
	-	A III 406 r.I:4'	-
	-	A XII 976 o.IV:4	-
ugula <i>Nu-ba-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Ḫa-ne-du</i>	A XII 977 o.VI':15'	-
ugula <i>Sa-na-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> - <i>gum</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A IV 16 o.XII:14	-
<i>Ša-na-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> - <i>gu</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>lb-da-a-ka</i>	A XV,1 19 o.X:10	ArrULUM
	-	A XV,1 21 o.VII:4	ArrULUM
<i>sa-na-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> - <i>lum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XV,1 21 o.VII:4	ArrULUM
ugula <i>Sa-ra-bu</i> <sub>3</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Zar</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>rum</i> <sub>2</sub>	A IV 16 o.XII:14	-
ugula <i>Ša-da-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Zi-i</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>šar</i>	A XIII 19 o.II:5	-
	-	A IV 10 r.V:15	ArrULUM?
ugula <i>Šu-ra-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Gi-i</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>šar</i>	A XV,2 o.XI:20	ArrULUM
ugula <i>Ti-in</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>A-na</i>	A XII 1287 r.?V':7'	-
	<i>A-da-ar</i>	A XV,1 36 o.IX':5	ArrULUM
ugula <i>U</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>na-am</i> <sub>6</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XV,2 47 o.X:11	ArrULUM
ugula <i>U</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>gul-za-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>A-na-ḫu</i>	A III 215 r.IV:4'	-
	<i>A-na-aḫ</i>	A III 468 o.VI:16	-
ugula <i>U</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>nu-bu</i> <sub>3</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XII 1327 o.II':3'	-
ugula <i>Ur</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>lu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	<i>Bu</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>Ma-lik</i>	A XV,2 46 o.VIII:5	ArrULUM
ugula <i>Za-a-ru</i> <sub>12</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XII 977 r.VI':10'	-
	-	A IV 17 o.III:6	-
	-	A XV,1 38 o.VI:3	ArrULUM
	-	A XV,2 59 o.XI:2	ArrULUM
ugula <i>Za-mi-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	A XV,2 53 r.VII:11	ArrULUM

Table 11 - The ugula GN mentioned in the administrative documents.

Text	$a_3$ - <i>da-um</i> <sup>wg,-I</sup>	$a_3$ - <i>da-um</i> <sup>wg,-II</sup>	<i>gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>dul</i> <sub>3</sub> <sup>wg</sup>	aktum <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -I <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -II <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -III <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -IV <sup>wg</sup>		$a_3$ - <i>da-um</i> <sup>wg,-I</sup>	$a_3$ - <i>da-um</i> <sup>wg,-II</sup>	<i>gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>dul</i> <sub>3</sub> <sup>wg</sup>	SAL <sup>wg</sup>	aktum <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -I <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -II <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -III <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -IV <sup>wg</sup>	<i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -V <sup>wg</sup>	abba <sub>2</sub> tot	
<b>ARETI</b>																					
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>I</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>mar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Du-ub</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	2+2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	4
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Ur-sa</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	4	4	-	1	8	-	-	5	4	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	9
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>U</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>ti-gu</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	1+3	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	4
1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>Ha-ra-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	5	-	2	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	?
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Sa-nab-zu-gum</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	3
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-da-num</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ar-ḥa-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
1	-	7	-	7	-	7	-	-	<i>Šu-ra-gar</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>ru</i> <sub>12</sub> wa šeš- <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	?
														20			20			<i>guruš-guruš</i> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	20
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Zu-gur-lum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ša-du-gu-LUM</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	*	en <i>I-bu</i> <sub>16</sub> - <i>ib</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	-	6	-	-	3	-	3	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	6
* To the en of <i>I-bu</i> <sub>16</sub> - <i>ib</i> <sup>ki</sup> are also delivered 1 <i>ib</i> -VI <sup>wg</sup> : <i>sa</i> <sub>6</sub> - <i>gun</i> <sub>3</sub> 1 <i>gada</i> <sup>wg</sup> : <i>tug</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>mu</i> 1 <i>nig</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>la</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>sag</i> 2 <i>nig</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>la</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>DU</i>																					
2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Ni-ra-ar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	4
2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Ra-</i> $a_3$ - <i>ag</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	[2]	-	-	[2]*	-	-	[abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub> ]	[2]
2	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	-	[1]	[en] <i>Kak-mi-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>I</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>mar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	[2]	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
2	1	1	-	[1]	-	-	-	[1]	[en <i>Du-ub</i> <sup>ki</sup> ]	-	[x]	-	-	[x]	-	-	[x]*	-	-	[abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub> ]	[x]
2	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	1	-	en <i>Gar</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>m</i> [ <i>u</i> <sup>ki</sup> ]	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1+1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	[1]	en <i>Lum-na-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	[2?]	-	-	-	[2?]	-	[abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub> ]	[2?]
2	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	-	[1]	[en <i>Ur-sa</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>um</i> <sup>ki</sup> ]	-	[x]	-	-	[x]	-	-	-	[x]	-	[abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub> ]	[x]
2	-	[1]	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>U</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>ti-ig</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1+1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2
3	-	[1]	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ni-ra-ar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	5
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ra-</i> $a_3$ - <i>ak</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	2+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	4
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Kak-mi-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> - <i>SU</i> <sub>3</sub>	2

3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en $I_3$ -mar <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Bur-ma-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Du-ub</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	2+3	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	5
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en $Gar_3$ -mu <sup>ki</sup>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1+2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Lum-na-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>I-bu</i> <sub>16</sub> -bu <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	5	-	-	1	4	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	5
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ur-sa</i> <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	1	5	-	-	5+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	5
3	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	en $U_3$ -ti-gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	4	-	2	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
3	-	1	-	1	-	[1]	-	-	e[n] <i>Ir-i-t</i> [um] <sup>ki</sup>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>ba-da-lum</i> $\dot{H}a$ -ra-an <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	<i>ba-da-lum</i> <i>Sa-nab-zu-gum</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
3	-	1	-	[1]	-	-	[1]*	-	<i>ba-da-lum</i> $G$ [u <sub>2</sub> -da-da-num <sub>2</sub> ] <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ar-ḥa-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
3	-	-	7	7	-	-	7*	-	$\dot{S}u$ -ra-gar <sub>3</sub> -ru <sub>12</sub> wa šeš-šeš-su <sub>3</sub>	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	1	
										-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	guruš-guruš-su <sub>3</sub>	20
3	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>Zu-gur-lum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	2+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
4	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	en <i>Kak-mi-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en $I_3$ -mar <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Bur-ma-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	2+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Du-ub</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	3	-	-	[2]+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	?
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1*	-	[en $Gar_3$ -mu <sup>ki</sup> ]	[1]	[2]	-	-	3	-	-	1+2*	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
4	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	en <i>Lum-na-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>I-bu</i> <sub>16</sub> -ib <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	[2]+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en $U_3$ -ti-gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Du-lu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	4	2	-	-	6	-	4	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	6
										-	-	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	maškim-su <sub>3</sub>	20
4	-	[1]	-	1	-	-	1*	-	en $\dot{r}$ <i>Ir</i> <sup>7</sup> -i-dum <sup>ki</sup>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1*	-	<i>ba-da-lum</i> $\dot{H}a$ -ra-an <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	2	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	[ <i>ba-da-lum</i> [ <i>Sa-na</i> ]b-zu[-gum- <sub>2</sub> ] <sup>ki</sup> ]	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	1	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	3
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>ba-da-lum</i> $Gu_2$ -da-da-num <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	$\dot{S}ar$ -ḥu <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	1
4	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ar-ḥa-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	[1+]1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
4	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	$\dot{H}u$ -ti-mu <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	8	-	8	-	-	8	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	8

4	-	8	-	8	-	-	8	-	Šu-ra-gar <sub>3</sub> -ru <sub>12</sub> wa šeš-mu-SU <sub>3</sub>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	1
										-	-	-	-	20	-	-	20	-	-	maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	20
4	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	Tal-zu-gur <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en NI-ra-ar <sup>ki</sup>	-	5	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	5
5	-	1	-	[1]	-	1	-	-	en Ra-'a <sub>3</sub> -ag <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Bur-ma-an <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	2?	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en I <sub>3</sub> -mar <sup>ki</sup>	-	4	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	1	3	-	1	3	-	1	3°	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en Lum-na-an <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	-	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	3
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en Ur-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	3	3	-	3	3	-	3+3	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	6
5	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	en Du-lu <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
										-	-	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	guruš-guruš-SU <sub>3</sub>	20
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Gu <sub>2</sub> -da-da-num <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	-	1	2	-	2+1	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	3
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en I-bu <sub>16</sub> -bu <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	2+2	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	ba-da-lum Ḥa-ra-an <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	-	1	2	-	2+1	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	3
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	Ar-ḥa-du <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	Ḥu-ti-muki	1	2	7	7	2	-	7	2°	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	9
5	-	7	-	7	-	-	7	-	Šu-ra-gar <sub>3</sub> -ru <sub>12</sub> wa šeš-šeš-SU <sub>3</sub>	-	-	1^	1	-	-	12	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	1
										-	-	-	20	-	-	20?	-	-	-	guruš-guruš-SU <sub>3</sub>	20
^ This proves that gu-dul <sub>3</sub> <sup>lug2</sup> and SAL <sup>lug2</sup> should be considered as one set of garments.																					
5	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	Lu-ri <sub>2</sub> -LUM <sup>ki&gt;</sup>	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	1
6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[en?] [Ra-]'a <sub>3</sub> -ag <sup>ki</sup>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	?
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	[2?]	2	-	-	-	-	-	[2?]	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	?
6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[en I <sub>3</sub> -mar <sup>ki</sup> ]	-	[2+]2	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	?
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en Gar <sub>3</sub> -mu <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	[2?+]1	-	-	[1+2]	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	?
6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[en] Lum-na-an <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en I-bu <sub>16</sub> -ib <sup>ki</sup>	3	3	-	-	6	-	-	-	3+3	-	[abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> ]	6
6	-	[1]	-	1	-	-	-	1	en Ur-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	4	4	-	-	8	-	-	-	4+4	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	8
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	[e]n [U <sub>3</sub> -t]i-[gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> ]	[2]	[2]	-	-	4	-	-	3°	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	3
																				wa ma-za-lum-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1*	ba-da-lum Ḥa-ra-an <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	5	-	-	2	3	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	?
																				wa ma-za-lum-SU <sub>3</sub>	?

6	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	<i>ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	1	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	2
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2*	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	2
6	-	2	-	2	-	-	2*	-	<i>Ḥu-ti-mu<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	-	8	-	8	-	-	8	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	8
6	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	7	<i>KU-ra-gar<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> wa šeš-su<sub>3</sub></i>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	1
7	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	[1]	-	<i>[e]n [Ni-ra-ar]<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	7	-	-	7	-	-	7?	-	-	<i>[abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>]</i>	7
7	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	[1]	-	<i>en [R]a-<sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Bur-ma-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2+2°	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	4
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Du-ub<sup>ki</sup></i>	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	3+3	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	6
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	4
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Gar<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	1+2	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Lum-na-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	1	2	-	1	2	-	2+1	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en I-bu<sub>16</sub>-bu<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	3	-	2	3	3	2	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	5
7	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>en Ur-sa<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	5	-	2	5	5	-	2	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	7
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en U<sub>3</sub>-ti-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	1+2	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>en Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	2
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Du-lu<sup>ki</sup></i>	4	2	-	4	2	2	4°	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	6
										-	-	-	20	-	-	20	-	-	-	<i>guruš-guruš-su<sub>3</sub></i>	
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Ir-i-tum<sup>ki</sup></i>	3	1	-	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	4
7	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	<i>ba-da-lum Ḥa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	3	-	2	3	-	3+2	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	5
7	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	1	2	-	1	2	1	2°	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>ba-da-lum Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	1	2	-	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	1	-	2	1	-	1+2	-	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	3
7	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>Ḥu-ti-mu<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	2	7	7	2	-	-	2+7	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	9
7	-	7	-	7	-	-	7	-	<i>Šu-ra-gar<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> wa šeš-šeš-su<sub>3</sub></i>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub></i>	1
8	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	<i>en Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	[x]	-	-	[x]	-	-	[x]	-	-		
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>en Du-ub<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	ʾ3	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-		3
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>ba-da-lum Ur-sa<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	2+2	-	-		4
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>KU-ra-gar<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub></i>												
8	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	-	<i>4 šeš-su<sub>3</sub></i>	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-		3
8	-	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	<i>Ti-sum<sup>ki</sup></i>	-	-	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-		3
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1-	-	<i>ba-da-<sup>ʾ</sup>lum<sup>ʾ</sup> Ḥa-ra-[an<sup>ki</sup>]</i>	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	2*	-	-		2
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>ba-da-lum Ir-i-tum</i>	1	1	-	-	4	-	-	1+3	-	-		4

8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ni-ra-ar <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	-	5	-	-	3+2		5
8	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	1	-	en I <sub>3</sub> -mar <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	2
8	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	[e]n [x <sup>ki</sup> ]	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ra-'a <sub>3</sub> -ag <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	5
8	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	Tal-la-zu-gur <sup>ki</sup>	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	2
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3
9	-	[1]	-	[1]	-	-	1°	-	en Ra-'a <sub>3</sub> -ag <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	'en <sup>˘</sup> Bur-ma-an <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	-	[1]		[1]	-	-	[1]°	-	'en <sup>˘</sup> Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	en I <sub>3</sub> -mar <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	[en x <sup>ki</sup> ]	[1]	-	-	-	[1]	-	-	-	-	[1]
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	en Lum-na-an <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	en I-bu-ib <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	[1]	-	-	-	[1]	-	-	-	-	[1]
9	-	1	-	1	-	-	1°	-	en Ur-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
10	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en I-bu <sub>16</sub> -ib <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	3
11	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	en tur Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
									* and a gu-zi-tum <sup>lug2</sup>										
<b>ARET IV</b>																			
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	en I-ni-BU <sup>ki</sup>	3	2	-	-	5	-	3	2	-	5
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	en Du-lu <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	-	4	-	2+2	-	-	4
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ir-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	-	7	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	7
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	en Ni-ra-ar <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	A-ma-lu <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	Li-ri <sub>2</sub> -ib-zu <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	Aḥ-bu <sub>3</sub> -lu <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	ba-da-lum Ir-i-tum <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1
1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	ba-da-lum Ḥa-ra-an <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1
1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1+1	-	2
6	-	[2]	-	[2]	-	2	-	-	ba-da-lum Ḥa-ra-an <sup>ki</sup> wa Ḥu-ḥa-da-bir <sub>5</sub>	4	4	4(gu-mug)	4	8	-	4+8	-	-	8
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Kak-me-um <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
6	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	2

Ḥal-ru<sub>12</sub> wa 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi-  
LUM abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>

Bu-gi-a Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-zi-kir  
abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>

abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>

18	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ša-da-ĥu-LUM <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
18	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ša-da-gu-LUM <sup>ki</sup> 6	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> 7 + maškim-maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
18	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en A-ĥa-na-LUM <sup>ki</sup> 8	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
18	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	Zu-ĥa-sum <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub> !!!	
18	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	ba-da-lum Sa-nab-zu-gum <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
18	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	ba-da-lum Ur-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
18	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	su-gur-lum <sup>ki</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-maškim-SU + ma-za-lum-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
									*1 gu <sub>2</sub> -li-lum kb.-kg.TAR-2												
18	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	En-na-ma-lik Ni-ra-ar <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	1
19	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	Ir <sub>3</sub> -am <sub>6</sub> -ma-lik ugula Ar-ĥa-du <sup>ki</sup>	3 gu mug	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	3
23	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[x]	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
23	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[x]	1	[1]	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
23	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	[I]-bu <sub>16</sub> -ib <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
25	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Kak-mi-um <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	2
<b>ARET VIII</b>																					
521	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	Zi-mi-na-ma-lik Ĥu-ti-mu <sup>ki</sup>	1 g mug	2	1	1	3	-	-	2+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	4
522	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	Ni <sup>2</sup> -a <sub>3</sub> -da-bir <sub>5</sub> Du-ub <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> + maškim-SU <sub>3</sub>	1
									* dib-10												
522	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Ur-sa <sub>2</sub> -um <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	2
522	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en Gu <sub>2</sub> -da-da-num <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> šu-du <sub>8</sub> šeš Ba <sup>de</sup> š <sub>4</sub> -dar	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub> guruš-SU <sub>3</sub>	1 10
									* 1 dib 1 <sup>!!</sup> ma-na												
522	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -tit <sup>ugs</sup> Ĥi-da-ar Ma-ri <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	-	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -SU <sub>3</sub>	5





531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en [...]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	4	?	?	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	[...]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	2+2	?	?	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
										-	-	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	guruš-su <sub>3</sub>	20
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ir-i-dum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2+2			abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>I-bu</i> <sub>16</sub> - <i>bu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2+2			abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	[ <i>ba-da</i> ]- <i>lum</i> <i>Ħa-ra-an</i> <sup>ki</sup>	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	2+2	?	?	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ar-Ħa-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	<i>Ħu-ti-mu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	2	7	7	2	-	-	2+7	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	9
531	-	7	-	7	-	-	7	-	<i>Šu-ra-gar</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>ru</i> <sub>12</sub> <i>wa</i> šeš-su <sub>3</sub>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1			abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	1
										-	-	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	guruš-su <sub>3</sub>	20
531	-	-	5	5	-	-	5	-	<i>Ti-sum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	20	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	20
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Mar-tu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	11	11	-	-	-	11	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	11
531	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Da-da-nu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
532	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>I-bu-ib</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	1	2	?	?	?	-	4	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
532	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ur-sa</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	3	-	-	5	-	-	3+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	5
533	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	en <i>Ni-ra-ar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
533	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	en <i>Gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-da-num</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> <i>wa</i> ab- ba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	1
												3gm	3				3			maškim-su <sub>3</sub>	3
541	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en [ <i>Ga</i> ] <sub>3</sub> <sup>?</sup> - <i>mu</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1+1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	2
541	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>I</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>mar</i> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4
541	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	en <i>Ur-sa</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	1
542	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	en <i>Gu</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-da-num</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2+2	-	-	abba <sub>2</sub> -su <sub>3</sub>	4

Table 12 - Occurrences of the delegations in which the abba<sub>2</sub> are mentioned.



## 4.2. Army and Soldiers

**aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>** (31): «military commander»

**Previous translation(s):** «gendarme»<sup>AIII,AXV</sup>; «soldato»<sup>AIIV</sup>; «gendarme» (la traduz. è convenzionale)<sup>AIX</sup>; «attente, soldato»<sup>AXII</sup>; «soldato di mestiere»<sup>AXVI</sup>; «bodyguard, gendarme»;<sup>AXX</sup> «poliziotto»<sup>M7</sup>; «policeman»<sup>M10</sup>; «soldato, guardia»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.V:5	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub>
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 48	r.I':3	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub>
[γ] ED Practical Vocabulary	<i>MEE</i> 3, 44	o.IV:10	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (755)	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.VIII:38
[ε] VE (755)	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	r.I:13'
[ζ] VE (755)	aga <sub>3</sub> -us <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.I:2

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Fs Owen* (2010), pp.27ff.; Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016)

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** di-ku<sub>5</sub> (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), guruš (§4.5 Producers, p.186), lugal (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), ugula (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** *Ar-ḥa-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-u<sub>9</sub>-gu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *KAS<sub>4</sub>-ni-ig-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-ra-mu*<sup>ki</sup>

**Prosopography:**<sup>438</sup> *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num*<sub>2</sub>, *Du-bu-ḥu-d'* a<sub>3</sub>-da, *En-na-be*/BAD, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-am, *Gi-la-malik*, *I-ti-dNI-lam*, *Ib-ḥur-NI*, *Il-ti*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar*, *Ir-ti*, *Mi-ga-NI*, *Ne-zi-ma-a-ḥu*, *NI-ba-NI*, *NI-ba-NI* dumunita *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḥa-al<sub>6</sub>*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-NI*, *Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*

**Accounting models:**

- [01] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / N udu-nita / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / in / GN
- [02] [wool] / <sup>giš</sup>E<sub>2</sub>×GIGIR<sub>2</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>E<sub>2</sub>×GIGIR<sub>2</sub> aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / PN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [03] [fabrics] / PN / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / PN
- [04] [fabrics] / (PN /) aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / al<sub>6</sub> / ugula ka<sub>2</sub>
- [05] [fabrics] / PN / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / PN / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / in / GN
- [06] [silver] / 2 GN / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / nar-nar
- [07] N ninda / GN / N ninda / GN / ninda aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
- [08] [oil] / PN / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
- [09] N ninda / PN / aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> / ka<sub>2</sub> PN

<sup>438</sup> See Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016).

**Discussion:** The military personnel attested in the documents has been recently studied in detail by Bonechi: according to his interpretation the  $aga_3-us_2$ , the  $\rightarrow zag-us_2$ , and the  $\rightarrow guruš$  (§4.5 Producers, p.186) were part of the military personnel. The bilingual lexical lists provide no gloss for the term  $aga_3-us_2$ .<sup>439</sup> The Sumerian term is probably a compound of  $aga_3$  (< a-ga, “back, rear part”) and  $us_2$  (“to follow”), to be interpreted as “attendant; follower.”<sup>440</sup> According to prosopography,<sup>441</sup> the  $aga_3-us_2$  depended on high ranking officials, such as the viziers, and on the overseers of the “gates” (ugula  $ka_2$ ): unfortunately, men like *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* and *Ba-za-a*, who are mentioned as ugula  $ka_2$ , rarely occur elsewhere in the documents (see also the prosopography sub  $\rightarrow ugula$ , §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101). The text [75.1775 = M 7 48] suggests, however, that the ugula  $ka_2$  was a subordinate of the lugal:

[75.1775 = M 7 48] IX:16-X:11: 1 '  $a_3-da-um^{lug2-II}$  1 aktum<sup>lug2</sup> 1  $ib_2 \times III^{lug2}$   $sa_6$   $gun_3$  / 1  $gu_2-li-lum$   $ku_3:bar_6-gi$  / *Du-la-ti-lu<sup>ki</sup>* / 1 '  $a_3-da-um^{lug2-I}$  1 aktum<sup>lug2</sup> 1  $ib_2 \times IV^{lug2}$   $gun_3$  1  $gu_2-li-lum$   $ku_3:bar_6-gi$  11 / *Ig-ga-ti-lu* / 2 '  $a_3-da-um^{lug2-I}$  3  $gu-mug^{lug2}$  2 aktum<sup>lug2</sup> 3  $SAL^{lug2}$  5  $ib_2 \times IV^{lug2}$   $gun_3$  / *Ni-ša-lum<sup>ki</sup>* / *Ša-da-ḥu-lum<sup>ki</sup>* / *Ḥu-ḥa-ti<sup>ki</sup>* / *Mu-da-ra-um<sup>ki</sup>* / *Zi-ḥa-še<sub>3</sub>-lum<sup>ki</sup>* / ugula-ugula /  $uru^{ki}$ - $uru^{ki}$  /  $ka_2$  / *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>*; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 bracelet of silver and gold, (for the man from) Duratilu, 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband, 1 bracelet of silver and gold (of the value of) 11 shekels, (for) Iggatilu, 2 cloaks, 2 gu-mug garments, 2 tunics, 2  $SAL$  garments, 5 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for the men from) Nišalum, Šadaḥulum, Ḥuḥati, Mudaraum, and Ziḥašelum, the overseers of the ‘gate’ of Yidkī-paršu.»

Lord Yidkī-paršu was probably responsible from an administrative and military point of view for at least one sector of the territory defined as  $ka_2$  (see Figure 18, p.151 ): the overseers of the villages were probably in charge of locally managing the various centers within the administrative units. The  $ka_2$  could also be very large: in the unpublished document [75.10350], a tablet of the gate of Arulu (dub  $ka_2$  *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*), are registered 4,580 ‘houses’.<sup>442</sup> The  $ka_2$ s were not only administrative units from a military perspective: each  $ka_2$  was managed by several overseers, who were also in charge of the barley (ugula še) and the terminology referred to the management of the territory from an administrative and agricultural perspective partly overlaps to that relating to military management.<sup>443</sup>

Among the individuals qualified as  $aga_3-us_2$  are several lords ( $\rightarrow lugal$ , §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) and judges ( $\rightarrow di-ku_5$ , §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101):

Name	Role
<i>Du-bu-ḥu<sup>a</sup>-a<sub>3</sub>-da</i>	dumu-nita <i>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i> (see Plate I, p.95)
<i>Gi-lal-ra-ma-lik</i>	$\rightarrow lugal$
<i>I-ti<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>-lam</i>	$\rightarrow lugal?$
<i>Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar</i>	$\rightarrow lugal$ , and $\rightarrow di-ku_5$
<i>Ne-zi-ma-a-ḥu</i>	$\rightarrow lugal$
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba</i>	$\rightarrow lugal$
<i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḥa-al<sub>6</sub></i>	$\rightarrow lugal$ , and $\rightarrow di-ku_5$
<i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik</i>	$\rightarrow lugal$

Table 13 - The individuals qualified as  $aga_3-us_2$  (see sub prosopography).

<sup>439</sup> For the interpretations of these term, see the bibliography collected by Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016), p.17 fn.3. On the lexical occurrences of  $aga_3-us_2$ , see Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016), pp.20–21. On the terminology of war, see Archi, in *Fs Owen* (2010), pp.16ff.

<sup>440</sup> *PSD A/3* (1998), s.v.  $aga_3-us_3$ , p.51ff.. On the etymology, see also de Maaijer and Jagerma, *AfO* 50 (2003-2004), p.352, who suggest the translation “guardsman.”

<sup>441</sup> See sub section prosopography; see also the detailed prosopography in Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016), pp.24–26.

<sup>442</sup> The document is quoted and discussed in Archi, in *Fs Owen* (2010), p.26–27.

<sup>443</sup> See also the discussion in Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), comm. ad [75.524 = *A IX* 61], pp.190–94.

The lords probably controlled large portions of territory: they responded administratively to the Palace, to whose economy they contributed with periodic expenditures of precious metals and garments. Among them were also military leaders, who managed the organization of armed forces.

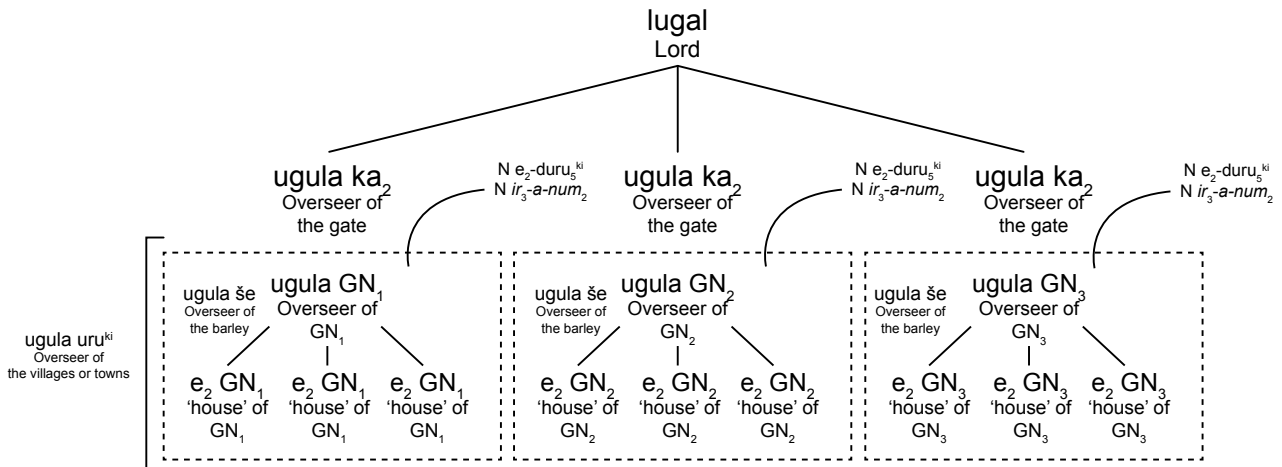


Figure 18 - Possible reconstruction of the administrative organization of the territory under Ebla's control.

Given the scarcity of data relating to land management, it is not possible to ascertain how many among the lugals were military leaders: the only partial overlap between the prosopography of the lugal and that of the aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> demonstrates that being a lugal was not a prerequisite to be a military leader. It should also be noted that, as stated by Bonechi, the hierarchy appears to be: en, vizier, lugal, aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>. Noteworthy is the fact that also the high representative of the chief families (see sub → abba<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) took part in military expeditions, as shown in [75.1899 = A XX 11], where 43 abba<sub>2</sub> receive garments on the occasion of a military expedition. Note that, according to Bonechi, the number of the aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> “could have reached the 30-40 up to 50 units, probably each one leading up to around 1,000 men.”<sup>444</sup> Milano, on the basis of the documents of the Small Archive L.2712, hypothesized the presence of 35 to 48 abba<sub>2</sub> in the Palace not long before the destruction of the City.

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zag-us<sub>2</sub> (22): «élite troops»

**Previous translation(s):** Una categoria di persone: «guardia (?)»<sup>AXI</sup>; «truppe scelte» (LL 1176)<sup>AXII</sup>,<sup>AXVI</sup>.

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.XVI:8	zag-us <sub>2</sub>
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 27	r.VIII':9'	zag-us <sub>2</sub>
[γ] EBK	MEE 15, 55	r.II':2'	zag-us <sub>2</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (1176)	zag-us <sub>2</sub> / ba-i-la-tum	MEE 4, 63+	o.VI:1-2
[ε] VE (1176)	zag-us <sub>2</sub> / ba-i-la-tum	MEE 4, 65+	r.XVI:12-13

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016); Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.37–38; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.182; Fronzaroli, *StLE* (1984), pp.122–23; Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013)

### Accounting models:

<sup>444</sup> Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016), p.48.

[01] N *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* / zag-us<sub>2</sub> (/ PN)

[02] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / tug<sub>2</sub>-tug<sub>2</sub> / mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / zag-us<sub>2</sub>

**Discussion:** the term zag-us<sub>2</sub> is glossed *ba-i-la-tum* in the *VE* ([δ]-[ε]), which has been interpreted as *baḥirātum*, “élite troops,” from the root \**bḥr*, “to choose, select.”<sup>445</sup> Then term is frequently attested in the chancery documents: as already noted by Bonechi the zag-us<sub>2</sub> are never mentioned by name. Only the persons on whom they depended are registered in the documents:<sup>446</sup> among them are Ṭubuḥu-Hadda and Rūzī-malik (vizier Yibbi-Dikir’s son). The zag-us<sub>2</sub> were probably not part of a permanent army: their sporadic mention, especially in chancery documents, seem to suggest that they were a particular group of individuals with military skills depending directly from the king or the vizier.

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<sup>445</sup> Fronzaroli, *StLE* (1984), pp.122–23; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.18; Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.37–38.

<sup>446</sup> Bonechi, *HiMA* 3 (2016), p.26.

### 4.3. Cultic Personnel

'*a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>* ('*a<sub>3</sub>-li-lu*, '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-um*) (7): «(cultically) clean (priest)», or «ritual bath».

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AXI</sup>; «purificare»<sup>AXI</sup> (ŠE+A.NAGA); «purificatore»<sup>AXV</sup>

see also → \**a:tu<sub>5/22</sub>*

#### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VI:6	< <i>a</i> >: <i>tu<sub>22</sub></i>
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 44	r.II':7	<i>a:tu<sub>22</sub></i>

Ebla bilingual

[γ] <i>VE</i> (1227')	<i>a:tu<sub>22</sub></i> / ' <i>a<sub>3</sub>-a-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63+	o.IX:8
[δ] <i>VE</i> (1227')	<i>a:tu<sub>22</sub></i> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.XV:3"

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.44ff.; Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Charpin, *MARI* 5 (1987), p.74; Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.141; Viganò, *JNES* 54 (1995), pp.215–45; *PSD* A/1: 192 ff.; *TIE* A/1: 42 ff..

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *da-mu*, *dub-sar* (§4.5 Producers, p.186), *gu<sub>3</sub>-di*, *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš*

**Places:** *e<sub>2</sub>* *en*

**Accounting models:**

[01] [wool or goods] PN / (*šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*) / *a:tu<sub>22</sub>* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *en*

[01a] [wool or goods] / PN / *wa* / 1 *dumu-nita-su<sub>3</sub>* / *a:tu<sub>22</sub>* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *en*

[01b] [wool or goods] '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-um* / *e<sub>2</sub>* / *en* / *in ud* / *nidba<sub>2</sub>* / <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*

[02] [goods] *uz<sub>3</sub>-sal* / *a:tu<sub>22</sub>* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *ma-tim* / *Bi<sub>2</sub>-na-aš<sup>ki</sup>* / *ma-lu-gi-iš* / *en*

**Prosopography:** *A-du-lu/ul* (*šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*), *En-na-il* (*šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*)

**Discussion:** as the gloss of *VE* 1227' demonstrates, the term '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>* is the Semitic translation of the logogram *a:tu<sub>22</sub>*. This observation is confirmed by the fact that all Sumerian and Semitic spellings are used interchangeably in the administrative documents. D'Agostino suggested the reading *a:tu<sub>22</sub>* of A:NAGA, since *a:tu<sub>5</sub>* (A:ŠU.NAGA) is also attested.<sup>447</sup> The Semitic spellings ('*a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>* / '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-lu* / '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-um*) are connected to the root \*'/*hll*, Akk. *elēlum*, “to become pure.”<sup>448</sup> As Charpin observed, however, '*a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>* seems to denote a profession or function rather than a cultic act: the Semitic spellings could in fact be interpreted as *paris* forms, as Akk. *ellu* “(cultically) clean person.”<sup>449</sup> The spelling '*a<sub>3</sub>-a-um* of *VE* 1227' ([γ]) can be instead reconstructed as an infinitive

<sup>447</sup> See [75.1643 = *M* 7 14] o.V:8, [75.5032 = *A* XII 669] o.VIII:2.

<sup>448</sup> D'Agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996), pp 65–66; Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.142. See also *CAD* E (1958), s.v. *elēlu*, p.80ff., and *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *hll*, p.355.

<sup>449</sup> See *CAD* E (1958), s.v. *ellu* A, p.106.

form /ḫalāl-um/.<sup>450</sup> According to Viganò, however, both terms do not indicate a profession but rather a ritual: there is however no doubt that a:tu<sub>5/22</sub> / 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub> indicated a cultic role filled by a šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> priest on particular circumstances. Both the Semitic and the Sumerian spellings are in most cases followed by e<sub>2</sub> en: these expressions denote a particular ritual, the “purification of the house of the king,” which took place every year. This ritual has been first recognized by Bonechi and later studied in detail by Viganò and Archi:<sup>451</sup> the ceremony took place every first month of the year (iti *i-si*). Only two individuals are mentioned as performers in connection with this particular purification ritual: *A-du-lu* and *En-na-il*, both šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> of the god <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*. Ḫinna-il was Yatūru’s son, and later took over his father’s position: according to Archi’s reconstruction, Yatūru was šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> of the god <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra* during Arrulum’s vizierate, since both are mentioned in [75.1823+ = *A* IX 1, o.IX:5, r.VII:4], and died during Yibbi-Dikir’s vizierate. The purification of the house of the king is often performed in connection with another important cultic event, expressed through the formula gu<sub>3</sub>-di-II / du<sub>11</sub>-ga *i-sa-ri*<sub>2</sub>: this latter ritual involved one famous Eblaite scribe, Yāḏi’ (*A-zi*, see sub → dub-sar, and → gu<sub>3</sub>-di).

Since both Yatūru and Ḫinna-il were šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> of the god <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*, a:tu<sub>22</sub> and 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub> indicate the presence of a ritual function connected to the purification of the king’s Palace: it is therefore a temporary cultic role performed by the šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> of the god <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*. The term is found also in connection to the Binaš mausoleum when, for the consecration of the king, the purification of the mausoleum itself is performed.<sup>452</sup>

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***a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫa-an*** (4): possibly a Semitic spelling for ŠEŠ.II.IB.

**Previous interpretations:** «*accoliti*»<sup>AXIII</sup>

see also → ŠEŠ.II.IB

**Bibliography:** Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.14; Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 4 (1997), p.7ff; Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.186

**Discussion:** the dual form *a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫa-an* is attested only three times, and exclusively in chancery documents. Fronzaroli interprets the term as /‘abbuḫ-ayn/, from the root \**bḫ*, «cingere», and suggests a possible connection between *a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫa-an* and ŠEŠ.II.IB (see sub → ŠEŠ.II.IB).<sup>453</sup>

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***a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) / ama dingir-dingir-dingir*** (27): «*priest(ess)*»; a mariote logographic spelling, similar to Eblaite lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}; the Eblaite Semitic reading was probably /kumrum/.

**Previous interpretations:** «*un(a) sacerdot(ess)*»<sup>AXIII, TIE</sup>

see also → *gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im*, lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}

**Bibliography:** Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.14; *TIE* A/2 (1996), pp.116–17

**Discussion:** according to Fronzaroli, these expressions correspond to the Eblaite term lu<sub>2</sub> [e<sub>2</sub>] dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}. Both variants are attested only in the mariote chancery document [75.1913+ = *A* XIII 1], and are probably Mariote spellings of lu<sub>2</sub> [e<sub>2</sub>] dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}. Note that the lemma *ama-dingir* listed in the *TIE* is based on a misreading of lu<sub>2</sub> kunga<sub>2</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> in [76.539 = *M* 5 19 = *A* VIII 539]: the lemmata *a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>)* and *ama* are always followed

<sup>450</sup> See Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.141.

<sup>451</sup> Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Viganò, *JNES* 54 (1995), pp.215–45; Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.44ff.

<sup>452</sup> See accounting models [02]. Fronzaroli and Catagnoli, in *Fs Pennacchietti* (2006), pp.285–86; Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012), pp.20–21.

<sup>453</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.186; Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 4 (1997), p.7.



by the sign MUL.<sup>454</sup>

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\***a:tu**<sub>5/22</sub> (9): «ritual bath».

**Previous translation(s):** «sacerdote purificatore»<sup>A1</sup>; (un nome di professione)<sup>AIII</sup>; (una professione)<sup>AIV</sup>; «(rito di) purificazione»<sup>TIE</sup>

see → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>

**Discussion:** the term a:tu<sub>5/22</sub> indicates a purification ceremony, probably a ritual bath.<sup>455</sup> The Semitic term → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, certainly connected to the same ritual, denotes the cultic role of the šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> priest who performed in this ceremony. For a discussion of both terms, see sub → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>.

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**ba-lu-um** (2): possibly the Semitic reading of gu<sub>2</sub>-di.

**Previous interpretations:** «invocatore»<sup>AXI</sup>

see also → gu<sub>3</sub>-di

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A                      MEE 4, 115    o.V:36            gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-II

Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -II / ba-a-lu-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.V:18'-19'
[γ] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -II / ba-a-lum	MEE 4, 12	r.VII:8-9
[δ] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -di-II / ba-a-lum	MEE 4, 13+	o.V:2'''-3'''
[ε] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -di-II / 'ba-la-lum'	MEE 4, 63+	o.VIII:1-2

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.46 fn.18; Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.135–36; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.95; Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1991/49 (1991), p.; Fronzaroli, in *LLLE* (1992), p.172; Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.14; *TIE* A/2 (1996), pp.116–17

**Discussion:** the term is attested only in the oldest version of the Royal Ritual, [75.1823+ = A XI 1]: the same term is replaced by gu<sub>3</sub>-di in [75.1939+ = A XI 2]. The *VE* presents three glosses of the term gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>/di-II, all based on the same Semitic root \*p<sub>ll</sub>, “to pray”:<sup>456</sup> for a detail discussion of these terms see sub → gu<sub>3</sub>-di.

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**DAM.DINGIR** (18): «divine lady» (a high priestess, chosen among the female members of the Palace élite).

**Previous translation(s):** «sposa della divinità (una sacerdotessa)»<sup>A1, AIII</sup>; «Gottesgemahlin(nen)»<sup>AII</sup>; «sacerdotessa (sposa della divinità)»<sup>AIV</sup>; «a temple dignitary»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «sacerdotessa»<sup>AXII, AXVI</sup>; «donna del dio»<sup>AXV</sup>; «spouse of the god, priestess»<sup>AXX</sup>; «dam-AN priestess»<sup>M10</sup>

### Lexical

<sup>454</sup> *TIE* A/2 (1996), s.v. ama-dingir, pp.116–17.

<sup>455</sup> Viganò, *JNES* 54 (1995), p.216.

<sup>456</sup> On the meaning of this root, see Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.95, and Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.135–36.

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1257') DAM.DINGIR / [no gloss] MEE 4, 63+ o.X:19'  
Abu Salabiḫ

[β] ED Lu<sub>2</sub> E OIP 99, 54+ o.IV:10 DAM.DINGIR  
[γ] ED Lu<sub>2</sub> E OIP 99, 60 o.IV:15 'DAM'.DINGIR

**Bibliography:** **Archi**, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); **Archi**, in *AOAT* 250 (1998); **Biga**, in *SEL* 23 (2006); **Goodnick Westenholz**, in *Fs Sjöberg* (1989), p.544 and fn.32; **Goodnick Westenholz**, in *Sumerian World* (2013), pp.270–71, fn.29; **Steinkeller**, in *Priests* (1999), pp.122–23 fns. 65, 66, 67.

**Contextual association(s):** dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en/PN (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), lugal (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** *Lu-ba-an*<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting Models:**

[01a] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / DAM.DINGIR

[01b] [goods] <sup>f</sup>PN / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / PN / DAM.DINGIR

[01c] [goods] <sup>f</sup>PN / DAM.DINGIR / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / PN

[01d] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / DAM.DINGIR / in-na-sum / PN

[02] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / DAM.DINGIR / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en / GN / in GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[03] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN<sub>1-9</sub> / <sup>f</sup>PN<sub>10</sub> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um* / DAM.DINGIR / *wa* / <sup>f</sup>PN<sub>11</sub> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / 1 dam / *Zi-m[i]-na-m[a-lik]*

[04] [goods] / DAM.DINGIR / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP / <sup>f</sup>PN

**Prosopography:** *A-ma-ga* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en?);<sup>457</sup> *Da-dub-da-mu* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en); *Da-gur-da-mu*; *Damur-li-im* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu*); *Dar-ib-da-mu* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en, nin-ni *A-ma-ga*); *Du-bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*); *Ti-a-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*); *Tiš<sub>2</sub>-da-ad-mu* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> *A-tir<sub>5</sub>*!-*ma-lik*); *Ti-iš-da-mu* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> 'Wa-BAN'-*ma*- 'lik'); *Ti-(ri<sub>2</sub>-in/rin<sub>x</sub>)-da-mu* (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en);

**Discussion:** as Steinkeller observed, the DAM.DINGIR had an important political role: most of these priestesses belonged to the Palace élite since they were (almost invariably) the king's or the vizier's daughters.<sup>458</sup> They were chosen to fill the role of consorts or personal servants of some of the most important deities of the Eblaite pantheon: their social position can thus be understood as an "instrument of political power."<sup>459</sup> The importance of the DAM.DINGIR's role seems to be confirmed by the fact that they are often mentioned at the beginning of the dam en lists, a privilege that is usually reserved for the mother of the king and the queen.<sup>460</sup> Their disappearance from these lists can be explained with their departure from the Eblaite court after being chosen as DAM.DINGIRS. Goodnick Westenholz compared the Eblaite cultic office of DAM.DINGIR with Sumerian ereš dingir:<sup>461</sup> as Steinkeller observed, however, DAM.DINGIRS, as well as ereš dingirs, did not serve male deities exclusively and the translation "spouse of the god" is problematic. For this reason, Steinkeller

<sup>457</sup> A lady of the court bore the same name, but according to Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.238, a daughter of the king named *A-ma-ga* is attested in two unpublished documents: *A-ma-ga* and *Dar-ib-da-mu* were probably full-sisters, and both became DAM.DINGIR. See Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.238.

<sup>458</sup> Steinkeller, in *Priests* (1999), p.122–23.

<sup>459</sup> Steinkeller, in *Priests* (1999), p.123.

<sup>460</sup> See Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989).

<sup>461</sup> See Goodnick Westenholz, in *Fs Sjöberg* (1989), p.544; Steinkeller, in *Priests* (1999), p.120 and p.123 fn.66; Goodnick Westenholz, in *Sumerian World* (2013), p.271 fn.29.

suggests a translation of ereš dingir as “godly/divine lady, deity’s devotee.”<sup>462</sup> In fact, ereš dingirs became the female consorts of male deities only starting from the Old Akkadian period, although ereš dingirs of female deities are still attested.<sup>463</sup> In favor of the interpretation of DAM.DINGIR as “spouse of the god” is the fact that similar lemmata, such as dam en and dam PN, clearly indicate a man’s spouse (see however the discussion sub → dam, §4.5 Producers, p.186). However, there are no data suggesting that a ‘marriage’ took place between the priestess and the god.<sup>464</sup> Suter compares Eblaite DAM.DINGIR with OB *nadītu*, since more than one priestess was active at the same time:<sup>465</sup> as Archi demonstrated, at least three DAM.DINGIRS of the god Hadda-Ba’al of Luban were active at the same time (Tirīn-damu, Tinīb-dūrum, and Tar’ib-damu; all belonged to the royal family).<sup>466</sup> Note that the *nadītu* women were allowed to marry, but they could not bear children:<sup>467</sup> Eblaite priestesses did not marry since there is no mention of a priestess who is at the same time DAM.DINGIR and dam PN. Like *nadītus*, however, they were forbidden to bear children: the chancery document [75.2094 = A XVI 26] deals with the unwanted consequences of a relationship between the priestess Tiḥwā-paršu (Yibriyum’s daughter) and a man named Tidīnu. [75.2022 = M 10 41 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.117–20] lists several goods that were probably given to Tinīb-dūrum when she traveled to Luban after being chosen as DAM.DINGIR: eighteen high ranking officials from Ebla offered silver, garments, and jewels; thirteen among them also offered one or more female servants.<sup>468</sup> As shown in Table 14, p.158, the offerings are registered in decreasing order: the quantities of silver and the number of female servants are in relation to the officials’ rank, while the toggle-pins seem to be proportional to the number of young girls. Each official also offers one set of garments composed of two clothes (<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup>gid<sub>2</sub>, zara<sub>6</sub><sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup>),<sup>469</sup> which are typically worn by women. Tinīb-dūrum thus left Ebla with thirteen young girls, eleven sets of garments, and eighteen pairs of toggle-pins. All eighteen officials were lugals during Yibriyum’s and Yibbi-Dikir’s vizierate (see sub → lugal). [75.2022 = M 10 41 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.117–20] demonstrates that the appointment of an Eblaite high ranking woman as DAM.DINGIR was an important political matter which involved some of the most important officials.

ku <sub>3</sub> :bar <sub>6</sub>	BU-DI	<sup>tu</sup> g <sup>2</sup> gid <sub>2</sub>	zara <sub>6</sub> <sup>tu</sup> g <sup>2</sup>	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub>	Official
40 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	4	1	1	1 + 1 (nu)	<i>Ḫa-ra-il</i>
40 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	4	1	1	2	<i>Ki-ti-ir</i>
40 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	4	[1]	1	2	<i>U<sub>3</sub>-ti</i>
40 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	4	‘1’	1	2	<i>A-mur-da-mu</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	[1]	1	1 (nu)	<i>En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Zi-ba-da</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	[1]	1	1	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut ugula A-da-[aš<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>]</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub></i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1	1	1	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1	1	1	<i>GIBIL-ma-lik</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1	1	1	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba</i>
20 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1	1	1 (nu)	<i>Il-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš-ti</i>

<sup>462</sup> Steinkeller, in *Priests* (1999), p.121 fn.59.

<sup>463</sup> See Brisch, *JAOS* 126 (2006), p.165ff.

<sup>464</sup> According to Biga’s interpretation of [75.1860 = M 10 20], when Tinīb-dūrum departed for Luban after being chosen as DAM.DINGIR she left Ebla with a rich ‘dowry’. Although very similar to a bride’s dowry, this set of objects is also comparable to the grave goods of a high ranking woman. See Biga, *SEL* 23 (2006), pp.29–30 and fn.60.

<sup>465</sup> Suter, in *Fs Winter* (2007), p.323 fn.16.

<sup>466</sup> Archi, in *AOAT* 250 (1998).

<sup>467</sup> Stol, *Women* (2016), p.605.

<sup>468</sup> See Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016), p.80. Mander, *MEE* 10 (1990), pp.197–99, interprets dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> as “bondwoman.”

<sup>469</sup> On the <sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup>gid<sub>2</sub>, see Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016), p.58 fn.39.

ʾ20ʾ <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1	<i>Gi-ra-ma-lik</i>
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1	1	1	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub></i>
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> >	2	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	<i>Tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub></i>
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> > (nu)	2 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut ugula ʾHuʾ-za-an<sup>ki</sup></i>
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> > (nu)	[2] (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	[ <i>GABA-da-mu</i> ]
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> > (nu)	2 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	<i>Ḥa-zu-um</i>
10 <gin <sub>2</sub> > (nu)	2 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	1 (nu)	<i>In-ti</i>

Table 14 - [75.2022 = M 10 41 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.117–20].

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**ensi<sub>x</sub>** (EN.LI) (2): «female diviner».

**Previous translation(s):** «uomo degli incantesimi»<sup>4XV</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.IX:6	ensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI)
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15,27	r.VI:17	ensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI)
[γ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 7-11	o.IV:13	ensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI)

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (907)	ʾensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI)ʾ / [...]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XIII:41
[ε] VE (907)	ensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI) / <i>sa-il-tum</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 13+	r.XII:4ʾ-5ʾ
[ζ] VE (907)	ensi <sub>x</sub> (EN.LI) / <i>sa-il-tum</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.XII:34-35

Abu Salabiḥ

[η] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54+	o.IV:13	ʾensi (EN.[ME.]LI)ʾ
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**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.83; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 2 (1980) p.94.

**Contextual association(s):**

**Places:** *Gu-ra-ra-ab<sup>ki</sup>*

**Prosopography:** *Na-bi<sub>2</sub>*

**Discussion:** the gloss *sa-il-tum* of the *VE* can be interpreted as *šāʾiltum*, from \*šʾl, «(female) diviner». <sup>470</sup> The *paristum* form of the gloss suggests that the ensi<sub>x</sub> was a female diviner. The term is attested only in two administrative documents dated to the vizierate of Arrulum.

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**gu<sub>3</sub>-di** (26): «invoker» (mainly as a cultic function; also characterizes a particular kind of dancer).

**Previous interpretations:** [NF?]<sup>4III</sup>; [no transl.]<sup>4IV</sup>; [un funzionario]<sup>4IX</sup>; (an official)<sup>4VIII</sup>; «invocatore»<sup>4XI</sup>; «to plead; pleader»<sup>4XX</sup>

see also → *ba-lu-um*

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	o.V:36	gu <sub>3</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -ii
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<sup>470</sup> See Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.83; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 2 (1980) p.94; *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. šʾl, p.785, “interrogator, cultic questioner, diviner”; *CAD* Š/1 (1989), s.v. šāʾilum, p.110, “diviner.”

Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -II / <i>ba-a-lu-um</i>	MEE 4, 1+	r.V:18'-19'
[γ] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -II / <i>ba-a-lum</i>	MEE 4, 12	r.VII:8-9
[δ] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -di-II / <i>ba-a-lum</i>	MEE 4, 13+	o.V:2'''-3'''
[ε] VE (182)	gu <sub>3</sub> -di-II / <i>ba-la-lum</i> <sup>7</sup>	MEE 4, 63+	o.VIII:1-2

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 10 (1996); Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.135–36; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.95; Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 4 (1997), p.18

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** balag-di, dub-sar, NE-di

**Accounting models**

[01a] [goods] PN gu<sub>3</sub>-di

[01b] [goods] PN gu<sub>3</sub>-di in GN šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01c] [goods] PN<sub>1-5</sub> gu<sub>3</sub>-di

[01d] [goods] PN<sub>1-6</sub> gu<sub>3</sub>-di

[02] [goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> wa 2 gu<sub>3</sub>-di PN<sub>1-4</sub> balag-di

[03] [food] gu<sub>3</sub>-di

**Prosopography:** (those marked with a [\*] are dancers) \**A-šu<-ur>-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-na-bu<sub>3</sub>*, \**Bu<sub>x</sub>(MUNU<sub>4</sub>)-ma-i<sub>3</sub>* *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ra-bal<sup>ki</sup>*, \**Du-tum*, *Ga-li-bu<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-na-bu<sub>3</sub>*, \**I-ba-zi-mi-nu* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-da*, \**Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik*, \**Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>* *A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, \**Zu<sub>(2)</sub>-ba* maškim *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi<sup>7</sup>-kir*, *Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba-an*; (with gu<sub>2</sub>-di-II du<sub>11</sub>-ga *i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>*) *A-zi*, *I-da-ni-ki-mu* (lu<sub>2</sub> *A-zi*?)

**Discussion:** The Sumerogram gu<sub>2</sub>-di-II (and its variant gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-II) is glossed *ba-a-lum* in the *VE* ([β]-[ε]): the glosses of gu<sub>2</sub>-di-II and gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-II are all based on the Semitic root \**pll*, while the sign II which often follows the terms might indicate the reduplication of the verbal base.<sup>471</sup> In addition, the alternation between *ba-lu-um* and gu<sub>2</sub>-di-II in the two main versions of the Royal Ritual further demonstrates their equivalence.<sup>472</sup> The root \**pll* has been studied in detail by Speiser:<sup>473</sup> from a basic meaning “to assess, reckon,” \**pll* takes on the meaning of “to pray; to intercede” (Dt stem). As it will be demonstrated, this meaning fits the occurrences of the function of the gu<sub>3</sub>-di. Bonechi recognized the alternation between gu<sub>3</sub>-di(-II)/gu<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>(-II) and du<sub>11</sub>-ga (“invocation”): both terms are used in the expression PN du<sub>11</sub>-ga *i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>* and PN gu<sub>3</sub>-di-II *i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>*, “to pray/prayer for good fortune.” However, when it occurs without the sign II the term gu<sub>3</sub>-di clearly indicates a cultic function (see accounting models [01a-d], [02]):<sup>474</sup> during the final years before the destruction of the City, one (or more?) gu<sub>3</sub>-di lived permanently at court since he is the recipient of three ninda in several documents of the Small Archive L.2712. The gu<sub>3</sub>-di receives the same food allotment as *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*, the chief steward of the house of the king, and is listed among the members of the Palace élite (the king, the crown prince, the queen, and the high representative): he was thus a high ranking individual.<sup>475</sup> The following passage clarifies one of the tasks of the gu<sub>3</sub>-di:

<sup>471</sup> See Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.135 fn.13.

<sup>472</sup> [75.1823+ = A XI 1] o.XII:7 (*ba-lu-um*), [75.1939+ = A XI 2] o.XIV:14 (gu<sub>3</sub>-di).

<sup>473</sup> Speiser, *JBL* 82 (1963); see esp. p.305: “[...] neither prayer nor intercession does adequate justice to the actual range of *hitpallel*, since the action involved is not necessarily verbal and the appeal is sometimes expressed in other ways, presumably by gestures.” On the meaning of this root, see also Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.95, and Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.135–36.

<sup>474</sup> Note that gu<sub>3</sub>-di and balag-di occur in the most ancient version of the Royal Ritual and are used in both nominal and verbal function. See Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1993), p.78.

<sup>475</sup> See for example [75.266 = A IX 10] o.II:3-6.

[75.1264 = A I 15] o.VII:6-VIII:1 1 aktum<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-v<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / A-<sup>r</sup>x'-lum / maškim / *Ib-du-ra* / gu<sub>3</sub>-di-ii / al<sub>6</sub> / ur<sub>3</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra* / lu<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM / tu-da / dumu-nita; «1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband, for A..lum, appointee of Yiptura, when he invoked (the god) on the terrace of the temple of Kura, concerning the queen giving birth to a son».

Noteworthy is the fact that the prosopography related to the gu<sub>3</sub>-dis and that related to the expressions du<sub>11</sub>-ga / gu<sub>3</sub>-di-ii *i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>* do not coincide: *A-zi*, who often performed in this kind of ritual, was one of the most important scribes of the court.<sup>476</sup> Most importantly, though, all the individuals mentioned as gu<sub>3</sub>-di (accounting models [1c-d]) are dancers (NE-di): they probably performed in particular cultic circumstances, and maybe their performances were also characterized by non-verbal actions, as Speiser suggests.<sup>477</sup> As a result, gu<sub>3</sub>-di should be considered as a function and not a profession. For the scribe *A-zi*'s role in the ritual, see sub → dub-sar.

Note that gu<sub>3</sub>-di(-ii) should be kept distinct by inim-di, “command, order.” The two terms are written with the same signs (KA.DI): besides having different meanings, inim-di occurs only in chancery documents, while gu<sub>3</sub>-di(-ii) is attested only in administrative documents.

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**gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im** (1): «priest»; possibly a Semitic equivalent of lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}.

**Previous translation(s):** «sacerdote»<sup>AXIII</sup>

see also → *a*-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) / ama dingir-dingir-dingir, lu<sub>2</sub> [e<sub>2</sub>] dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}

**Bibliography:** Fronzaroli, *ARET XIII* (2003), p.161; Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET XVI* (2010), p.12; Catagnoti, *Grammatica* (2012), p.67.

**Contextual association(s):**

**People:** *En-na-il* (lu<sub>2</sub> gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im)

**Discussion:** the lemma is attested only in the chancery document [75.2367 = A XIII 14], the “document of the problems concerning DU<sup>ki</sup>” (dub / lu<sub>2</sub> / <sup>r</sup>u<sub>3</sub> <sup>r</sup>-su-ri<sub>2</sub> / DU<sup>ki</sup>, o.I:1-4). Fronzaroli suggests the interpretation of *gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im* as a singular gen. from Akk. *kumru*, “(a priest).”<sup>478</sup> Although the name of this priest is not mentioned in the documents, Fronzaroli suggests to identify him as the priest (lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}) *A-ma-za*, since his apprentice *En-na-il* is often mentioned in the administrative documents.<sup>479</sup> See sub → lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}.

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KA.DIB (6): «magician(?)».

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AIV</sup>; (perhaps an official)<sup>AVIII</sup>; «esorcista»<sup>AXII, AXVI</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	o.VII:1	KA.DIB
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 35	o.II':2'	KA.DIB
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 41+	o.I':2'	KA.DIB

Ebla bilingual

<sup>476</sup> See Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.46.

<sup>477</sup> Speiser, *JBL* 82 (1963) p.305.

<sup>478</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET XIII* (2003), p.161; *CAD K* (1971), s.v. *kumru*, pp.534–35. See also *DNWSI* (1995), s.v. *kmr<sub>2</sub>*, pp.515–16.

<sup>479</sup> See [75.1369 = A IV 12] o.XIII:19-20, [75.1435 = A IV 13] r.XI:18-19, and [75.5097 = A XII 719] o.I':5'-6'.

[ō] VE (226)	KA.DIB / <i>ga-še<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	o.VII:10-11
[ē] VE (226)	KA.DIB / <i>ga-še<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 13+	o.VII:5'-6'
[ç] VE (226)	KA.DIB / <i>ga-še<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 24	o.III:3-4
[ŋ] VE (226)	KA.DIB / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	o.VI:2'
[θ] Bilingual exercise	KA.DIB / <i>wa-zi-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 75	o.III:13-r.IV:1
[j] Bilingual exercise	KA.DIB / <i>wa-zi-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 81	o.V:8-9

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.82 Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.241–42; Catagnoti, *Grammatica* (2012), pp.22, 64, 203; Catagnoti and Bonechi, *SEL* 15 (1998), p.35 and fn. 78; Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.32; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.101; Pettinato, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.46.

#### Contextual association(s):

**Places:** *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*, *I-lum<sup>ki</sup>*, *Zi-mi-da-nu<sup>ki</sup>*

#### Accounting models

[01] [goods] PN KA.DIB GN

[goods] GN KA.DIB lu<sub>2</sub> i-ti *mi-nu* GN

[goods] 2 KA.DIB i<sub>3</sub>-ti *mi-nu* GN

[goods] 4 KA.DIB GN DU.DU kaskal

[goods] 3 *Zi-mi-da-nu<sup>ki</sup>* KA.DIB

#### Prosopography: *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub>* (*A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*)

**Discussion:** the gloss *ga-še<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>(-um)* of the *VE* is probably related to Akk. *kašāpum* “to bewitch, to cast an evil spell.”<sup>480</sup> The only known KA.DIB is *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub>* but the context does not clear his function: two to four KA.DIBS are mentioned in the documents, often in relations to the GNs *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*, *I-lum<sup>ki</sup>*, and *Zi-mi-da-nu<sup>ki</sup>*. Given the absence of new attestations of the term, Catagnoti and Fronzaroli (2010) is the most updated summary concerning the term KA.DIB.<sup>481</sup>

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#### lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} (19): «priest»

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>A1,AVII</sup>; «addetto agli dèi»<sup>AIII,M7</sup>; «addetto alle divinità»<sup>AIV</sup>; «snake charmer»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «sacerdote»<sup>AXII,AXVI</sup>; «uomo del tempio degli dei»<sup>AXV</sup>; «man of the god, priest»<sup>AXX</sup>.

see also → *a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) / ama dingir-dingir-dingir*, *gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im*

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), pp.38–44; Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.514; Biga, in *SEL* 23 (2006), p.21; Fronzaroli, in *LLLE* (1992), pp.168–70.

#### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

#### Accounting models:

[01] [goods] PN lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}

[02] [goods] PN lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} *zi-ga-na-su in ud nidba<sub>2</sub>* DN

[03] [metal] šu-bal-ak [gold] *zi-du-su<sub>3</sub>* PN lu<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir

<sup>480</sup> CAD K (1971), s.v. *kašāpu*, p.284. See also Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.101.

<sup>481</sup> Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.32.

**Prosopography:** *A-ma-za(-u<sub>3</sub>)*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il* [lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ma-za(-u<sub>3</sub>)*], *I-da-ni-ki-mu*; *I-da-NE*; *I-ti-d<sup>1</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>*; *Ra-i<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>*; *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-we-rum<sub>2</sub>*

**Discussion:** according to Biga, lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} is probably an abbreviated spelling of lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, lit. “the one of the temple of the gods.”<sup>482</sup> Archi describes the term as “un’espressione banale per indicare colui che di fatto sacrificava agli dèi.”<sup>483</sup> however, this term is remarkably similar to the Mariote lemmata *a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) /ama dingir-dingir-dingir* attested exclusively in the chancery document [75.1913+ = *A* XIII 1]. It must be stressed, however, that one or more lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir(-dingir) are mentioned only three times in the administrative documents: *Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu* and *A-šu-ur-i<sub>3</sub>* are mentioned in [75.530 = *A* I 5] r.VIII:22-IX:2, while in [75.1345 = *A* II 14] o.III:2-4 and [75.1457 = *A* XV 25] o.VII:10-12 is mentioned one *za-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*. This latter term occurs in the lexical texts: *VE* (740) muš-laḥ<sub>4</sub> / *za-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, “snake-charmer.”<sup>484</sup> It does not seem, thus, that lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} and lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} are different spellings of the same profession.

Amaza and Ḥinna-il are the priests who celebrated the Royal Ritual: Amaza for king Yirkab-Damu in [75.1823+ = *A* XI 1], and Ḥinna-il for king Yiṭṭar-Damu [75.1939 = *A* IX 2].<sup>485</sup> Fronzaroli suggests that *En-na-il* was the son of *A-ma-za*:<sup>486</sup> in the chancery document [75.2367 = *A* XIII 14] a man named *En-na-il* is qualified as lu<sub>2</sub> *gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im* (“the one of the priest”); according to Fronzaroli’s interpretation, *A-ma-za* was still the *kumru* and his son *En-na-il*, who succeeded his father during Yibriyum’s vizierate, was probably still an apprentice (see also sub → *gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im*). A priest named *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-we-rum<sub>2</sub>* was contemporary to Yirḥaq-Damu and Ṭubuḥu-Hadda and appears in [75.2428 = *M* 12 35], dated to Y.-D. 8:<sup>487</sup> he is often mentioned in connection with the god <sup>1</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal* of <sup>1</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad<sup>ki</sup>* and the pa<sub>4</sub>-šešš and ŠEŠ.II.IBS connected to this cult.<sup>488</sup> As a consequence, Amaza and his son Ḥinna-il were not the only priests in charge: it does not seem, however, that the lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]} was devoted to the cult of one particular deity. The term itself suggests that more than one god was the object of the services performed by these priests.

Ḥinna-il is mentioned in connection with a *zi-ga-na-su*, “standing stone” (Accounting models [02]):

[75.5900+ = *A* XII 1304+] r.II:2-8:<sup>489</sup> 1 <sup>1</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup>-II 1* ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *En-na-il* / lu<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir / *zi-ga-na-su* / in ud / nidba<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>*Aš<sub>2</sub>-da-bil<sub>2</sub>*; «1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for) Ḥinna-il, the priest, for the betyl, on the occasion of the offerings for the god Ašdabil».

[75.5900+ = *A* XII 1304+], reconstructed by Fronzaroli and Catagnoti from several fragments, mentions a peculiar ritual, the “the rite of the kiss of the hand” (*mi-sa-ga-tim*): Ḥinna-il is mentioned twice in this document, but his specific cultic duties are not clear. Also *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-we-rum<sub>2</sub>* was connected with the cult of the god Ašdabil: in [75.1709 = *A* IV 20] r.III:3-7 he is the recipient of one gu-mug<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> and one KIN-measure of wool, price for the purchase of aromatic plants (<sup>giššim</sup>) for this god.

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## lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>) (19): «diviner»

<sup>482</sup> Biga, in *SEL* 23 (2006), p.21.

<sup>483</sup> See Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.43; Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.514.

<sup>484</sup> Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p.28 and fn.91; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.83.

<sup>485</sup> Fronzaroli, in *LLLE* (1992), p.168.

<sup>486</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.161.

<sup>487</sup> Both are mentioned in [75.1290 = *A* VII 114]: r.I:1-2 (*Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-we-rum<sub>2</sub>*), o.II:1 (*Il<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*), o.III:4 (*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-d<sup>1</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-da*).

<sup>488</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), pp.64–65 and fn.223

<sup>489</sup> For this text, see Fronzaroli and Catagnoti, in *Fs Pennacchietti* (2006).



**Previous translation(s):** «exorcist» (maš<sub>2</sub>-maš<sub>2</sub>)<sup>AVIII</sup>; «esattore»<sup>AIIX</sup>;

**Bibliography:** **Archi**, in *Fs Wilhelm* (2010); **Archi**, in *Fs Neumann* (2018), p.39; **Biga**, *NABU* 1999/109 (1999); **Biga**, in *SEL* 23 (2006), p.21; **Bonechi**, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.80; **Milano**, *ARET IX* (1990), p.395

**Accounting models:**

[01] 1 sila<sub>3</sub> [PN *wa*] lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> [iti *ir-me/ħu-lu-mu/e*]<sub>3</sub>

[02] [1 or ½] sila<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> GN

[03a] 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / PN / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> / GN / 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / GN

[03b] 2 sila<sub>3</sub> 2 *NA-SE*<sub>11</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> GN GN

**Prosopography:** *Du-bi*<sub>2</sub>. With *šu-du*<sub>8</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>: *A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*nam* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ti*-<sup>d</sup>*Aš-dar*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik* *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>ʾ</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ša*, *A-mur-da-mu*, *A-ti-Aš-dar*, *Du-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*šum*, *Da/Dab*<sub>6</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ba*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu-ga-aš-dar* / *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-*na-aš-dar*, *I-da*-<sup>NE</sup>, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ma-lik*, *I-nu-ud-Ĥa-lab*<sub>x</sub>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ra-gal-lu*, *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*a-da-mu*, *Ma-a-bar-zu*<sub>2</sub>, *Mi-mi*, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi A-du-ur*<sub>2</sub><sup>lki</sup>, *Za-mi-ga-ħu*. See **Archi**, in *Fs Wilhelm* (2010), p.48, and pp.51–52.

**Groups:** *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ba*, *I-nu-ud-Ĥa-lab*<sub>x</sub>, *I-da*-<sup>NE</sup>, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*, *Ma-a-bar-zu*<sub>2</sub>, <sup>ʾ</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ša*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*ra-gal-lu* ([75.3759 = *A XX 23*] r.VI:21-VII:9)

**Discussion:** the expression lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>) has been interpreted as “the one of the omen,” and denotes a cultic figure devoted to the practice of divination.<sup>490</sup> The term lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> occurs frequently in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712: **Milano** compares maš<sub>2</sub> to Akk. *šibtum*, “interest,” and interprets this expression as “esattore.”<sup>491</sup> More convincing is **Archi**’s suggestion to compare maš<sub>2</sub> to Akk. *urīšu*, “billy goat.”<sup>492</sup> the term maš<sub>2</sub> is attested in the lexical texts without gloss (*VE* 927) in a section entirely devoted to livestock (*VE* 920-932).<sup>493</sup> **Archi** also compares maš<sub>2</sub> to Akk. *bīru* and *bārū*.<sup>494</sup> maš<sub>2</sub> appears more frequently with the verb *šu-du*<sub>8</sub> in the expression *šu-du*<sub>8</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>, “to take an omen.” The diviners also came from outside Ebla, such as from *Ar-ga*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-ħa-du*<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>ʾ</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>, and *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>,

Notably, a diviner from Arħadu is often mentioned in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712, with a man named Dāda-’il and a man from Dulu:<sup>495</sup>

[75.251 = *A IX 77*] o.II:1-6: 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Da-da-i*<sub>3</sub> / 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> / *Ar-ħa-du*<sup>ki</sup> / 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>;  
«1 sila<sub>3</sub>-measure (of oil) for Dāda-’il, 1 sila<sub>3</sub>-measure (of oil) for the diviner (lit. ‘the one of the omen’) from Arħadu, 1 sila<sub>3</sub>-measure (of oil) for (the man from) Dulu».

Each person involved received ca. one liter of oil each month.<sup>496</sup> Dāda-’il is a man from Arħadu: the scribe did not register the name of the diviner from Arħadu and of the man from Dulu (who was also a diviner?). Alongside these three men, Ĥinna-malik from Nirar, the son of the king of

<sup>490</sup> See also **Biga**, in *SEL* 23 (2006), p.21, “addetto al presagio;” **Bonechi**, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.80, “indovino.”

<sup>491</sup> **Milano**, *ARET IX* (1990), p.395; *CAD* S (1962), s.v. *šibtum* A, p.158ff.

<sup>492</sup> *CAD* U/W (2010), s.v. *urīšu*, p.227ff.

<sup>493</sup> The term ešgar:mi<sub>2</sub> (*VE* 928) is the only lemma provided with a gloss (*ga-lu-ma-tum/du-um*, “female lamb”). On *VE* 928 see **Krebernik**, in *Albright Centennial Conference* (1996), p.240. Note that the EBK unilingual lexical texts, on which the bilingual texts are based, present lemmas ordered according to an acrographic principle (*i.e.*, by sign shape): a few sections, however, are arranged by ‘topic’. On this section (*VE* 920-932) see also **Hajouz**, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), p.361.

<sup>494</sup> *CAD* B (1965), s.vv. *bīru* A, p.264ff., “divination,” and *bārū*, p.121ff., “diviner.”

<sup>495</sup> For all occurrences, see **Milano**, *ARET IX* (1990), p.395, s.v. lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> *Ar-ħa-du*<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>496</sup> The capacity of an Eblaite sila<sub>3</sub> is still a matter of debate: as a working hypothesis, it can be assumed that it was similar to the Mesopotamian sila<sub>3</sub>. See **Milano**, *ARET IX* (1990), p.351; **Milano**, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.146; **Marchesi**, in *Ebla Landscape* (2013), p.287 fn.32.

Nīrar, and six merchants from Armi are always mentioned: Hīnna-malik was an appointee of his king ([75.3076+ = A III 63] o.I:1-8) and he is often mentioned in the texts from the Audience Court (*ARET VIII*).

As Archi noted 8.43% of the sheeps delivered to the Palace over a period of 10 months were used for extispicy:<sup>497</sup> this cultic practice was probably a fundamental component of the Eblaite religion. Extispicy was performed when Tabūr-Damu married king Yitgar-Damu, when Darib-Damu became a divine lady in Luban, and also when a political strategy needed to be chosen.<sup>498</sup>

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**(dam) pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš(-mi<sub>2</sub>)** (also written šeš:pa<sub>4</sub>) (229): «valet»; personal servant of a god(des) or high-ranking person.

**Previous translation(s):** «(sacerdote) unto»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AXI, M7</sup>; «an anointed priest»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «(sacerdote/essa) unto/a»<sup>AIIX</sup> «colui che è addetto all'unzione; sacerdote purificatore; cameriere al servizio di una persona»<sup>AXII</sup>; «sacerdote purificatore, cameriere personale»<sup>AXIII</sup>; «unguentario»<sup>AXV</sup>; «who is in charge of the anointment, of purifying; appointed to (DN); valet»<sup>AXX</sup>;

see also → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, a:tu<sub>22</sub>, lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, maškim (§4.5 Producers, p.186), šu-i (§4.5 Producers, p.186)

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XII:30	pa <sub>4</sub> :šeš
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 50+	r.VI:1'	pa <sub>4</sub> :šeš
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 41+	r.II':6'	pa <sub>4</sub> !(2):šeš
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.IV:15	pa <sub>4</sub> :šēš'
[ε] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.VII:10	pa <sub>4</sub> :šeš

Šuruppak

[ζ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> B	<i>SF</i> 70	o.II:8	pa <sub>4</sub> -šeš
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Abu Salabiḥ

[η] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54+	o.IV:15	[pa <sub>4</sub> ]-šeš
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**Bibliography:** Alberti, *VO* 8 (1989-92), p.18; Archi, in *Fs Foster* (2010), pp.25–26; Archi, *VO* 10 (1996); Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.514; Archi, *Atti Convegni Lincei* 304 (2016), pp.145–46; Biga, in *SEL* 23 (2006); Catagnoti, in *CMAO* 18 (2018), p.143; Krispijn, in *Fs Pettinato* (2004); Sallaberger, in *Valore delle cose* (2018), p.21–22; Simonetti, *AfO* 42/43 (1995-1996)

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, šu-i, ur<sub>4/x</sub>

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods, usually garments] PN<sub>1-n</sub> pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš [(dumu-nita) en]

[01b] [goods] dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> NE-di pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *MA-LIK-TUM*

[01c] [goods] PN pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš PN

[goods] PN ur<sub>4/x</sub> pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš PN

[goods] PN šu-i pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš PN

<sup>497</sup> Archi, in *Fs Wilhelm* (2010), p.53; see also the data collected in Milano, in *StLE* (1984), p.222 Table 2.

<sup>498</sup> See the occurrences of maš<sub>2</sub> collected by Biga, *NABU* 1999/109 (1999), pp.103–4.

[02] [goods, usually garments or wool] PN<sub>(1-2)</sub> pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš DN [GN]

### Prosopography:<sup>499</sup>

#### p. of PN

p. **ama-gal en**: *I-ib-ma-lik, Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*

p. **en**: (Groups 1-9); *A-ba-ga lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, A-bu<sub>14</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Zi-i<sub>3</sub>, Ar-wa, A-šu-ma-lik, A-šu-ur-i<sub>3</sub>/A-šur<sub>x</sub>-i<sub>3</sub> (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir), Bu-da-na-im HUB.KI, Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, Du-ḥa-lum, En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ti-ra-i<sub>3</sub>, GABA-da-mu, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba lu<sub>2</sub> Maḥ-ra-da-mu, Ḥa-ḥa-ma-LUM, [Ḥa]-ra-i<sub>3</sub>, Ḥu-ma/mi-<sup>r</sup>zu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir lu<sub>2</sub> Ri<sub>2</sub>-ḥu-ba-ga, Ib-du-<sup>d</sup>Aš-dar, Il<sub>2</sub>-a-da-mu, Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar (lu<sub>2</sub> A(g)-ga), In-gar<sub>3</sub>, In-ni-PAP, Iš-ra-il HUB.KI, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, I-ti-NE, Kam<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-lum, Ki-da-na-im, Maḥ-ra-da-mu, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, Ra-i-zu<sub>2</sub>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, Sa<sub>2</sub>-g[u<sub>2</sub>]-su, Su-ma-il, Su/Zu-na-im (šu-i), Ti-ra-i<sub>3</sub>/il, U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šu(m), Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš, Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba*

p. **dumu-nita(-dumu-nita) en**: *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-kun<sub>3</sub>-NE, Ti-ra-il*

p. **dumu-nita en Ar-mi-um**<sup>ki</sup>: PN

p. **en Du-ub**<sup>ki</sup>: PN

p. **An-na-i<sub>3</sub>**: *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-NE-HAR*

p. **Dar-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik**: PN

p. **I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir**: *A-bu<sub>3</sub>, Da-zi-ma-at/du, Du-bi<sub>[2-z]</sub>i-kir, En-na-ni-il, Ḥab<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>(LAGAB×UŠ<sub>2</sub>)-ra-ar, Ḥa-zi-ir, Ḥal-da-um, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, Si-ma-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*

p. **Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um**: *A-dam-ma-lik, A-zu-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, Da-da-i<sub>3</sub>, Ḥa-zu/su-um, Gu<sub>2</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> Iš-gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*

p. **dumu-nita Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um**: *Zu<sub>2</sub>-ma-ra-bu<sub>3</sub>*

p. **Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>r</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu**: *A-bu<sub>3</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-gu<sub>2</sub>-lu*

p. **Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ut dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM**: *En-na-ni-il*

p. **MA-LIK-TUM**: *Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Šu-u<sub>3</sub>-du*

p. **Ri<sub>2</sub>-ti**: *En-na-be*

p. **Za-a-še** : PN

#### p. of deities<sup>500</sup>

p. <sup>d</sup>**A-gu<sub>2</sub>/gum<sub>2</sub> (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>)**: *Ḥu-ba-ri<sub>2</sub>-ga/gu<sub>2</sub>*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>3</sub>-da**: *I-ra-mu, Ir<sub>3</sub>-az<sup>1</sup>-il, Za-a-na*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>**: *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, I-ti-ki-da-mu, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu-we-rum*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du**<sup>ki</sup>: *Keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik, I-ti-ga-ma-lik*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> 'A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad/du**<sup>ki</sup>: *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> 'Lu-ba-an**<sup>ki</sup>: *i/i<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>*

p. <sup>d</sup>**'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>**: *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud šeš PN*

p. <sup>d</sup>**Aš-dar Ḥa-a-bi<sub>(2)</sub>-du**<sup>ki</sup>: *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*

p. <sup>d</sup>**BARA<sub>7</sub> Zu<sub>2</sub>-ra-mu**<sup>ki</sup>: *dumu-nita A-BAN-il,*

p. <sup>d</sup>**be**: *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*

p. <sup>d</sup>**be Ba-al<sub>6</sub>-tum Ša-mi-rum<sub>2</sub>**<sup><ki></sup>: PN

p. <sup>d</sup>**be Sa-a-ad/Sa-ad**: *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-il*

p. <sup>d</sup>**en**<sup>ki</sup> (**A-mi-sa-du**<sup>ki</sup>): *A-ku-<sup>d</sup>en(<sup>ki</sup>)*

p. <sup>d</sup>**GA<sub>2</sub>×SIG<sub>7</sub> Zi-wa-da-ra**<sup>ki</sup>: *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*

p. <sup>d</sup>**GA<sub>2</sub>×SIG<sub>7</sub> Zu<sub>2</sub>-za-ga-bu<sub>3</sub>**<sup>ki</sup>: PN

p. <sup>d</sup>**KU-ra**: *A-du-lu/ul, An-ti, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il, En-na-<sup>d</sup>Utu, Šar-du-du*

p. <sup>d</sup>**NIN.ERIM.A**: *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*

p. <sup>d</sup>**Ra-sa-ap**: *Da-ni-ga,*

p. <sup>d</sup>**Ra-sa-ap 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ni**<sup>ki</sup>: *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*

p. <sup>d</sup>**Ra-sa-ap gu<sub>2</sub>-nu**: *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-ma-lik*

<sup>499</sup> See also the prosopography published in *Archi*, VO 10 (1996), pp.64–69.

<sup>500</sup> A prosopography of the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the gods has been published in *Archi*, VO 10 (1996), pp.39–42.

p. <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap* SA.ZA<sup>ki</sup>: *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*

p. <sup>d</sup>*Utu Ba-ti-in/nu*<sup>ki</sup>: *A-za-ḥa-bar-bi<sub>2</sub>, Wa-bar-tum*

**Groups:**

- 1) *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum, Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Su-na-im, Ḥu-mi-<sup>r</sup>zu<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup> lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam (p. en)*
- 2) [*Ḥa*]-*ra-i<sub>3</sub>, Sa<sub>2</sub>-g[u<sub>2</sub>]-su, Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub> (p. en)*
- 3) *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ḥa<sup>r</sup>-[I]u, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum, <sup>r</sup>Il<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>-šar, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, Su-na-im, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Zi-i<sub>3</sub>, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik (p. en)*
- 4) *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar lu<sub>2</sub> A-ga, Su/Zu-na-im šu-i, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam (p. en)*
- 5) [...] *Ra-i-zu, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu, Ki-da-na-im (p. en)*
- 6) [...] *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš (p. en)*
- 7) *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir lu<sub>2</sub> Ri<sub>2</sub>-ḥu-ba-ga, Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (p. en)*
- 8) *Maḥ-ra-da-mu, Ra-i-zu<sub>2</sub>, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš, A-ba-ga lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, GABA-da-mu, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, Kam<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-lum (p. en)*
- 9) *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum, A-šu-ma-lik, Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar, Su-na-im, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, Zi-i<sub>3</sub>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>, A-šu-ma-lik (p. en)*
- 10) *A-bu<sub>3</sub>, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-gu<sub>2</sub>-lu (p. Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>r</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu)*
- 11) *Da-da-i<sub>3</sub>, A-zu-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, A-dam-ma-lik, Ḥa-su-um, Gu<sub>2</sub>-zi (p. Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um)*
- 12) *Si-ma-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, Da-zi-ma-at, Ḥa-zi-ir, Ḥal-da-um, A-bu<sub>3</sub>, Du-bi[<sub>2</sub>-z]i-kir (p. <sup>r</sup>T-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir)*
- 13) *Da-zi-ma-du, Ḥa-zi-ir, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, En-na-ni-il, Ḥab<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup>(LAGAB×UŠ<sub>2</sub>)-ra-ar (p. <sup>r</sup>T-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir)*

**Discussion:** Eblaite pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, “he who anoints” (*pāšišu*),<sup>501</sup> is connected to the human and to the divine sphere. Regarding the human sphere, the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš are usually at the service of members of the élite (the king, the queen, the mother of the king, the crown prince, and the viziers). Both male and female pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš are attested: noteworthy is the fact that male pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš are attested at the service of the mother of the king (*I-ib-ma-lik*) and princess Kešdut (*En-na-ni-il*). There is, however, no data suggesting that the male pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of high ranking women were eunuchs.

The pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king have been studied by Simonetti, who recognized the existence of an internal hierarchy among the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en:<sup>502</sup> several pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš were subordinates to other higher-ranking individuals belonging to the same group. The subordination of an individual with respect to another is expressed through the relative pronoun lu<sub>2</sub>: *A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Zi-i<sub>3</sub>, En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ti-ra-i<sub>3</sub>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba lu<sub>2</sub> Maḥ-ra-da-mu, Ḥu-ma/mi-zu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I-ti-<sup>d</sup>i<sub>3</sub>-lam, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ra-i-zu, Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš. In this case, the link expressed through the relative pronoun lu<sub>2</sub> does not indicate a kinship relationship, since the parallel expression PN dumu-nita PN never occurs in the case of the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš.<sup>503</sup> The texts concerning the Palace personnel published in *ARET XX* give further insight in the role of the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš: 56 to 100 pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king, and 11 to 17 pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš and 27 pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš tur of the queen are attested.<sup>504</sup> The 17 pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš and the 27 pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš tur of the queen mentioned in [75.2443 = *A XX*] r.VIII:1-7 resemble in number the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the queen mentioned in [75.261 = *A IX 47*] o.III:1-2, and r.II:1-2. Also noteworthy is the fact that only the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the queen (and not those of the king) are mentioned in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712: these female pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš were thus probably living in the Palace. On the contrary, data suggests that the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king lived outside the house of the king and had their own family: Rā’i<sub>3</sub>zu, one of the most prominent pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king, received precious gifts on the occasion of his daughter’s*

<sup>501</sup> Archi, in *Fs Foster* (2010), p.25. See *CAD P* (2005), s.v. *pāšišu* p.245ff.

<sup>502</sup> Simonetti, *AfO* 42/43 (1995-1996).

<sup>503</sup> See also Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.60.

<sup>504</sup> See also the data collected in Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.57.

marriage.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, the valets of the male élite of the Palace often act as appointees (see sub → maškim).

Some pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king were probably in charge of his hygiene: *Su/Zu-na-im* is mentioned as the “barber” of the king, and it is reasonable to assume that taking care of one’s hygiene was one of the main duties of the valets (see sub → šu-i). The following passages give further insight into the role of the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš:

[75.5159 = A XII 769] r.V’:5-7’: 4 KIN siki / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> <sup>gis</sup>ne-gi-ba-tum / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu; «4 measures of wool, for the purchase of euphorbia, (for) Ṭūbī-karru»

[75.1446 = A IV 14] o.V:1-4: 1 aktum<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> / 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu ur<sub>4</sub> / šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> / Ir<sub>3</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu; «1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband, (for) Ṭūbī-karru, the carrier of the valet of Yirḥaq-Damu»

As Catagnoti observed, although more than one man named Ṭūbī-karru is attested in the Archives, the one mentioned in [75.5159 = A XII 769] belonged to prince Yirḥaq-Damu’s entourage, and in [75.1446 = A IV 14] provided his valet with some euphorbia.<sup>506</sup>

The pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the gods are attested lesser in number: a god(des) generally had only one pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš; no deity had at his/her service the number of pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš who were at the service of the king. There seems to be no connection between the gender of the deity and that of the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš at his/her service: Ḥinna-Šamaš, a lady of the court, was pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the god Kura, while a man named *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik* was at the service of the goddess Išḥara. According to Biga, the pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš performed their duties in a temple: the cultic landscape of their activities, however, is not clear.<sup>507</sup> The pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš at the service of a deity had to take care of the god’s statue, in the same way as the valets at the service of high-ranking individuals took care of their hygiene.<sup>508</sup>

The valets of the god Kura Yatūru and Ḥinna-il took part in the purification of the house of the king:<sup>509</sup> Yatūru was active during the vizierate of Arrulum and Yibriyum and was succeeded by his son Ḥinna-il during Yibbi-Dikir’s vizierate. The position of valet of the god Kura was probably prestigious: the valet of the god Kura (Yatūru, and later his son Ḥinna-il) occur together in the Royal and Ritual and on the occasion of the purification of the house of the king with the priest (lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}) *A-ma-za*-(u<sub>3</sub>) and the scribes Yādi’ and Damda-il (see also sub → ’a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, a.tu<sub>22</sub>, dub-sar, lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}).

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ŠEŠ.II.IB (182): «statue bearer». (Young) members of the Palace élite, chosen to carry the statue of a god on a pilgrimage; they usually acted in pairs.

**Previous translation(s):** (NF)<sup>AIII</sup>; (un funzionario)<sup>AIV</sup>; (an official)<sup>AVIII</sup>; (membro di una confraternita religiosa) (LL 236)<sup>AXII, AXVI</sup>; «fratello delle due cappelle»;<sup>AXV</sup> (member of a religious confraternity)<sup>XXX</sup>; «funzionario-š.»<sup>M7</sup>;

see also → *a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥa-an*

## Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	o.VII:11	IB.ŠEŠ.2 mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 27	r.VI:27	IB.ŠEŠ.2

<sup>505</sup> [75.1918 = M 10 29] o.XII:3-9, r.I:20-24.

<sup>506</sup> Catagnoti, in *CMAO* 18 (2018), p.143.

<sup>507</sup> Biga, in *SEL* 23 (2006), p.20.

<sup>508</sup> See also Tonietti, in *Fs Milano* (2016), p.87.

<sup>509</sup> Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), pp.43ff.; Viganò, *JNES* 54 (1995).

[γ] EBK	MEE 15, 41+	r.II':2'	IB.ŠEŠ.2
[δ] EBK	MEE 15, 50+	r.V:3'	IB.ŠEŠ.2'(ŠEŠ.2.IB)
[ε] EBK	MEE 15, 50+	r.V:4'	IB.ŠEŠ.2'(ŠEŠ.IB.2)

### Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (236)	IB.ŠEŠ.2 mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+	o.VII:25
[η] VE (236)	IB.ŠEŠ.2 mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 13+	o.VII:19'
[θ] VE (236)	IB.[ŠEŠ].`2' [mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+	o.VI:14'
[i] VE (236)	IB.ŠEŠ.2 mi <sub>2</sub> -dug <sub>4</sub> / ga-ma-lu-um IB.ŠEŠ.2 <sup>510</sup>	MEE 4, 24	o.IV:5-6
[κ] VE (236)	<<x>> mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / ra-a-mu-um	MEE 4, 24	o.IV:7-9
[λ] VE (236)	mi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga / la-a-mu-mu / IB.`ŠEŠ`.2	MEE 4, 65+	r.XV:16

**Bibliography:** Archi, *Eblaitica* 4 (2002); Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 4 (1997), pp.6–10; Tonietti, in *Fs Milano* (2016), esp. pp.79ff.; Urciuoli, *AuOr* 13 (1995).

### Accounting models:

[01] ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da

[01a] [goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

[goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> / Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

[01b] [goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01c] [goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / dag<sub>x</sub>(LAK-457) / <sup>d</sup>bara<sub>7</sub><sup>!!</sup>-ra / en

[goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / dag<sub>x</sub>(LAK-457) / 2 na<sub>4</sub> / en

[01d] [goods] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / keš<sub>2</sub>-da / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

[02] [goods] / PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / in ud / nidba<sub>2</sub> / DN

[03] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / [in] / ir-(mi/me)

[04] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / Ma-nu-wa-at<sup>ki</sup> / in / A-bi<sub>2</sub>-la-du<sup>ki</sup> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[05a] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> / Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>

[05b] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / A<sub>2</sub>.LAGAB / <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> / Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>

[06a] [goods] / PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / in ud / 2 <sup>d</sup>a-lum

[06b] [goods] / PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / nidba<sub>2</sub> / 2 <sup>d</sup>a-lum

[07] [goods] / PN<sub>1-2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB / usan<sub>3</sub> / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra

[08a] [goods] / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / PN / ŠEŠ.II.IB

[08b] [goods] / PN / dumu-nita / PN / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> / PN / ŠEŠ.II.IB [GN]

[08c] [goods] / PN / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / PN / in / A<sub>2</sub>.LAGAB / <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> / Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup> / ŠEŠ.II.IB

[09] [goods] / guruš / Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / en / ŠEŠ.II.IB

[10] [goods] / <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> / <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-ma-du<sup>ki</sup> / in / nidba<sub>2</sub> / ŠEŠ.II.IB

**Prosopography:**<sup>511</sup> A-ba-ga, A-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, A-bu<sub>14</sub>-x maškim I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, A-bur-da-ši-in, A-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum, A-mu-ri<sub>2</sub>, A-mur-da-mu, Ar-si-a-ḥa, <sup>r</sup>A<sup>ˁ</sup>-šum, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> A-ti, <sup>r</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša

<sup>510</sup> See Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp.103–4.

<sup>511</sup> See also the prosopography published in Urciuoli, *AuOr* 13 (1995), p.119–25, and Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), pp.31–55.

lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-dur-i-šar*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša U<sub>3</sub>-kul<sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub>/mu*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-mu*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> *Ni-za-ar<sup>ki</sup>*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš-še<sub>3</sub>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-lum lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šum lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>(11)</sub>-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-zu<sub>2</sub>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi (lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-lum*), *Bar-zi* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-LUM*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-lum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-nu*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num<sub>2</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zi*, *Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Gaba-da-mu*), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-ḥa-li/li<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>-a*), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab* lu<sub>2</sub>-kar; *Ḥu-ma-ra*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I<sub>3</sub>-a-be*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* (lu<sub>2</sub> *En-bu<sub>14</sub>-ma/mu*), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-da-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-d<sup>!</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da*, *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ni-a-BAD/BE*, *Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-du-u<sub>9</sub>-a*, *En-da-za Maš-bar-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-mar*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Gu-na-u<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il*, *En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra*, *EN-ti dumu-nita*/lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *GIBIL*, *Ḥa-ra-il*, *Ḥab<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup>-ra-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ga-iš-lu*, *Ḥi-la-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ma-za*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-nu*, *I-da/de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Gibil-ma-lik*, *I-gi-lum* ugula *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *I-in-i<sub>3</sub> A-ša-lu-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *I-ni-lum Mu-si-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-dur<sup>!!</sup>-ma-lik*, *I-ti-d<sup>!</sup>Aš-dar* maškim 'A<sub>3</sub>-gu-lum, *I-ti-d<sup>!</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na(-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>/-ni-il)*, *I-ti-lum*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>/il*, *I-gi-um*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-il*, *I<sub>3</sub>-da-NE* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-nu*, *I<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ba*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-a-KEŠDA*, *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub> A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-dur-da-ar*, *Ib-dur-d<sup>!</sup>KU-ra*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *Ib-gi-da-mu*, *Ib-gi-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> *Ki-ti-ir*, *Ib-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-ḥur-d<sup>!</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da*, *Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-su*, *Il-ti*, *Il-ti* (U<sub>3</sub>-na-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Mu-gu<sub>2</sub>*), *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-šu*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-li-im*, *Il<sub>3</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*, *In-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *In-gar<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *In-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Zu<sub>(2)</sub>-ma-na-an*, *Ir-ti* (*Ar-u<sub>9</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), *Ir-ti* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu* (*A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> *U<sub>9</sub>-[za-za]-nu*), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*, *Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-i<sub>3</sub> dam-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an* lu<sub>2</sub> *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-lum*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ša-u<sub>3</sub>-um*, *Ka-zu*, *Ki-ti-ir* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-da-ni-ki-mu*, *Kum/Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*), *Ma<sub>2</sub>-za-gu<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Mah-ri<sub>2</sub>*, *Na-ma-da-mu*, *NE-NI-ki-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Gibil-ma-lik*, *Ni-zi*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*), *Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-mu*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-li-im* (*Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>*), *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-li-im* (U<sub>9</sub>-ga-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-li-im* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*Ba-nu<sup>ki</sup>*), *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ra-i-zu*, *Ša-ti-lu* (lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> *Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*), *Šu-ga-lum*, *Šu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ti*, *Ur-ni* lu<sub>2</sub>-kar, *Za-zi* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Ze<sub>2</sub>-kam<sub>4</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ni-ga-ma-lik*, *Ze<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik* (*NE-NI-rum<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), *Zu<sub>2</sub>-du* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-a-ga-um*,

### Groups:

ŠEŠ.II.IB: 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šum lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *I-ti-d<sup>!</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-šu*, *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub> A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>* // *GIBIL*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-il*, 'A'-šum, 'A'-[x]-ma-lik

ŠEŠ.II.IB (*ir-mi/me*):<sup>512</sup> 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, *En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* // *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-ḥa-li-a*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub><sup>!!</sup>* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, *Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *GABA-da-mu*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš-še<sub>3</sub>, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* lu<sub>2</sub> *EN-bu<sub>14</sub>-ma* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šum lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an*, *I-ti-d<sup>!</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-ni-il*, *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub> A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>* // [*K*]un<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ti* // *Ib-dur-d<sup>!</sup>KU-ra*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*

ŠEŠ.II.IB *keš<sub>2</sub>-da* [*SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*]: 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>; 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*; *I-gi-um*, *Ša-ti-lu* (lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> *Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*) // *Ḥab<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup>-ra-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ga-iš-lu*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab* lu<sub>2</sub>-kar; *Ḥu-ma-ra*, *UR-ni* lu<sub>2</sub>-kar // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-x* maškim *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* // *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-da-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *Ze<sub>2</sub>-kam<sub>4</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ni-ga-ma-lik* // *Zu<sub>2</sub>-du* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-a-ga-um*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra* // *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* lu<sub>2</sub> *EN-bu<sub>14</sub>-mu*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Gu-na-u<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, *Il<sub>3</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*, *En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *I<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ba*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL*, *I-ti-lum*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>*, *Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>* // *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-a-KEŠDA*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-dur<sup>!!</sup>-ma-lik* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-mu*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-ḥa-li-a* // *In-gar<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub>* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, *Il-ti* // *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* lu<sub>2</sub> *EN-bu<sub>14</sub>-mu*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ša-u<sub>3</sub>-um* // *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>*, *Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-du-u<sub>9</sub>-a* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Ib-ḥur-d<sup>!</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> *Ni-za-ar<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ra-i-zu* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Mu-gu<sub>2</sub>* // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-ḥa-li-a* // *I-NI-LUM Mu-si-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>* // *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub> A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šum // *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM*, *Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub> A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>* // *Ib-du<sup>!</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-zu<sub>2</sub> // *I-gi-lum* ugula *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>* // *Ki-ti-ir* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-da-ni-ki-mu*,

<sup>512</sup> Archi, in *QS S1* (2012), p.7 fn.3.

'A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar // I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Aš-dar maškim 'A<sub>3</sub>-gu-lum, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub> // Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> U<sub>9</sub>-[za-za]-nu, NE-ni-ki-mu lu<sub>2</sub> GIBIL-ma-lik // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub> // KA-zu, Du-bi<sub>2</sub> // En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra, Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu // Du-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Za-ḥa-li-a, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>-a-be // Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub> // A-ba-ga, Ib-dur-da-ar // Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an, A-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, Maḥ-ri<sub>2</sub>, A-mu-ri<sub>2</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-dur-i-šar, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> A-ti // Ki-ti-ir lu<sub>2</sub> I-da-ni-ki-mu, 'A<sub>3</sub>-lum lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar // I-da-ni-ki-mu lu<sub>2</sub> GIBIL-ma-lik, In-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Zu-ma-na-an // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> // Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-li-im lu<sub>2</sub> I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig, Bar-zi lu<sub>2</sub> A-bu<sub>14</sub>-LUM, Šu-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu //

ŠEŠ.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da dag<sub>x</sub> <sup>d</sup>bara<sub>7</sub>-ra en: In-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Zu<sub>2</sub>-ma-na-an, I-de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu lu<sub>2</sub> GIBIL-ma-lik // Ma<sub>2</sub>-za-gu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu // Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ni-a-BE, Za-zi lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik //

ŠEŠ.II.IB / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / in ud / nidba<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>Utu: 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Za-ḥa-li<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>-a

ŠEŠ.II.IB / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / in / nidba<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra: 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub><sup>!!</sup>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Za-ḥa-li<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>-a

ŠEŠ.II.IB / usan<sub>3</sub> / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra: A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> A-ti, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-lum lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir;

ŠEŠ.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da in A-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ni-a-BAD, I<sub>3</sub>-da-NE lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-nu;

ŠEŠ.II.IB nidba<sub>2</sub> 2 <sup>d</sup>a-lum: 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>

ŠEŠ.II.IB šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>: Bu<sub>3</sub>-zi, Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, A-mur-da-mu, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-nu // Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar lu<sub>2</sub> [E]n-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>, Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-<sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da, Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Il<sub>2</sub>-zi, En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, Ni-zi // Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>, A-mur-da-mu, Šu-ga-LUM // 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš, Bu<sub>3</sub>-zi, A-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num<sub>2</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, Kum-da-ba-an // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM, Ir-ti lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, Il-ti, Ib-dur-i-šar, Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>, Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš, A-mur-da-mu, Kum-da-ba-an // 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša U<sub>3</sub>-KUL<sup>ki</sup>, Ib-du-i<sub>3</sub>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu, A<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>lu<sup>ki</sup>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, En-ti lu<sub>2</sub> I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar lu<sub>2</sub> En-na-ni-il, Kum-da-ba-an lu<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša lu<sub>2</sub> A-ti, Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu lu<sub>2</sub> La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM, Ib-gi-da-mu lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> Ki-ti-ir, 'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šu[m] lu<sub>2</sub> Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-[an]<sup>513</sup> // I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Ib-dur-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, En-na-il, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>-ti, Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an, In-gar<sub>3</sub>, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub> // 'A<sub>3</sub>-zi lu<sub>2</sub> La<sub>2</sub>-a-LUM, En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> EN-mar, Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar lu<sub>2</sub> GABA-da-mu, A-mur-da-mu, Kum-da-ba-an, Ib-dur-i-šar, En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-mu, Ir-ti, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-daš, Il-ti, Šu-ga-lum, Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> En-na-i<sub>3</sub>

**Discussion:** Although performing their services for a god, the cultic role of ŠEŠ.II.IB is not permanent: the members of this confraternity, as it has been often called, do not belong to the temple personnel and are involved in the cult of some particular gods (mainly Hadda-Ba'al of Luban) for limited periods of time. Already Archi and Urciuoli noted the particular connection between the ŠEŠ.II.IB and the šu-mu-nigin<sub>2</sub> of Hadda-Ba'al:<sup>514</sup> Tonietti, in her recent analysis of this cultic performance, observed that among the ŠEŠ.II.IB of Hadda-Ba'al are three sons of Yibriyum and three sons of Yibbi-Dikir, while the sons of the king never appear.<sup>515</sup> The ritual circumambulation related to the cult Hadda-Ba'al of Luban and the ŠEŠ.II.IB connected to his cult are mentioned for the first time during Yibriyum's vizierate. The main duty of the ŠEŠ.II.IB was to carry the god's statue: the numeral II might indicate that they acted in pairs. In addition, the dual form a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥa-an (/'abbuḥ-ayn/ from \*bh, "cingere") mentioned exclusively in the chancery documents, clearly suggests that two individuals were involved.<sup>516</sup> In light of this interpretation of the function of the ŠEŠ.II.IB, Tonietti suggests to interpret the gloss of VE 236 ([š]-[λ], IB.ŠEŠ.2 mi<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> / ga-ma-lu-um IB.ŠEŠ.2) as "to get along with, to be in agreement as the ŠEŠ.II.IB do," from gamālum.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>513</sup> According to prosopography, [76.521 = A VIII 521] o.V:14 probably has šu-mu-[nigin<sub>2</sub>] and not šu-mu-[tag<sub>4</sub>].

<sup>514</sup> Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002); Urciuoli, *AuOr* 13 (1995).

<sup>515</sup> Tonietti, in *Fs Milano* (2016), p.79.

<sup>516</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.186; Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 4 (1997), pp.7–8

<sup>517</sup> See CAD G (1956), s.v. gamālum ("to be obliging, to perform a kind act, to act so as to please, to come to an agreement."). Tonietti, in *Fs Milano* (2016), p.88. See also, Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.24, "to be kind as the ŠEŠ.II.IB."



According to Archi, the expression keš<sub>2</sub>-da, which often follows the term šeš.II.IB, can be interpreted as «in service» (Sum. keš<sub>2</sub>, “to bind”).<sup>518</sup> [75.2401] o.I:10-15 and parallel passage [75.1216] r.III:19-IV:18 offer a Semitic spelling of this term:<sup>519</sup>

[75.2401] o.I:10-15: 14 šeš.II.IB-šeš.II.IB *na-a-lum-na-a-lum* SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> *in ud igi-ḫi-du<sub>8</sub>*.

[75.1216] r.III:19-IV:18: 8 garments NP<sub>1-8</sub> šeš.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da *in A-da-ti-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> lu<sub>2</sub> igi-ḫi-du<sub>8</sub>*<sup>520</sup>

Archi compares *na-a-lum* to *a' ālum/e' ēlum*, “to bind:” the Semitic spelling *na-a-lum*, however, is attested in the bilingual lexical text as a gloss to a<sub>2</sub>-TUG<sub>2</sub> (*VE* 547).<sup>521</sup> The syntagma šeš.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da is often followed by the noun SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> (see Accounting models [01a-d]): the three terms probably constitute an apposition to the term šeš.II.IB, which can be abbreviated to šeš.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da. The available data do not allow for a definition of the function of the šeš.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da with comparison to the other šeš.II.IB.

Among the šeš.II.IB were the sons of high-ranking officials: Yibbi-Ḍikir, 'Irti, and 'Ūdī were three sons of Yibriyum; Enti, Rūzī-malik,<sup>522</sup> and Ṭubuḫu-hadda were Yibbi-Ḍikir's sons; 'Amur-damu was the son of the lugal Yišma'-damu;<sup>523</sup> Ḥadaṭa was the son of the lugal Yir'am-damu;<sup>524</sup>

The members of the royal family do not appear among the šeš.II.IB: the only exception is crown prince Yirḫaq-Damu [76.540 = *A* VIII 540] r.VI:2-7.

The news which are often brought to court suggests that the appointment of an individual as šeš.II.IB took place outside the City (Accounting models [08a-c]): as Tonietti observed, however, their appointment is not connected to a particular deity or temple.<sup>525</sup> As prosopographical data suggest, the šeš.II.IB were not linked to one particular god(dess), since they perform their duties as šeš.II.IB for more than one deity.

<sup>518</sup> Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.23 fn. 2, p.24. For a different interpretation, see Urciuoli, *AuOr* 13 (1995), p.108. Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), s.v. keš<sub>2</sub>-da (passim), translates NP<sub>1-n</sub> šeš.II.IB keš<sub>2</sub>-da SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> as “NP<sub>1-n</sub>, of the šeš.II.IB confraternity associated with the Palace.”

<sup>519</sup> Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.25 fn.9; see also Catagnoli and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.37.

<sup>520</sup> [75.2401] is quoted in Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.25 fn.9; [75.1216] is quoted in Archi, in *CMAO* 18 (2018), p.25.

<sup>521</sup> Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.154. The term keš<sub>2</sub>-da appears in the unilingual lexical text [75.5327 = *M* 15 49] r.II':11'. See also Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), s.v. *na-a-lum*.

<sup>522</sup> On Rūzī-malik, Catagnoli, *AsiAna* 1 (2019), p.26, sub [29]: the author quotes an unpublished letter from Yibbi-Ḍikir to his son Rūzī-malik, where Rūzī-malik's statue (alan<sub>x</sub>) of Ḥadda-ba'al and its keeper (igi-sig) are mentioned.

<sup>523</sup> A man named *A-mur-da-mu* was also Napḫa-'il's son. *A-mur-da-mu* is mentioned as šeš.II.IB in [75.1273 = *A* IV 5], dated to Y.-Ḍ. 5: Napḫa-'il was Yibbi-Ḍikir's (half-)brother, while Yišma'-damu was lugal during the vizierate of Yibriyum. The šeš.II.IB 'Amur-Damu was probably Yišma'-damu's son. See also [75.2511], quoted in Archi, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.32, s.v. *A-mur-da-mu*.

<sup>524</sup> See also [75.1620 = *A* VII 156].

<sup>525</sup> Tonietti, in *Fs Milano* (2016), p.70.

## 4.4. Entertainers

**balag-di** (19): «lamentation performer» (a lamentation singer; it is not clear if the balag-di played/performed with a musical instrument).

**Previous translation(s):** «cantore»<sup>AMII</sup>; «cantare (il lamento); lamento; lamentatore»<sup>AXI</sup>; «lamentatore»<sup>AXII</sup>; «lyre player, mourner with lyre accompaniment»<sup>AXX</sup>; «mourner»<sup>M10</sup>; «lyre/harp player»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (571)	bala[g-di] / na-ti-lu-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.II:2-3
[β] VE (571)	balag-[di] / na-ti-lu	MEE 4, 40	r.VII:5-6

**Bibliography:** Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002), p.186 fn.31; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.83; Bonechi, *QdL* 17 (2007), p.204 and fn.45; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp.86–87, 160; Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1991/49 (1991), p.33; Tonietti, *RLA* 8 (1997), p.482–83; Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010); *PSD* B, p.79–81; *TIE* B, p.29

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** gu<sub>3</sub>-di

**Places:** agrun *Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*; agrun *MA-LIK-TUM*; e<sub>2</sub> *Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] 4 KIN siki 4 balag-di [lu<sub>2</sub>] agrun *Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*

[01b] 4 KIN siki 4 balag-di agrun *MA-LIK-TUM*

[01c] 6 KIN siki 6 balag-di lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> *Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*

[02] [goods] PN<sub>1,2</sub> wa 2 gu<sub>3</sub>-di PN<sub>1,4</sub> balag-di

**Prosopography:** *A-du-nu*, <A>-ud, *Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ni-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*

**Discussion:** the glosses of the *VE* ([α-β]) refer to the Semitic root \*nʔl, “to raise” and, by extension, “to raise one’s voice.”<sup>526</sup> According to Archi, balag-di does not mean “mourner,” since these performers appear in the Royal Ritual: their task is to sing a lamentation to soothe Nintu’s anger (75.1823+ = *A* XI 1] §63).<sup>527</sup> On the contrary, Bonechi suggests a translation “esecutore di musica funebre.”<sup>528</sup> Three texts mention the presence of four balag-di in connection with the term agrun:

[75.5085 = *A* XII 709] r.I’ :2’ -5’: 4 KIN siki 4 balag-di agr[un] ‘*Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-[ag-da-mu]*’; “4 measures of wool, (for) 4 lamentation performers (of the) cultic reed hut of Yirḥaq-Damu.”

[75.5164 = *A* XII 773] o.ʔI’ :1’ -4’: 4 KIN [siki] 4 balag-d[i] agr[un] *MA-LIK-TUM*; “4 measures of wool, (for) 4 lamentation performers (of the) cultic reed hut of the queen.”

[75.5317 = *A* XII 874] r.XIV:10-13: 4 KIN siki 4 balag-di lu<sub>2</sub> agrun *Il<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*; “4 measures of wool, (for) 4 lamentation performers, those of the cultic reed hut of Yirḥaq-Damu.”

<sup>526</sup> Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.80; Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1991/49 (1991), p.33.

<sup>527</sup> On the role of Nintu/ʔTu, see Biga, in *Maternità e politeismi* (2017), pp.195–96.

<sup>528</sup> Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.83.

The term agrun (Akk. *šutukku*)<sup>529</sup> indicates a reed hut used in rituals:<sup>530</sup> regrettably, the texts do not offer any further insight into the circumstances related to this ritual, which involved crown prince Yirḫaq-Damu and the queen. The *PSD* offers three translations of balag-di: “lyre player,” “lamentation singer,” and “mourner.”<sup>531</sup> There are no elements to prove if the Eblaite balag-dis played the lyre or a musical instrument:<sup>532</sup> the presence of balag-dis in the Royal Ritual and the gloss of the *VE* suggest that they were lamentation singers. Data regarding their connection to funerary rites are scanty.

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*da-mu* (2), *da-mi* (1), *da-a-mu* (3), *da-mi-mu* (10): «reciter»

**Previous translation(s):** «recitante»<sup>AXV</sup>; «lamentatore»<sup>M7</sup>

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), p.46; Archi, in *QS S1* (2012), p.19; Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Fronzaroli, in *LLLE* (1992), p.172; Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1991/49 (1991), p.33

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** <sup>3</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>, dub-sar, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

**Persons:** *A-zi* (dub-sar), *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il*

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en, e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-ra

**Other:** a:tu<sub>22</sub>

**Accounting models:**

[01] N zi-ri<sub>2</sub> siki *da-mi-mu*

[01a] N zi-ri<sub>2</sub> siki *da-mi-mu* in nidba<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-ra

**Discussion:** the term *da-mi-mu* and its variants have been compared to the root \**dmm*, “to wail, lament.”<sup>533</sup> *da-mi-mu* can be interpreted as a participle (*dāmimu*) but the contexts in which the term appears are not connected to funerary rites. Furthermore, most occurrences of *da-mi-mu* are connected to the purification of the house of the king (a:tu<sub>22</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en) and to the expression PN du<sub>11</sub>-ga / gu<sub>3</sub>-di-II *i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>* (“to pray/prayer for good fortune”): the ceremony consisted in the purification of the Palace, followed by a prayer (which, at least for a certain period performed by the scribe Yādī) and a lamentation performed by the *dāmimu*. The reciter is never mentioned by name: in most cases, however, he receives 5 zi-ri<sub>2</sub> of wool, the same amount given to the person who performs the prayer. The term seems to be unrelated to *VE* 1116 si-du<sub>3</sub> / *ti-mu-mu* and *da-ma-ti-iš*, as initially supposed by Bonechi.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>529</sup> *CAD* Š/3 (1992), s.v. *šutukku*, pp.411ff.

<sup>530</sup> For agrun (E<sub>2</sub>.NUN) at Ebla see Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.118, and Bonechi, *QdL* 17 (2007), p.204 and fn.44 (with previous bibliography). For a meaning “bedchamber” see Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12 (2001), p.220 and 223 (“Schlafgemach”): the gloss of the *VE* (323 agrun / *šu-du-gu*) suggests a meaning related to Akk. *šutukku*.

<sup>531</sup> *PSD* B (1984), s.v. balag-di B, pp.79–80.

<sup>532</sup> A musical instrument named balag (*VE* 572 balag // *gi-na-lum/rum<sub>2</sub>*, *gi-na-ru<sub>12</sub>-um*, “lyre”) is attested in the lexical lists, while a (musical instrument?) (ēi<sup>5</sup>)balag(-maḥ) is sporadically mentioned in the administrative documents: it was silver plated, since all occurrences mention quantities of silver and the term for “plating,” *zi-ba-du*. There are, however, no clear textual connections between the balag-dis and this object. On *VE* 572, see Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.160. On *zi-ba-du*, see Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), p.90–92.

<sup>533</sup> Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.140. See also *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. /*d-m-m/*, p.271, “to wail, moan, lament;” *CAD* D (1959), s.v. *damāmu*, p.60, “to mourn;” *DRS* 4 (1993), s.v. *dmm*, p.274, “gémir, se lamenter.”

<sup>534</sup> Bonechi, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.140–141. See Archi, *VO* 10 (2016), p.46 fn.19, and Archi, in *Fs Szarzyńska* (1998), p.23. On *VE* 1116 see Derksen, *NABU* 1989/39 (1989), pp.26–27; Sjöberg, in *Fs Pettinato* (2004), p.272, “mourn” or “be silent.” See, however, Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.211–12, who compares si-du<sub>3</sub> to Akk. *timmu/dimmu*

HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI) (85): «acrobat» (performs an entertaining activity probably similar to equestrian vaulting, but with kunga<sub>2</sub> equids)

**Previous translation(s):** «corriere»<sup>4III</sup>; (una professione)<sup>4VI</sup>; «danzatore, acrobata»<sup>4XII</sup>; «acrobata»<sup>4XV</sup>; «dancer, acrobat»<sup>4XX</sup>; «corriere»<sup>M2, M7</sup>

giš-ḥub<sub>2</sub>: «acrobata»<sup>4XV</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.VIII:16	HUB <sub>2</sub>
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 27+	r.III':11'	HUB <sub>2</sub> .HUB <sub>2</sub> (gud <sub>x</sub> -gud <sub>x</sub> ?)

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (876)	MEE 4, 1+	r.XII:39	<sup>r</sup> HUB <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]
[δ] VE (876)	MEE 4, 47+	r.IX:18	HUB <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]
[ε] VE (876)	MEE 4, 65+	r.IV:36	HUB <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]
[ζ] Bilingual List of Animals (= VE 877)	MEE 4, 96	o.VIII:4	HUB <sub>2</sub> .HUB <sub>2</sub> (gud <sub>x</sub> -gud <sub>x</sub> ?) / gu <sub>2</sub> -du-gu <sub>2</sub> -du-wu-um

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), pp.11–12; Biga, in *Animals* (2009), p.49; Biga, *JA* 299 (2011), p.482; Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997); Dolce, *Syria* 91 (2014), p.57; Oates et al., *Antiquity* 82 (2008); Waetzoldt, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.412–14.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** nar, NE.DI, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

**Places:** Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Rad-nu<sup>ki</sup>

### Accounting models:

[01a] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub>

[01b] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

[01c] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub> / GN

[01d] [goods] / PN<sub>1-5</sub> / HUB<sub>2</sub> mah / wa / 6 dumu-nita / HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI

[02] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub> / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[03] [goods] PN<sub>1-5</sub> / HUB<sub>2</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / in / GIŠ-nu-kiri<sub>6</sub> / in ud / nidba<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>en-ki / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[04a] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub>(.)SAG.DU<sup>535</sup> / DN

[04b] [goods] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub>(.)SAG.DU / Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>a</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu

[05] [silver] / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub> / PN / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / si-in / GN

[06] [goods] / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / GIŠ-gu<sub>4</sub>-si<sup>536</sup> / PN / HUB<sub>2</sub>

[07] [goods] / HUB<sub>2</sub> KA.DU / en / DN

[08] [goods] PN / HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI / pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš / en

„Stange, Pfahl, Pfeiler, Säule.“

<sup>535</sup> On SAG.DU see Bonechi, *SEL* 18 (2001), p.34 (“leggerei piuttosto sag:rig<sub>9</sub> (HUB<sub>2</sub>.SAG.DU)”). Note, however, that the term SAG.DU would be attested only in connection with the HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI).

<sup>536</sup> For GIŠ-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-dili, “battering ram,” see Steinkeller, *NABU* 1987/27, p.14. Pomponio, *ARET* XV/2 (2013), s.v. GIŠ-gu<sub>4</sub>-si(-TAR), p.423, considers GIŠ-gu<sub>4</sub>-si variant of this term; its meaning within the context, however, is not clear.

## Prosopography:<sup>537</sup>

*A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ku-ra*, *A-ga-iš*, *A-wa-i-šar*, <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-mu-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>* (*Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ša-šum*, *Ba-du-lum* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Ba-NE-u<sub>3</sub>*, *Bar-i*, *Bu-am*, *Bu-da-na-im* (*U<sub>3</sub>-ti-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-sum*, *Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*, *Dur-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*, *Ga-da-na*, *Ga-li-iš-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*, *Gi-dum*, *Gi-ra-dam/dum*, *Gu<sub>(2)</sub>-ba* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lu*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>/šum*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal<sub>x</sub>*, *I-ti-ma-il*, *I<sub>3</sub>-za-li*, *Iš-ra-il*, *Iš-ša-mu*, *Kir-zu*, *Na-da-zu*, *Na-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*, *Na-ri<sub>2</sub>*, *Na-zi*, *Nam-mi-su*, *Si-i-ab*, *Si-na-ḥa-mu*, *Su-la-am*, *Su-LUM*, *SUM-ir<sub>3</sub>*, *Ša-ma-ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Ša-na-ḥa-an* (*Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), *Ti-li-su-gu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *U<sub>9</sub>-ne-num<sub>2</sub>*, *Za-la-li*, *Za-ma-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Za-za-mu*, *Zi-lu*, *Zi-gi*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-dab<sub>6</sub>*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-šu*, *Zu-ne-ib*, *Zi-si-u<sub>9</sub>* (*Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>*), *Zu-zu-ga-mu*, *Wa-da-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*, *Ub-gu<sub>2</sub>-me-iš*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-mu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-wa-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*

## Groups:

- 1) *Dur-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu*, *Bar-i*, *Wa-da-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-sum*, *Ba-du-lum* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) ([75.1274 = A I 13] o.VII:17-VIII:8)
- 2) *Za-la-li*, *I<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>*, *SUM-ir<sub>3</sub>*, *U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-dab<sub>6</sub>*, *Zi-gi*, *Ga-da-na*, *A-ga-iš*, *Zi-lu*, *I-ti-ma-il*, *Kir-zu* (*Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*) ([75.1274 = A I 13] o.X:12-XI:8)
- 3) *Gu-ba*, *U<sub>9</sub>-ne-num<sub>2</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*, *Ga-da-na*, *Na-zi*, *Su-LUM*, *A-wa-i-šar*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ku-ra*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Zu-zu-ga-mu*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-šu*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-mu* ([76.523 = A VIII 523] r.V:18-VI:1; [75.2328 = A XX 17] r.VI:4-14)
- 4) *Na-ri<sub>2</sub>*, *Zu-ne-ib*, *Si-i-ab*, *U<sub>3</sub>-wa-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*, *Ub-gu<sub>2</sub>-me-iš*, *Ša-ma-ru<sub>12</sub>* (HUB<sub>2</sub> maḥ wa 6 dumu-nita HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI) ([75.2328 = A XX 17] r.VI:4-14)
- 5) *Wa-da-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*, *Dur-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu*, *Bar-i*, *Ba-du-lum*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-šu*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba*, *U<sub>9</sub>-ne-num<sub>2</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*, *A-wa-i-šar*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-i<sub>3</sub>*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ku-ra*, *Na-zi*, *Bu-am*, *Su-la-am*, *Ga-da-na*, *Ba-NE-u<sub>3</sub>*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-šu* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) ([75.3759+ = A XX 23] r.V:6-VI:7)
- 6) *Si-na-ḥa-mu*, *Na-da-zu*, *I<sub>3</sub>-za-li*, <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Bu-am*, *Iš-ša-mu*, *Ga-li-iš-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*, *Nam-mi-su*, *Na-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*, *Dur-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu*, *Bar-i*, *Wa-da-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-šu*, *Ba-du-lum* ([75.1781 = M 7 50] o.IX:8-X:16; )
- 7) *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba*, *U<sub>9</sub>-ne-num<sub>2</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*, *Ga-da-na*, *Na-zi*, *Su-LUM*, *A-wa-i-šar*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ku-ra*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Zu-zu-ga-mu*, *Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-šu*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lu-nu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-mu* ([76.530 = A I 5] r.IX:15-X:6; [76.523 = A VIII 523] r.VII:22-VIII:4)
- 8) *Dur-<sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu* lu<sub>2</sub> <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Bar-i*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-šum*, <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-nu-lum*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* maškim *Gi-ri<sub>2</sub>*, *Ba-du-lum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ša-ša-su*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ma-za-ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Ba-NE-u<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-ga-um*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ma-gal*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *En-wa-i-šar* lu<sub>2</sub> *ŠUBUR*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-az<sub>x</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Kab-da-nu*, *I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Il<sub>2</sub>-PI-um<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-ri<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*, dumu-nita *Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>* (HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI *Rad-mu<sup>ki</sup>*) ([75.1275 = A IV 6] r.VI:12-VIII:8)

**Discussion:** as is the case for the Sumerogram *nar*, the sign HUB<sub>2</sub> attested in the EBK unilingual lexical texts ([α]-[β]) and in *VE* 876 ([γ]-[ε]) belong to the section from *VE* 870a to *VE* 878 which lists eight different types of animals.<sup>538</sup> However, the gloss provided in the bilingual list of animals ([ζ]) clarifies its meaning: Civil interpreted *gu<sub>2</sub>-du-gu<sub>2</sub>-du-wu-um* as “one that is always jumping.”<sup>539</sup> Catagnoti compares the Eblaite HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI with the Mesopotamian ḥub<sub>2</sub>-bi, Akk. *ḥuppû*,<sup>540</sup> and suggests that “l’activité exercée par le *ḥuppûm* était celle d’une danse effrénée, susceptible de l’être en groupe, effectuée au cours d’occasions culturelles, et qui pouvait faire l’objet d’un enseignement.”<sup>541</sup> Waetzoldt suggests that the sing KI might be a phonetic complement: HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI

<sup>537</sup> See also the prosopography published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list\\_of\\_pn/hub.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list_of_pn/hub.pdf)) (last visit 2019-26-07), and Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.589–96.

<sup>538</sup> See also the edition of the EBK-A (*M* 4 115) published in the *DCCLT*, where the section *VE* 870-878 (r.VIII:10-17) is titled “wild animals” (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus#P241972.858>) (last visit: 2019-27-07). See also Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.582–83, p.585 and fn.86.

<sup>539</sup> Civil, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.92.

<sup>540</sup> *CAD* H (1956), s.v. *ḥuppû*, p.240, “acrobat.”

<sup>541</sup> Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.585.

is certainly not a diachronic variant of  $\text{HUB}_2$ , since the two spellings are not characterized by a chronological distribution.<sup>542</sup> At present, no conving reading of the sing  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  with the meaning “acrobat” has been suggested.

Catagnoti recognized the function of the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  observing the close connections between them and other groups of performers (*nar*, *NE.DI*) in the documents:<sup>543</sup> particularly strong in this regard is the connection between the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  and the *NE.DI*, who are often mentioned together in the texts.<sup>544</sup> Similarly to the *nar*, two different categories of  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  are attested: the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  *maḥ* and the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  *tur*. The documents do not clarify how the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  were recruited: a few occurrences, however, shed light on the training methods of these professional figures. One instructor is mentioned in [75.1918 = *M* 10 29]:

[75.1918 = *M* 10 29] o.XIII:7-12: 6 *gin*<sub>2</sub>-*DILMUN* *ku*<sub>3</sub>:*bar*<sub>6</sub> / *nig*<sub>2</sub>-*sa*<sub>10</sub> *tug*<sub>2</sub>-*tug*<sub>2</sub> / *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* / *dub-zu-zu* /  $\text{HUB}_2.\text{HUB}_2$  / *šu-mu-ṛtag*<sub>4</sub>; «6 weighted shekels of silver, price (for) garments (for the) young apprentices (of) the instructor of acrobats, have been delivered.»

A cultic dancer from Nagar, 'Amurugu, instructed the young apprentices of the Palace:<sup>545</sup>

[75.1360 = *M* 2 39] o.VII:12-18: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug<sub>2</sub>-II</sup> 1 *aktum*<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> 1 *ib*<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / 'A<sub>3</sub>-*mu-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub> /  $\text{HUB}_2.KI$  / *Na-gar*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *dub-zu-zu* / *dumu-nita*  $\text{HUB}_2$  / *SA.ZA*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>; «1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for 'Amurugu, acrobat from Nagar, instructor of the apprentice acrobat(s) (of the) *SA.ZA*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>»

A unique link connects the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  to the kingdom of Nagar: from this center came the highly appreciated *kunga*<sub>2</sub> equids, mainly used to pull wagons.<sup>546</sup> The *kunga*<sub>2</sub> was “an onager-donkey cross, a type of ‘mule,’ which preceded the appearance of the horse in Mesopotamia and was both stronger and faster than the only other available transport equid, the donkey.”<sup>547</sup> Biga suggests that the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  performed in somersaults or acrobatics accompanied by these animals.<sup>548</sup> A partial (male?) human skeleton found at Nagar/Tell Brak in a building connected to the breeding and selling of *kunga*<sub>2</sub> (Area FS Level 5, room 20) has been identified with a  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$ : the bones belonged to someone “who was physically active, using jumping and turning movements in a very disciplined way with feet pointed downwards during leaps, much as can be seen in some modern dancers.”<sup>549</sup> The connection between the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  and the *kunga*<sub>2</sub> has been first hypothesized by Archi, who suggested that they were “specialists in the equestrian arts.”<sup>550</sup> the Nagar/Tell Brak skeletal remains, however, suggests that the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  were trained for demanding physical performances, more compatible with acrobatics, rather than horse-riding. The use of *kunga*<sub>2</sub> equids in the performances would also explain the difference between the professions of  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  and *NE.DI*. Note also that no female acrobats are attested.

Another piece of evidence on the performances of the  $\text{HUB}_2(.KI)$  can be found in [75.1274 = *A* I 13] (see Accounting models [03]):

[75.1274 = *A* I 13] o.VII:12-: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-*da-um*<sup>tug<sub>2</sub>-II</sup> 1 *aktum*<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> 1 *ib*<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / 1 *GU*<sub>2</sub>-*LI-LUM* *ku*<sub>3</sub>:*bar*<sub>6</sub>-*gi* *šu*<sub>2</sub>+*ša*-2 / *Ša-na-ḥa-an* /  $\text{HUB}_2$  / *Na-gar*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> / 5 *ib*<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *Dur*-*a*<sub>3</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>-*zu* / *Bar-i* / *Wa-da*-*a*<sub>3</sub> / *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*sum* / *Ba-du-lum* /  $\text{HUB}_2$  / *SA.ZA*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *in* / *GIŠ-nu-kiri*<sub>6</sub> / *in* *ud* / *nidba*<sub>2</sub> / *en*-*ki* / *šu-ba*<sub>4</sub>-*ti*; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, 1 bracelet of gold and silver

<sup>542</sup> Waetzoldt, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.414; on the sumerogram  $\text{HUB}_2$  see Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.582–84.

<sup>543</sup> Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.565.

<sup>544</sup> See the data collected in Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.584.

<sup>545</sup> Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.588.

<sup>546</sup> Oates et al., *Antiquity* 82 (2008), p.390.

<sup>547</sup> Oates et al., *Antiquity* 82 (2008), p.390.

<sup>548</sup> Biga, *JA* 299 (2011), p.482; Dolce, *Syria* 91 (2014), p.57.

<sup>549</sup> Oates et al., *Antiquity* 82 (2008), p.396.

<sup>550</sup> Archi, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), pp.11–12.

(of the value of) 22 (shekels), (for) Šanaḥan, acrobat from Nagar; 5 embroidered waistbands, (for) Dūr-ḥabbišu, Par'ī, Waḥda-ḥay, Būšum, Batūlum, acrobats of the SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, in the 'garden', on the occasion of the offerings for Ḥayya, have received.»

The god Ḥayya is often mentioned in connection with a garden (GIŠ-nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>):<sup>551</sup> while this link cannot be explained at the moment, a cultic celebration in an open space seems to be compatible with the kind of entertainment performed by the ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI).

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**lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di)** (18): «flute player»

**Previous translation(s):** «flautista»<sup>AXV</sup>; «flautist»<sup>AXX</sup>.

**Bibliography:** Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.179 fn.135; Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), p.105; Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.81

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** NE.DI

**Places:** U<sub>3</sub>-šī-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01] [goods] / PN / gi-di

[01a] [goods] / PN / gi-di / DU / GN

[01b] [goods] / gi-di / GN

[02] [goods] PN<sub>1,5</sub> / NE.DI / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> gi

[03a] [goods] PN / lu<sub>2</sub> gi

[03b] [goods] PN / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> gi

[03c] [goods] PN / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> gi / wa / dumu-nita dumu-nita / PN

[04] [goods] PN / lu<sub>2</sub> gi / in / gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

**Prosopography:** (gi-di) *Du-si*, *Ga-bar-gi-su*, *NI-a-su*; (lu<sub>2</sub> gi) *Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ra-ba*

**Discussion:** the term lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di) can be compared with the gloss *VE* 218 KA.GI.DI / *na-ba-bu<sub>3</sub>-um*, from the root \**nbb*, “produrre un suono; zuffolare”.<sup>552</sup> The occurrences of the term gi-di are not clear:<sup>553</sup> on the contrary, the term lu<sub>2</sub> gi seems to indicate the flute players. A flute player named *Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>* is mentioned with a group of five NE.DIS (Accounting model [02]): these dancers maybe performed at the sound of musical instruments, perhaps including the flute. See also sub → NE.DI.

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**(dam) nar(-mi<sub>2</sub>)** (101): «(female) musical performer (singer and musician)»

**Previous translation(s):** «cantore»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII</sup>; «cantor»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «cantore, musico»<sup>AIX, AXII</sup>; «singer,

<sup>551</sup> On the connection between the ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI) and the 'garden,' see also Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.565. On the offerings for En-ki/Ea/Ḥayya, esp. in connection with a garden, see Archi, in *Fs Foster* (2010), p.33. For a different interpretation of the DN <sup>d</sup>en-ki, see Pasquali, *NABU* 2009/24 (p.31: “<sup>d</sup>en<sup>(ki)</sup> [...] ‘l’endroit des rois défunts”)).

<sup>552</sup> See Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.99; Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), p.105. For *VE* 1437' gi-bu / ma-za-LUM see Fales, in *HSAO* 2, p.209, and Krebernik, *ZA* 72 (1982), p.234.

<sup>553</sup> Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.170 fn.135; Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.81 fn.65.

musician»<sup>4XX</sup>.

## Lexical

### Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.VIII:15	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?)
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27+	r.II:14	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?)
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 41+	r.III':12'	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?)
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.II:6	nar
[ε] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43+	o.III:4b	nar
[ζ] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.IX:2	nar
[η] Word List C	<i>MEE</i> 3, 47+	o.II:14	nar
[θ] Word List C	<i>MEE</i> 3, 47+	o.IV:10	nar

### Ebla bilingual

[ι] VE (875)	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XII:38
[κ] VE (875)	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 45+	r.IX:17
[λ] VE (875)	LUL (ka <sub>5</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.IV:35

### Šuruppak

[μ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> B	<i>SF</i> , 70	o.II:1	nar
[ν] Word List C	<i>SF</i> , 13	o.II:13	nar
[ξ] Word List C	<i>SF</i> , 13	o.III:20	nar

### Abu Salabih

[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54+	o.II:6	ˁnarˁ
[π] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 55+	o.II:3'	ˁnarˁ
[ρ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>OIP</i> 99, 60	o.II:8	nar
[σ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 73	o.II:23b	nar
[τ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 74	o.II:12b	ˁnarˁ
[ι] Word List C	<i>Iraq</i> 71, 25	o.II:15	ˁnarˁ

### Unknown provenance

[φ] Word List C	<i>CUSAS</i> 12, 6.4.1 X <sub>1</sub>	o.II:13	nar
[χ] Word List C	<i>CUSAS</i> 12, 6.4.1 X <sub>1</sub>	o.IV:10	nar

**Bibliography:** Archi, *MARI* 4 (1985); Archi et al., in *ARES I* (1988), pp.271–84; Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016), p.83; Mander, *JAOS* 108 (1988); Michalowski, in *ICONEA 2008* (2010); Steinkeller, in *Fs Hallo* (1993); Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988); Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Tonietti, *NABU* 1997/39 (1997); Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1997); Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), pp.73–83; Tonietti, *NABU* 2011/69 (2011)

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** balag-di, ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), NE.DI

**Places:** Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ša-bar-tum<sup>ki</sup>

### Accounting models:

[01] [goods] PN<sub>1-n</sub> / nar maḥ / PN<sub>1-n</sub> nar tur

[01b] PN<sub>1-2</sub> / dumu-nita / PN / nar-nar

[02] [wool] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> nar

[03] [goods] nar maḥ / [goods] / nar-ii-tur / GN

[04] [goods] / PN / nar



[05] [goods] / PN / nar / *si-in* / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

[06] [silver] / NP / lu<sub>2</sub> NP / nar / še-ḥa<sub>x</sub>-mul / iti MN

[07] [goods] N nar / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

**Prosopography:**<sup>554</sup> *A-bi*<sub>2</sub>, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *A*<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>-*da-mi-gu*<sub>2</sub>, <sup>!A</sup>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, <sup>!A</sup><sub>3</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, *Ba-du-lum*/*Ba-du-rum*<sub>2</sub>, *Ba*<sup>!!</sup>-*ša-ša*<sup>!!</sup>-*su*, *Ba*<sub>4</sub>-*ba*<sub>4</sub>, BAD/BE-E<sub>2</sub>, BAD-ḤI, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-iš-lu*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*di*<sup>!en</sup>-*ki*, *Da-ša-ša-su*, *Da-še*<sub>3</sub>, *Daš-še*<sub>3</sub>, *Du*-AN, *Du*<sup>!!</sup>-*ḥal*<sup>!!</sup>, *Dub-bi*<sub>2</sub>, EN-*da-za*, EN-*na*-BE, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, EN-*na*-*i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-*i*<sub>3</sub>-II, EN-*na*-*ni-il*, *Ga-li-gu*<sub>2</sub>, *Gu-wa-nu*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*a-gu*<sub>2</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-lu*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*lu-ga*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*na-lu*, *I-az-i*<sub>3</sub>, *I-ku*<sup>!a</sup>-*bu*<sub>3</sub>, *I-šar-ma-lik*, *I-šar-ma-lik*, *I-ti*<sup>!en</sup>-*ki*, *I-ti-lum*, *I*<sub>3</sub>-*lum-bal*, *Ib-du-lum*, *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *Ib-dur-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Il*<sub>2</sub>-*a-ma-lik*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az-za-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-*ze*<sub>2</sub>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ku*<sup>!a</sup>-*bu*<sub>16</sub>/*bu*<sub>3</sub>, *Ma-ga-du*, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ša-li* (*Ša-bar-tum*<sup>ki</sup> / *Ša-bir*<sub>5</sub>-*ti-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *Ša-ma-ḥu*, *Ša-za-iš*, *Sa-za-iš-lu*, *Ti-ga-num*<sub>2</sub>, *Ur-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, UR-NE, UR-*še*<sub>3</sub>, *Wa-ad-ra-im*, *Zi-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*. For the nar from *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, see Group 3).

### Groups:<sup>555</sup>

1) *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az-za-i*<sub>3</sub>, UR-*še*<sub>3</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-lu*, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, Du-AN, BAD-E<sub>2</sub>, *Da-ša-ša-su*, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, UR-NE, *Ba-du-lum*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-iš-lu*, <sup>!A</sup><sub>3</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub><sup>!!</sup>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>-II, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*R[a]-sa-[a]p*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ša-ma-ḥu*, *Dub-bi*<sub>2</sub> (nar maḥ) ([76.530 = A I 5] r.I:2-II:4)

2) *I-ti*<sup>!en</sup>-*ki*, *I-az-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Daš-še*<sub>3</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*l[i-lu]*, [...], *I-šar-ma-lik*, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, EN-*na*-*ni-il*, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ba-du-rum*<sub>2</sub>, *Ša-ma-ḥu* (nar maḥ); *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, *Ib-dur-i*<sub>3</sub>, <sup>!A</sup>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ib-du-lum*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub> (nar tur) ([75.2590 = A I 6] r.II:11-IV:1)

3) UR-*sa*<sub>2</sub>-[utu<sup>?</sup>], *Lu*<sub>2</sub>-*gi-na*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-li* // *A-si*, NU.GAL-*zi-ga*, UR-*na-zi-a*<sup>!</sup>, *Da-da*, NE-*na*, *Ma-za-lu*, *Lu-maš*, *U*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>!a?</sup>, *Mu-mu*, *U*<sub>3</sub>-*nu*-NE-NE, ŠUM-BE-*li*, *Ba-zi*, LU-KASKAL-DU, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*la*<sup>!lu</sup>, *Na-za*, NU-gal-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*zi*, UR-*na-na*, NI-*ri*<sub>2</sub>-NE-ud, *U*<sub>3</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-NE-NE, NU.GAL-*mu-da-kaš*<sub>2</sub>, *U*<sub>3</sub>-NE-NE, *Si-la-mu-ud*, *Ar-še*<sub>3</sub>-*a-ḥu*, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*a-ḥu* (blank case) nar tur *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>

4) EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, Du-AN, *Sa*<sup>!!</sup>-*za-iš-lu*, BAD-E<sub>2</sub>, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, EN-*na*-*ni-il*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ba-du-lum*, *Ša-ma-ḥu* (nar maḥ); *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, <sup>!A</sup>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, *I-ti-lum*, EN-*na*-BE, *Dub-bi*<sub>2</sub> [...] <nar tur> ([75.3521 = A III 457] o.IX':1'r.I:14)

5) *Daš-še*<sub>3</sub><sup>!!</sup>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az*<sup>!!</sup>-*i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ga-li-gu*<sub>2</sub>, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Du*<sup>!!</sup>-*ḥal*<sup>!!</sup>, *Sa-za-iš-lu*, (erasure), BE-E<sub>2</sub>, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ba-du-lum*, *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, EN-*na*-*ni-il*, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, EN-*na*-*i*<sub>3</sub>-II, *Ša-ma-ḥu*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-BE, *Dub-bi*<sub>2</sub> (nar maḥ) ([75.1446 = A IV 14] r.II:10-III:16)

6) *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Daš-še*<sub>3</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-lu*, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, Du-AN, BAD-E<sub>2</sub>, *Ba*<sup>!!</sup>-*ša-ša*<sup>!!</sup>-*su*, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, UR-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ba-du-lum*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-iš-lu*, <sup>!A</sup><sub>3</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>-II, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ša-ma-ḥu*, {*Du-bi*<sub>2</sub>} (nar sa.zaxki) ([76.527 = A VIII 527] o.XIV:21XV:21)

7) *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*az-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Daš-še*<sub>3</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-lu*, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, Du-AN, BAD-E<sub>2</sub>, *Ba*<sup>!!</sup>-*ša-ša*<sup>!!</sup>-*su*, BE-*su*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sub>10</sub>, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, UR-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ba-du-lum*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Ib-dur*<sup>d</sup>-*Da-gan*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*da-iš-lu*, <sup>!A</sup><sub>3</sub>-*bi*<sub>2</sub>, NI-*zi-ma-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Iš-la-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na-i*<sub>3</sub>-II, *Mi-na-i*<sub>3</sub>, EN-*na*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, *A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*, *Ša-ma-ḥu*, *Gu-wa-nu*, *Dub-bi*<sub>3</sub> (nar maḥ); *A-bi*<sub>2</sub>, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-*ze*<sub>2</sub>, *I-ti-lum*, *Ma-ga-du*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*di*<sup>!en</sup>-*ki*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *I*<sub>3</sub>-*lum-bal* (nar tur) ([76.532 = A VIII 531] r.IV:12-V:18)

<sup>554</sup> See also the prosopography published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list\\_of\\_pn/nar.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list_of_pn/nar.pdf)) (last visit 2019-26-07); see also Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.91–93 and Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.273–84.

<sup>555</sup> See also Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), 120–27.

8) [...] [*Ša-ma*]-*ḫu*, [*Ib-dur*]-<sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*, <sup>'</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Ni-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Mi-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap* (nar maḥ) ([75.5306 = *A* XII 868] o.II':1'-II':9')

9) [...] *A<sub>2</sub><sup>11</sup>-da-mi-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>en-ki*, *Ti-ga-num<sub>2</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-i<sub>3</sub>*, *EN-da-za*, *I-ku-<sup>'</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-še<sub>3</sub>*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-lu-ga*, *Zi-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig*, *Ša-za-iš*, *Wa-da-ra-im*, *Du-AN*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (nar-nar maḥ) *BAD-ḪI*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, [...], *Il<sub>2</sub>-a-ma-lik*, *Ba-du-rum<sub>2</sub>* (nar-nar gibil) ([75.3533 = *A* III 468] o.III:1-IV:3)

9) *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>en-ki*, *Ti-ga-num<sub>2</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ku-<sup>'</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-še<sub>3</sub>*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-AN*, *Ša-za-iš*, *Wa-ad-ra-im*, *BE-E<sub>2</sub>*, *I-šar-ma-lik*, *BE-su<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *En-na-ni-il*, *En-na-da-gan*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-na-lu*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*, *Ba-du-rum<sub>2</sub>* (nar-nar) ([75.1731+ = *A* XX 7] r.VI:3-VII:2)

**Discussion:** the sign LUL attested in the EBK unilingual lexical texts ([**α**]-[**γ**]) and in *VE* 875 ([**u**]-[**λ**]) should probably be read ka<sub>5</sub>, “fox:” the section from *VE* 870a to *VE* 878 lists, in fact, eight different types of animals.<sup>556</sup> Despite the absence of a Semitic spelling of the Sumerogram nar in the published texts, the contexts in which the term appears confirm the reading nar of the sign LUL. The figure of the nar has been studied in detail by Tonietti:<sup>557</sup> despite the high number of attestations and the available prosopographical data, doubts remain on the activities carried out by the music performers and above all on the recruitment and training methods of these professional figures. As Tonietti recognized, two different categories of nar are attested: the nar maḥ and the nar tur/gibil.<sup>558</sup> The nar maḥ were probably senior musicians, while the nar tur were younger apprentices (maybe characterized by a high-pitched voice).<sup>559</sup> When a younger musician enters the group of the nar maḥ, a new apprentice enters the group of the nar tur: the senior musicians gradually disappear from the lists, as is the case for one of the most important musicians of the court, <sup>'</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-mi-gu*. He is the only nar whose death is recorded:<sup>560</sup>

[75.2417] o.XI:4-5: <sup>'</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-mi-gu* nar E<sub>2</sub>×PAP<sup>561</sup>

Besides the technical distinction between nar maḥ and tur, the other main difference among the individuals belonging to this group is the geographical area of origin: the musicians are either local or Mariote people. Ca. thirty-five personal names of nar for Mari have been recognized: they are, however, never mentioned elsewhere in the administrative documents.<sup>562</sup> As Steinkeller observed, among the Mariote nar, nine individuals bear Sumerian names, but most importantly, only three are compatible with Eblaite onomastics.<sup>563</sup> Within the group of the musicians from Mari, between two and three nar were senior singers, while the rest were apprentices or younger singers (nar tur).<sup>564</sup> The Eblaite singers were ca. 30: a few other isolated occurrences confirm the occasional presence at Ebla of musicians from other cities/kingdoms. Ten were the musician active during Arrulum's vizierate: however, the only names recorded are those of *Ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>* and *Ba-ka-gu<sub>2</sub>-li-li*. As Tonietti demonstrated, the musicians moved over long distances (alone or with a group) and high mobility is a characteristic of this professional group: as a consequence, among the Eblaite nar, some individuals bear names not attested elsewhere and not characteristic of Eblaite

<sup>556</sup> See also the edition of the EBK-A (*M* 4 115) published in the *DCCLT*, where the section *VE* 870-878 (r.VIII:10-17) is titled “wild animals” (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus#P241972.858>) (last visit: 2019-27-07). See also Catagnoli, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.584–85, and Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), pp.73 fn.28.

<sup>557</sup> See esp. Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988); Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998); Tonietti, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), pp.73–83.

<sup>558</sup> Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), p.82.

<sup>559</sup> Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), p.109.

<sup>560</sup> Tonietti, *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.73–74. On <sup>'</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-mi-gu*, see Tonietti, *NABU* 2011/69 (2011).

<sup>561</sup> Quoted in Tonietti, *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.74.

<sup>562</sup> For a list of the nar from Mari see Tonietti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.88–89, Archi, *MARI* 4 (1985), and Steinkeller, in *Fs Hallo* (1993).

<sup>563</sup> Steinkeller, in *Fs Hallo* (1993), p.240; see also Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.89ff.

<sup>564</sup> See Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2, p.83.

onomastics and were probably of foreign origin.<sup>565</sup> Similarly, among the musicians from Mari, there were probably non-Mariote individuals, as evidenced by the study conducted by Tonietti on the frequency of Sumerian proper names at Mari during the Pre-Sargonic period. Tonietti also suggests the possibility that some nar adopted stage names.<sup>566</sup>

The occurrences of female musicians are extremely sporadic. Tonietti recognized the mention of twenty female singers in [75.4093 = A III 971] o.<sup>3</sup>III':4'; twenty more female nar from Šabartum are mentioned in [75.4264 = A XII 130]:<sup>567</sup>

[75.4264 = A XII 130] o.IV:1-3: 20 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> nar-mi<sub>2</sub> / Ša-bar-tum<sup>ki</sup>; «20 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI garments, (for) the young female singers from Šabartum.»

Interestingly enough, the musicians receive almost exclusively textiles: there are no attestations of objects delivered to this group and the textual patterns that characterize it are particularly repetitive (see Accounting models).

Although the mentions of musical instruments related to the nar are rare,<sup>568</sup> the performances of the nar did not consist only in singing: Sumerian nar (Akk. *nāru*) and nam-nar (Akk. *nārūtu*) suggest that during their performances the nar sang and played an instrument.<sup>569</sup> The translation of the term nar is thus particularly difficult, since “there is no word that can be glossed as ‘music’ in either the Sumerian or Akkadian language, and the one lexical item that comes close, nam-nar = *nārūtu*, refers to the practical knowledge of playing, singing, and performing.”<sup>570</sup>

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**(dam) NE.DI(-mi<sub>2</sub>) (262):** «(female) dancer»

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AI, AIII</sup>; un funzionario<sup>AIIV</sup>; [no transl.]<sup>AVIII</sup>; «danzatore»<sup>AXII, AXVI</sup>; «dancer»<sup>AXX</sup>.

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.VII:20	NE.DI
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 27+	r.VII:7	NE.DI

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (845)	NE.DI / ma <sup>3</sup> -a <sub>5</sub> -lu-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.XI:34-35
[δ] VE (845)	NE.DI / ma <sup>3</sup> -a <sub>3</sub> -lum	MEE 4, 47+	r.VIII:1-2
[ε] VE (845)	NE.DI / ma <sup>3</sup> -a <sub>3</sub> -lum	MEE 4, 65+	r.III:33

**Bibliography:** Archi, *VO* 8 (1992); Archi, *NABU* 2005/41 (2005); Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016), p.83; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.87; Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp.201–3, and fn.637 (with bibliography);

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam en, ga-du<sub>8</sub>, HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), lu<sub>2</sub> gi, MA-LIK-TUM, nar, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, ŠEŠ.II.IB

<sup>565</sup> See Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.88.

<sup>566</sup> See Tonietti, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.73–83.

<sup>567</sup> See also Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.273.

<sup>568</sup> See Tonietti, *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.80.

<sup>569</sup> See *CAD* N/1 (1980), s.vv. *nāru*, p.376ff., “musician,” *nārūtu*, p.382, “musician’s craft.” See also Goodnick Westenholz, in *Sumerian World* (2013), p.264–65: “[...] nar, the ‘musician-singer’ who combined both functions, namely that of playing a musical instrument and of singing.”

<sup>570</sup> Michalowski, in *ICONEA* 2008 (2010) p.118.

**Places:**<sup>571</sup> *A-ba-ti-im/mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-da-ti-ig*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ša/šu*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-te-na-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ab-ti-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-’a<sub>3</sub>-mu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-zu*<sup>ki</sup>, *’A<sub>3</sub>-gi-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-na-ad*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-na-NE*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du*<sup>ki</sup> (*lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*), *eden*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ga-na-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ga-ra-bi<sub>2</sub>-gu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-la-bal*<sup>ki</sup> / *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ha-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>, *igi*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra*<sup>ki</sup>, *Na-na-bu*<sup>ki</sup>, *NI-ab*<sup>ki</sup>, *NI-ra-ar*<sup>ki</sup>, *Su-a-gu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-na-zī*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ša-nu-gu*<sup>ki</sup>, *U<sub>3</sub>-nu-bu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Zi-gi-zu*<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods] / NE.DI / GN

[01b] [goods] / PN / (*lu<sub>2</sub> PN /*) NE.DI // PN / NE.DI / *lu<sub>2</sub> PN*

[01c] [goods] / PN / *wa* / *dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>* / NE.DI / GN

[01d] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / NE.DI / PN / *lu<sub>2</sub> gi*

[01e] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / NE.DI *tur*

[01f] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / NE.DI / GN

[01g] [goods] / PN<sub>1-n</sub> / NE.DI / *maškim* / PN

[01h] [goods] / PN / NE.DI / GN / *in* / GN / *šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*

[02a] [wool] / N *dumu-nita* / N *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI

[02b] [goods] / N *dumu-nita* / NE.DI / GN

[02c] [goods] / *dumu-nita dumu-nita* / PN / NE.DI

[02d] [goods] / PN / *dumu-nita* / PN / NE.DI / *šu-du<sub>8</sub>* / *in* GN

[02e] [goods] / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI / *libir-ra<sub>2</sub>*

[02f] [goods] / PN / 1 *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI *gibil*

[02f1] [wool] / N *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* NE.DI / GN

[wool] / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI / *al<sub>6</sub>-tuš* / GN

[02g] [goods] / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI / *šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>* / *MA-LIK-TUM*

[02h] [goods] / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* *tur* / NE.DI / PN / *in* / *gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* / *šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*

[02h1] [goods] / PN / NE.DI / GN / *in* / *gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* / *šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*

[02h2] [goods] / PN / *wa* / N *dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>* / PN / N *dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>* / GN / *in* / *gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* / *šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*

[03a] [goods] / NE.DI / PN

[03b] [goods] / NE.DI / *lu<sub>2</sub> PN* / GN

[04a] [goods] / *dam* / NE.DI

[04b] [goods] / *dam* / NE.DI / GN

[04c] [goods] / *dam* / PN / NE.DI / PN

[05] [goods and wool] PN / *wa* / N NE.DI / *lu<sub>2</sub> PN* / *lu<sub>2</sub> PN* / *lu<sub>2</sub> PN* / *si-in* / *ki-ša<sub>3</sub>-tar*

[06] [goods] PN / NE.DI / GN / *in* *ud* / *RU.ŠE* / *en*

**Prosopography:**<sup>572</sup> (marked with a \* are the female dancers also qualified as *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*) *A-ba-la<sub>2</sub>*,

<sup>571</sup> For the GNs connected with the NE.DI, see also Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.155ff., and Archi, *VO* 8 (1992).

<sup>572</sup> See also the prosopography published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list\\_of\\_pn/ne-di.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list_of_pn/ne-di.pdf)) (last visit 2019-26-07). See also Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.195–97, and Archi, *VO* 8

*A-ba-u<sub>3</sub>, Du-ub<sup>ki</sup>, A-ba<sub>4</sub>/bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, A-da-gi-na Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>, A-du-mu, A-lu-ḥa-gu, A-nu-ul Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, A-šur<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik, A-TAG<sub>4</sub>-ni<sup>ki</sup>, A-zi-gi-ru<sub>12</sub>, A-zi-kir\*, A-zi-za\*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ga-ša-du\*, 'A<sub>3</sub>-ti-da, Ab-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu, AN-NE\*, Ar-si, Ba-a-ḥu Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ba-zi-da\*, Ba-u<sub>9</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> A-da-aš<sup>ki</sup>, Bi<sub>2</sub>-na Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-ma, Da-du-i<sub>3</sub>\*, Da-gi-iš-KA<sub>2</sub>\*, Da-li-tum, Da-mi-gi-i<sub>3</sub> Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Da-na, Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-šum Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Da-te<sup>du</sup>tu\*, Da-u<sub>3</sub>-ud Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Dab<sub>6</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-da\*, De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu / De<sub>3</sub>:i<sub>3</sub>-ne-ki-mu / I-de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu, Dī-li-ma Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab Du-si-du<sup>ki</sup>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Du-bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Du-dum, E-nu-ut, En-na-a-gu<sub>2</sub> Ir-i-ne-du<sup>ki</sup>, En-na-a-ḥu, En-na-be, En-na-<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>, En-na-<sup>du</sup>tu\* Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, En-na-ma-lik, En-na-ma-lik-II, En-nu-AN-ga Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, En-nu-ut Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Gal-tum\*, Gu<sub>2</sub>-nu, Ḥa-ba-ra-ar, Ḥu-mi-zu<sub>2</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, I-bi<sub>3</sub>-šum, I-da-il, I-ma-ru<sub>12</sub> A-da-aš<sup>ki</sup>, I-nu-ub-il, I-šar A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>, I-šar Ir-i-NE-du<sup>ki</sup>, I-šar Su-ti-ig<sup>ki</sup>, I-šar-tum\*, I-TAG<sub>4</sub>-NI, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> dumu-nita A-ḥa-zu<sub>2</sub>-il, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> En-bu<sub>3</sub>-il, I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar, I<sub>3</sub>-bu-ul-i<sub>3</sub>, I<sub>3</sub>-lum Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>, Ib-dur-ma-lik Ir-i-NE-du<sup>ki</sup>, Ib-dur-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub>, Ga-ga, Ib-gi, Ib-ḥur-ur<sub>2</sub>, Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik, Il<sub>2</sub>-da-ma-ḥu, In-gar<sub>3</sub> Ḥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>, In-ma-lik, In-na-a-ḥu, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-a-lik, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Iš-bi<sub>2</sub>-da/du, Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>, Iš-la-da-du, Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>, Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu (lu<sub>2</sub> Mu-gar<sub>3</sub>), Iš-ra-i<sub>3</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-NE-da, Kum-ze<sub>2</sub>, Ma-a-da-mu, Ma-da-si-in\*, Ma-gal Mi-tum<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ma-sa-gi-iš-ba-um\*, Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>, Mu-du-gi Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Mu-lu, Na-in-du Ab-ti-mu<sup>ki</sup>, Nab-ḥa-il lu<sub>2</sub> Ḥu-nu Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-na-du<sup>ki</sup>, NE-gi-sa-ti, NE-NI-ḤAR / I-NE-NI-ḤAR, NE-zi-ma-ni, NI-be-si-lu, NI-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>/il, NI-la, I<sub>3</sub>-lum Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ni-sa-nu Du-si-du<sup>ki</sup>, NI-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik dumu-nita Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Ra-ba, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>, Ra-i<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-a-aḥ Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-a-aḥ-II Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu-mu A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>, Sa-ḥu Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ša-wa-ra, Sa<sub>2</sub>-ma, Sal-li\*, Sal-li-II, Si-ḥa-am Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Si-ma-da Sa-na-šū<sup>ki</sup>, Su-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, Šu-ma-lik, Šu-ma-lik Ir-i-NE-du<sup>ki</sup>, Šu-še<sub>3</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Šur<sub>x</sub>-zi, Ti-bu<sub>3</sub>-mu-ud A-te-na-ad<sup>ki</sup>, Ti-keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik U<sub>3</sub>-du-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ti-ru<sub>12</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>-na-mi-NE\*, U<sub>3/9</sub>-bu<sub>3/14/16</sub>, U<sub>9</sub>-na-na Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Ul-lu, Za-ga-du, Za-lu-li Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Za-wa-lum, Zar<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub> Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Zi-kir-ra(-a)-ba<sub>4</sub>, Zi-mi-na-aḥ, Zu-bu<sub>3</sub>-ne Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 'x'-ga-su-ma*

### Groups:

- 1) *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub>, NI-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>, En-na-ma-lik, NI-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik* ([76.530 = A I 5] o.XIII:15-XIV:2)
- 2) *Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik, Iš-la-da-du, In-na-a-ḥu, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, De<sub>3</sub>:i<sub>3</sub>-ne-ki-mu, In-ma-lik* ([76.530 = A I 5] o.XIV:17-XV:7)
- 3) *I-de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, In-ma-lik, En-na-a-ḥu* (NE.DI tur) ([75.1591 = A I 8] r.VIII:6-12)
- 4) [...] *Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik, Ib-ḥur-ur<sub>2</sub>, Ra-ba, En-na-ma-lik* ([75.3154+ = A III 134] r.? III:1'-5')
- 5) *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, En-na-ma-lik, Zi-mi-na-a-ḥu, En-na-be, Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>, En-na-ma-lik-ii, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> (??) U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>, NI-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, I-NE-NI-ḤAR, En-na-ma-lik, Zi-kir-ra-a-ba<sub>4</sub>* ([75.3392+ = A III 345] r. I:4''-II:12)
- 6) *U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>, NI-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, NE-NI-ḤAR, En-na-ma-lik, Zi-kir-ra-a-ba<sub>4</sub>, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Šu-ma-lik* ([75.3522 = A III 458] r.IV:8-V:1)
- 7) *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Ib-gi, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-a-lik, I-bi<sub>3</sub>-šum, Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* (NE.DI dumu-nita *Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*) ([75.1273 = A IV 5] o.XI:5-13)
- 8) *Ba-a-ḥu, I<sub>3</sub>-lum, Ḥu-mi-zu<sub>2</sub>, Šu-še<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>9</sub>-na-na* (NE.DI *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*) ([75.1275 = A IV 6] r.III:9-19)
- 9) *NI-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>, NE-NI-ḤAR, En-na-ma-lik, En-na-ma-lik-II, Zi-mi-na-a-ḥu, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, En-na-be, Šu-ma-lik, Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>, Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>, Ša-wa-ra, NE-gi-sa-ti, Iš-la-da-du, Du-bi<sub>3</sub>-zi-kir, De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, In-ma-lik, Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>, Ra-ba, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Il<sub>2</sub>-da-ma-ḥu, NI-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, Zi-kir-ra-a-ba<sub>4</sub>, I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, A-TAG<sub>4</sub>-NI<sup>ki</sup>* ([75.1275 = A IV 6] o.VIII:2-IX:11)
- 10) *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik, U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>, NE-zi-ma-ni* ([75.1435 = A IV 13] r.XII:12-17)

11) *A-da-gi-na*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-a-aḥ*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-a-aḥ-II*, *En-na-dRa-sa-ap* (NE.DI *Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>*) ([76.525 = A VIII 525] o.II:4-10)

12) *I-šar-tum*, *A-zi-kir*, *'A<sub>3</sub>-ga-ša-du*, *A-zi-za*, *Gal-tum*, *Sal-li*, *Ba-zi-da*, *U<sub>3</sub>-na-mi-NE*, AN-NE, *Dab<sub>6</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-da*, *Da-gi-iš-KA<sub>2</sub>*, *Da-du-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Sal-li-II*, *Da-te-dutu*, *Ma-sa-gi-iš-ba-um*, *Sa<sub>2</sub>-ma*, *'x'-ga-su-ma* ([76.542 = A VIII 542] r.II:17-III:8)

13) [...] *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*, *'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša*, *Ni-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-il*, *'A<sub>3</sub>-ti-da* ([75.3465 = A XX 5] r.XII:1-9)

14) NE-NI-ḤAR, *Ni-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-ma-lik*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik*, *U<sub>9</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *Zi-mi-na-aḥ*, *I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Ab-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu*, *Iš-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Za-wa-lum* ([75.1731+ = A XX 7] r.V:8-VI:1)

15) *E-nu-ut*, *Da-li-tum*, *Ni-la*, *A-lu-ḥa-gu* (NE.DI dam-dam *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*) ([75.2327+4203 = A XX 24] r.III:10-17)

16) *Za-lu-li*, *Mu-du-gi*, *Zu-bu<sub>3</sub>-ne*, *A-nu-ul*, *Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *Da-mi-gi-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Si-ḥa-am*, *En-na-dutu*, *Zar<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>*, *En-nu-ut*, *Sa-ḥu*, *Bi<sub>2</sub>-na*, *Du-bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik*, *Di-li-ma*, *Da-u<sub>3</sub>-ud*, *En-nu-AN-ga* (NE.DI *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sup>ki</sup>*) ([75.2334 = A XX 25] o.IX:4-X:8)

17) [*Iš-la-da*]-*du*, [*Du*]-*bi<sub>2</sub>-[z]i-kir*, *I-TAG<sub>4</sub>-NI*, *I-de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *In-ma-lik*, *In-na-a-ḥu* (NE.DI tur) ([75.5306 = A XII 868] o.I':1'-8')

**Discussion:** the gloss *ma-'a<sub>3</sub>-lum* of *VE* 845 ([γ]-[ε]) has been interpreted as /maḥḥālum/, “dancer,” from a root similar to \**ḥly*, “to sing, celebrate with songs,” attested in Ge'ez :<sup>573</sup> the gloss of *VE* 846 KI.NE.DI (ešemen<sub>x</sub>?) // *ba-še<sub>3</sub> ma-'a<sub>5</sub>-li-im* / *bu<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> ma-'a<sub>5</sub>-lum*, “la proprietà, il corredo del danzatore,” further clarifies its meaning.<sup>574</sup> The NE.DIS have been studied in detail by Catagnoti who was the first to recognize their status as cultic performers.<sup>575</sup> Two different group of dancers can be identified: the female dancers, who are often mentioned in the documents after the ladies of the court, and the male dancers. The NE.DI, like the nar, were divided in two groups based on their experience or age: the apprentices were called NE.DI tur/gibil; there is however no mention of a group of NE.DI maḥ.

The female dancers could also be valets of the queen. Particularly significant is the close relationship between the female dancers and the wet-nurses. Catagnoti already noticed that some female dancers were qualified as *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*:<sup>576</sup> the wet-nurses are often mentioned among the ladies of the court, with and without the function name *ga-du<sub>8</sub>* (see sub → *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*). Note, however, that the scribes of the Archives did not distinguish between wet- and dry-nurses, as did the scribes of the Mari archive.<sup>577</sup> Biga suggests that former wet-nurses could become dancers.<sup>578</sup>

The documents do not clarify how the dancers were recruited: one female instructor is mentioned in [75.2273 = A XX 16]:

[75.2273 = A XX 16] r.V:5-17: 1 *tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI* / *dam* / *dub-zu-zu* / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* / NE.DI / 4 *aktum<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup>* / 4 *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> maḥ* / 6 *SAL<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup>* / 6 *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> dumu<-mi<sub>2</sub>>* NE.DI / *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* / *lu<sub>2</sub> I-da-ni-ki-mu* / *šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*; «1 *tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI* garment (for) the female instructor of the female apprentice dancers; 4 tunics (for) 4 elder apprentices; 6 *SAL<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup>* garments for the female dancer, Ḥinna-il has received»

Among the male dancers were also dwarfs (BA.ZA) and flute players (see → *lu<sub>2</sub> gi*; accounting models [01d]). Two individuals, *Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>* and *Ra-ba*, are mentioned as *lu<sub>2</sub> gi* and as NE.DI: the flute player was thus probably a NE.DI himself. Both probably played an instrument similar to a flute,

<sup>573</sup> CDG (1987), s.v. *ḥalaya*, p.231.

<sup>574</sup> Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.181ff.; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp.201–3; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.87. For *bu-še<sub>2</sub>*, “property,” see Archi, *NABU* 1988/80 (1988).

<sup>575</sup> Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989).

<sup>576</sup> Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.151–52.

<sup>577</sup> Ziegler, *FM* 4 (1999), pp.108–9.

<sup>578</sup> Biga, *VO* 12 (2000), p.80, and fn.38.

decorated with precious metal:

[75.2428 = M 12 35] o.XXVIII:8-14: 1 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN an-na / šub *si-in* / 6 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> / *wa-za-ri-iš* / 1 gi-di / NE.DI / en; «1 weighted shekel of tin<sup>?</sup>, to be blended with 6 weighted shekels of copper<sup>?</sup>, for the decoration (of) one flute (for the) dancer of the king.»<sup>579</sup>

The dancers participated to many cultic events: among these was the “(cultic) banquet” of the king (*mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*).<sup>580</sup> The NE.DI were, however, involved in a particular ritual which took place at dawn or during the night (*in gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>*):<sup>581</sup> the term is mentioned in sixteen texts, dated to different months.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>579</sup> On *wa-za-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš* see Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), p.89–90

<sup>580</sup> Archi, *NABU* 2005/41 (2005).

<sup>581</sup> For the meaning of *gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* (817), see Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.196. The glosses of the bilingual lexical texts are: *ba-na me-si-im*, /bayna(y) mīšim/, “in the middle of the night;” *u<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> mu-si-im*, /'urru mūšim/ (“morning light”) or *si-gi-lu-um* / *si-gi-lum* (*šiqrum*, “dawn”).

<sup>582</sup> [75.2525 = A I 1] r.IX:20-21 (iti *za-lul*); [75.1591 = A I 8] r.I:14-15 (iti *za-lul*); [75.1300 = A I 10] o.X:9-10 (iti *ḥa-li*); [75.1264 = A I 15] o.II:11-12 (iti *ig-za*); [75.3383 = A III 336] o.VII':2'3'; [75.1275 = A IV 6] o.X:17-18 (iti *za-'a<sub>3</sub>-tum*); [75.1276 = A IV 7] o.VI:7-8 (iti *ig-za*); [75.1285 = A IV 8] o.I:9-10 (iti *gi-ni*); [75.1286 = A IV 9] o.VII:14-15 (iti MA<sub>2</sub>×GANA<sub>2</sub>*tenū*-GUDU<sub>4</sub>); [75.1525 = A IV 18] o.VI:14-15, o.VII:4-5 (iti *gi-ni*); [75.1886 = A IV 23] o.VIII:10-11; [75.1040 = A IV 25] o.IV:7-8 (iti *ḥa-li*); [75.4287 = A XII 146] o.V':4-5; [75.1770 = A XX 6] o.IX:14-15; [75.2460 = A XX 10] o.VII:11-12 (iti *i-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>*); [75.1899 = A XX 11] o.IV:8-9 (iti '*a<sub>3</sub>-nun*).

## 4.5. Producers

**a-am** (25), **a-am-am** (6), **a-am-a-am** (3): maybe a category of personnel in charge of carrying water («water bearers»).

**Previous translation(s)**: [no transl.]<sup>4III</sup>; (una categoria di funzionari)<sup>4IX</sup>; (una categoria di funzionari) (LL 606 senza glossa)<sup>4XII</sup>; (a class of male and female people of the Palace);<sup>4XX</sup> «funzionari-a.»<sup>M2</sup>; «una professione»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.I:31	a-am
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.III:4	a-am
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 25	r.IV:4'	a-am
[δ] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.I:32	a-am-am
[ε] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.III:5	a-am-am
[ζ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 25	r.IV:5'	a-am-am

Ebla bilingual

[η] VE (605)	a-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	o.III:2
[θ] VE (605)	a-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	o.XVI:31
[ι] VE (605)	a-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 2	r.III:22
[κ] VE (606)	a-am-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	o.III:3
[λ] VE (606)	a-am-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	o.XVI:32
[μ] VE (606)	a-am-am / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 2	r.III:23

**Bibliography**: Arcari, in *HSAO* 2 1988, p.25ff.; Biga, in *Wool Economy* (2014), p.146; Butz, in *Ebla 1975-1985* (1987), p.343, and fn.131; Milano, *SEL* 12 (1995), pp.125–26, and fn.29; Pettinato, *RSO* 50 (1976), p.12; Pettinato, *MEE* 2 (1980), p.152; *PSD* A/3, s.v. am-ma-am A.

**Contextual association(s)**:

**Social position(s)/role(s)**: ib-ib, ir<sub>11</sub>, u<sub>2</sub>-a, geme<sub>2</sub>

**Places**: e<sub>2</sub> en, e<sub>2</sub> maḥ

**Accounting models**:

[01] N še *bar* ib-ib / N ib / N še *bar* / N a-am / N še *bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

[02] N ib / lu<sub>2</sub> 2 šu PN / N ib / lu<sub>2</sub> 2 šu PN / N ib / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-am / 3 ib / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> nagar

[03] N < še *bar*> N dam en / N še [ba]r / N a-a[m] / N še *bar* / N ib / N še *bar* / N / N / dam / ku<sub>2</sub> / *ba-ri*<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>

[04] N še *bar* / N dam / N še *bar* / N a-am / N še *bar* / N ib / N še *bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

[05] N [še] *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* / N dam / N a-am / N ib / N še *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

See also: Table 18, p.240, Table 19, p.240, Table 20, p.240.

**Discussion**: scholars agree that this term indicates a function, but its interpretation remains problematic. The term is attested both as a-am, and with two types of reduplication (a-am-a-am



and a-am-am), but it is always rendered with the sign A followed by GUD×KUR.<sup>583</sup> The *VE* presents two entries related to this function name (*VE* 605 [η-υ] and *VE* 606 [κ-μ]): according to Bonechi, the a-am were “bearers of water,”<sup>584</sup> and “a-am indicated the personnel who used the container for water a-am-am.”<sup>585</sup> This would explain why two kinds of reduplications are attested: a-am-a-am can be considered the plural form of a-am, while a-am-am would indicate an object (a type of vessel) related to the function name, and not an unusual form of the plural. Bonechi’s interpretation raises two issues: first, a-am-am as a vessel (specifically a type of jar for beer),<sup>586</sup> is not attested before Ur III. Furthermore, if a-am-am is to be considered as an object, and not as a function name, one would expect it to appear in different contexts with respect to the function name (a-am) and its plural (a-am-a-am). The form a-am-am appears only in five texts, four of which are administrative:

[75.1323 = A I 14] r.V:15-17: 20 gu-mug<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / a-am-am; «20 gu-mug<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup>, (for the) young female water bearers».

[75.4991 = A XII 634] r.?<sup>II</sup>:1’-3’: [N+]3 KIN siki / 10 dam / ‘a’<sup>?</sup>-am-am; «N measures of wool (for) 10 female water bearers».

[75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] r.VIII:8: 10 la<sub>2</sub>-1 KIN siki gi<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub> / a-am-am / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti; «9 measures of black and white wool (for) 10 the water bearers have been delivered».

[75.2443 = A XX 15] r. IX:3: 20 KIN siki / 20 a-am-am; «20 measures of wool (for) 20 water bearers».

In [75.1323 = A I 14] and [75.4991 = A XII 634] a-am-am refers to two groups of women, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> and dam. The term a-am-am also appears in a chancery document, [75.2268 = A XIII 15], a “tablet of the problems concerning Mari.”<sup>587</sup>

[75.2268 = A XIII 15] obv.IV:3-18: wa / ‘mu’-ti / gu<sub>2</sub>-zi gu<sub>2</sub>-zi / i<sub>3</sub>-giš / si-in / zag-10 / KIBgunû. NUN.A / wa / a-am-am / a / za<sub>x</sub>-ga-u<sub>3</sub> / wa / GIŠGAL(URU×MIN) / 1 lu<sub>2</sub> / en-nun-ak / i<sub>3</sub>-giš; «and were received the oil vessels for the tithe of (god) Buranuna (= the deified Euphrates),<sup>588</sup> and the a-am-am container for water for the sanctuary, and the GIŠGAL (for the) man (who is the) oil supervisor».<sup>589</sup>

The editor interpreted a-am-am as a function name (“gli NF dell’acqua”): it seems more plausible that gu<sub>2</sub>-zi gu<sub>2</sub>-zi, a-am-am, and GIŠGAL(URU×MIN) indicate three objects needed to perform some kind of ritual.<sup>590</sup> This chancery document is, however, characterized by the presence of sumerograms and syllabic values not attested elsewhere in the Ebla Corpus, which probably hints to a Mariote provenance.<sup>591</sup> The presence of two separated entries in the *VE*, though not glossed, suggests that the two words had slightly different meanings and needed to be kept distinct: it is noteworthy

<sup>583</sup> Butz suggests the reading ildag<sub>2</sub> (“water tube” *VE* 605) and ildag<sub>2</sub>ildag<sub>2</sub> (“water tube system,” *VE* 606). Butz, in *Ebla 1975-1985* (1987), p.343, and fn.131

<sup>584</sup> Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2015), p.11; see also the edition of the EBK = *MEE* 4, 115 (Acrographic List A) given in the *DCCLT*.

<sup>585</sup> Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2015), p.19; see also the edition of the EBK = *MEE* 4, 115 (Acrographic List A) given in the *DCCLT*.

<sup>586</sup> *PSD* A/3:184, s.v. am-ma-am A.

<sup>587</sup> [75.2268 = A XIII 15] obv.I:1-3: dub / u<sub>3</sub>-šu-ri<sub>2</sub> / Ma-’ri<sub>2</sub>’<sup>[ki]</sup>.

<sup>588</sup> See Woods, *ZA* 95 (2005), and Woods, *NABU* 2005/67 (2005).

<sup>589</sup> For this passage, see also Catagnoti, *AsiAna* 1 (2019), p.24.

<sup>590</sup> On gu<sub>2</sub>-zi, see Civil, *ARES* IV (2008), p.137, “a cup.” In the Ebla Sign List B [75.1907+75.12680 = Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), pp.93–99] obv.II:15-14, URU×MIN is read giš-’gal’-[lum]. See *CAD* G (1956), s.v. gišgallu, “seat, pedestal”, even though attested only in Standard Babylonian. For a different interpretation of GIŠGAL, see Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979), p.9 (“dimora”), and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.174.

<sup>591</sup> See Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.172.

that the a-am personnel is attested almost exclusively in the texts from the Small Archive L.2712, where the form a-am-am never occurs.

In [75.336 = *RSO* 50] obv. II:1-IV:6 are listed twenty ugula, divided in two lists of ten people each: these men were in charge of the ir<sub>11</sub> working at the e<sub>2</sub> en and at the e<sub>2</sub> maḥ. These men are called ugula and NA-SE<sub>11</sub> a-am, so we are probably dealing with a roster of a-am-am functionaries. According to [75.229 = *A IX* 13] (see Table 19, p.240) 21 a-am are the recipients of 10 ½ (gu<sub>2</sub>-)bar of barley: this means that each a-am functionary received ½ (gu<sub>2</sub>-)bar. [75.336 = *RSO* 50] respects this ratio, although 20, and not 21, a-am are mentioned. The first group of 10 a-am works in the e<sub>2</sub> en, along with 60 ir<sub>11</sub>, while the second works in the e<sub>2</sub> maḥ along with 55 ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>. This subdivision of the a-am personnel does not coincide precisely with the situation depicted in the texts of the Small Archive: in these texts all the 21 a-am seem to work in the e<sub>2</sub> en, and no distinction is made between the e<sub>2</sub> en and the e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ. It is plausible that the e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ was a part of the e<sub>2</sub> en, and that there were no reason for the scribes of the Small Archive to make a distinction between the a-am of the e<sub>2</sub> maḥ and those of the e<sub>2</sub> en: we are probably dealing with the a-am working at the house of the king which, according to was constituted of the main building and of its “upper apartments” (e<sub>2</sub> maḥ).<sup>592</sup> As it is stated in the text itself, the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> do not receive rations (v.VII:5-6: nu šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / lu<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>). That the a-am are those defined as NA-SE<sub>11</sub> seems clear from the structure of the text.

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*a-bi<sub>2</sub>-(a)-tum* (2): «female baker»

**Previous translation(s):** «fornaia/e»<sup>AIX</sup>; «fornaia/e»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	o.II:10	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 29	o.I:37	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 36	o.I:1'	[ninda]-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[δ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 39	o.II:7'	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[ε] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43+	o.V:3b	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (44)	[ninda]-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 12	o.III:19
[ε] VE (44)	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	o.II:8
[θ] Bilingual exercise	ninda-du <sub>8</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> / <i>a-ba-um</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 97	o <sup>2</sup> .II:5'

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.89; Fronzaroli, *SEL* 12 (1995), p.60; Krebernik, in *LLLE* (1992), p.133; Milano, *ARETIX* (1990), p.399; Sanmartín, *AuOr* 9 (1991), p.175; Sjöberg, in *Fs Kienast* (2003), p.530; *TIE* A/1, p.5

### Accounting models:

[01] N dam / *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-(a)-tum* / lu<sub>2</sub> ninda

**Discussion:** the term is attested only twice in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712,<sup>593</sup> and is probably connected to the gloss of VE 44 ([θ]) which suggests a meaning connected to the root \*'py, Akk. *epû*, “to bake.”<sup>594</sup> the gloss has been interpreted as an infinitive ('*apāyum*, “to bake”) and as a substantive ('*appāyum*, “baker”). The term *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-(a)-tum* attested in the administrative documents can thus be interpreted as '*apyātum*, “female baker.” One occurrence of this term has

<sup>592</sup> Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016).

<sup>593</sup> [75.537 = *A IX* 44] r.VI:15; [75.557 = *A IX* 57] o.IV:6.

<sup>594</sup> Milano, *ARETIX* (1990), s.v. *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-tum*, p.399; *TIE* A/1 (1995), p.5. See also *CAD* E (1958), s.v. *epû*, p.247, “to bake.”

been interpreted as a PN:

[75.3313 = A III 271] o.III':1': [...] *a-NE-tum* / 2 en / *Ma-nu-wa-at*<sup>ki</sup> / in *NE-a-u*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> / *šu-ba*<sub>4</sub>-ti.

As Bonechi noted,<sup>595</sup> the kings of Manuwat were *Ḫinna-damu* and *Yibbi'-dūrum*: this term can thus be interpreted as a substantive, although a connection with the root \*'py seems improbable. In addition, this would be the only attestation of the term in the documents of the Great Archive. In the documents of the Small Archive L.2712 these women are qualified as *dam* ("adult women") and *lu*<sub>2</sub> *ninda* ("those/the one of the bread").

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***a-si-ra-tum*** (7): «waitress (or the like)»

**Previous translation(s):** «donna di corte»<sup>AIII</sup>; «una categoria di donne ("inservienti?")»<sup>AIX</sup>; «(female) attendant»<sup>AXX</sup>; «prigioniera»<sup>TIE</sup>

See also → 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, → *dam*, → (dam-)<sub>GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI)</sub>

**Bibliography:** Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.217; Fronzaroli, *SEL* 12 (1995), p.61; Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), p.379; Sanmartín, *AuOr* 9 (1991), p.179; *TIE* A/1, p.41

**Accounting models:**

[01] [wool] N *a-si-ra-tum*(-i)

[02a] [barley] / *šu-ba*<sub>4</sub>-ti / *dam* / *a-si-ra-tum* (51 gubar)

[02b] [barley] / N *dam* / *a-si-ra-tum* (19)

[03] N *dam* / *a-si-ra-tum* / N *nig*<sub>2</sub>-sagšu / *šu-ba*<sub>4</sub>-ti / N *še-bar* / *šu-ba*<sub>4</sub>-ti

**Discussion:** Fronzaroli interpreted *a-si-ra-tum* as 'āširātum, as a fem. part. from \*'šr, "to pour drinks":<sup>596</sup> the authors of the *TIE* suggest an interpretation closer to Akk. *asīru*, "prisoner," ruled out by Fronzaroli.<sup>597</sup> Stol partially accepts a meaning related to the root \*'sr,<sup>598</sup> and suggests a meaning related to Akk. *esirtu*, "concubine."<sup>599</sup> the term *esirtu*, however, is not attested before the Middle Assyrian period. The *a-si-ra-tum* receive rations as other women of the female personnel and do not seem to be secluded. The number of *a-si-ra-tum* involved changes from text to text: fifty-one, sixty-seven, ninety-two, up to one hundred and five. In the texts of the Great Archive, these women always receive quantities of wool. Nineteen *a-si-ra-tum* belonged to the group of the *dam Bu*<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup> ([75.537 = A IX 44] r.VI:8-10): they are preceded in the accounting by the *dam lu*<sub>2</sub> *i*<sub>3</sub>-giš ("in charge of the oil") and the *dam lu*<sub>2</sub> *ḫa-ri*<sub>2</sub> ("in charge of the *ḫamru* beverage"); the interpretation "waitress," based on the root \*'šr, seems thus plausible (see also the discussion sub → *dam*).

It has been suggested that also the term → 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> might be related to the root is \*'sr: it must be stressed, however, that the personnel working in the 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> was involved in the wool manufacture process. The term <sub>GA<sub>2</sub>×GI</sub>, which qualifies women probably involved in the same activity, might not be related to the same root (see sub → 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> and (dam-)<sub>GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI)</sub>).

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***a-ur***<sub>4/x</sub> (8): «water collector»

<sup>595</sup> Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), p.35 fn.32.

<sup>596</sup> Fronzaroli, *SEL* 12 (1995), p.61; see also *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'šr, p.185, 1) "to invite", 2) "to give a banquet".

<sup>597</sup> *TIE* A/1 (1990), p.41; see also *CADA*/2 (1968), s.v. *asīru* A, p.331, "prisoner of war, captive foreigner used as worker."

<sup>598</sup> See *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'sr, p.110, "to tie, yoke, hook up" and "to bind, make prisoner."

<sup>599</sup> Stol, *Women* (2016), p.198; see also *CAD* E (1958), s.v. *esirtu*, p.336.

**Previous translation(s):** (NF)<sup>AMM</sup>; «una professione dell'ambito agricolo e commerciale»<sup>TIE</sup>

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VI':13'	ur <sub>4</sub> ?
[β] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.IX:17	ur <sub>4</sub>
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.III':6	a-ur <sub>4</sub>
[δ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 25+	r.IV:6'	a-ur <sub>4</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[ε] VE (1307')	ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4 63+	r.I:13
[ζ] VE (1307')	ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4 65+	r.XVII:4"
[η] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4 1+	r.IV:14
[θ] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4 51	o.?'II':6'
[ι] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4 65+	o.XVII:14'

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.533ff.

**Contextual association(s):**

**Places:** *I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] (N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>) N *NA-SE<sub>11</sub>* / a-ur<sub>4</sub> / GN

[01b] (N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>) N *NA-SE<sub>11</sub>* / a-ur<sub>4</sub> / GN / lu<sub>2</sub> nu DU.DU

**Prosopography:** *A-ga-gu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>su</sup>*, *A-lik-NI*, *Ab-ma-du*, *Ba-wa-rum<sub>2</sub>*, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-su*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*, *EN-gi-iš*, *En<sup>na</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>-zah<sub>3</sub>*, *En<sup>na</sup>-[i<sub>3</sub>-II]*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-III*, *Ha-ba-da*, *I-ti-ib*, *I-ti-na-im*, *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-en-nu*, *In-na-tum*, *La-a*, *La<sup>da</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ma-AMAR<sup>!</sup>*, *Ma-ga-da*, *Ma-sar*, *Ma-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>*, *Še<sub>3</sub>-ba-LUM*, *Si-ir-da-mu*, *Šum-a-hu*, *Wa-ad-ra-im*

**Groups:** *Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-su*, *En<sup>na</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>-zah<sub>3</sub>*, *In-na-tum*, *A-ga-gu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>su</sup>*, *Ma-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>*, *Ab-ma-du*, *Ba-wa-rum<sub>2</sub>*, *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-en-nu*, *Šum-a-hu*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *Ma-sar*, *Ha-ba-da*, *La-a*, *Si-ir-da-mu*, *A-lik-NI*, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>*, *Še<sub>3</sub>-ba-LUM*, *La<sup>da</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*, *Ma-AMAR<sup>!</sup>*, *I-ti-ib*, *I-ti-na-im*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>*, *En<sup>na</sup>-[i<sub>3</sub>-II]*, [...]-[x]-NE.NI, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-III*, *Wa-ad-ra-im*, *Ma-ga-da*, *En-gi-iš* ([75.2012 = *M* 10 38] r.V:8-VII:6)

**Discussion:** see sub → ur<sub>4/x</sub>

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\*<sup>a</sup>*a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>* (11): probably a laboratory for textile manufacturing.

**Previous translation(s):** «laboratorio (tessile femminile)»<sup>AXII</sup>; «(textile) workshop (of women)»<sup>4XX</sup>.

see also → *a-si-ra-tum*, → dam, → (dam-)<sub>GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI)</sub>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XII:10	[te]	"perhaps to approach, get near"
[β] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XIII:4	[GA <sub>2</sub> ×GEME <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> ]	"to enclose, confine"
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.II:10	te	"perhaps to approach, get near"
[δ] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	r.II:2	GA <sub>2</sub> ×GEME <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	"to enclose, confine"

Ebla bilingual

[ε] VE (1024)	GA <sub>2</sub> ×GEME <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> / 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-lu-um	MEE 4, 65+	r.X:18-19
[ζ] VE (1024)	GA <sub>2</sub> ×GEME <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> / 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-lu-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.XVIII:39-40
[η] VE (1059)	te / 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-lu-um	MEE 4, 65+	r.IX:9
[θ] VE (1059)	te / 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-lu-um	MEE 4, 1+	r.XVII:26-27

**Bibliography:** Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.217–18; Biga, in *Fs Parise* (2011), pp.82–83; Biga, *Wool Economy* (2014), p.145; Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999), pp.21–26; Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1993), p.77;

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ti, e<sub>2</sub> maḥ,

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [wool] / N dam / 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> / 'PN

[01b] [wool] / 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>

See also Table 17, p.239.

**Prosopography:**<sup>600</sup> (women who probably managed an 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>) *A-ga-me-nu, Ba-a-ga, Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-aḥ, Ḥa-lu-du, Mi-na-du*

**Discussion:** Bonechi suggests a meaning related to the Semitic root \*'sr, “to tie, to bind” and interprets this term as 'asrum, “locked house” (Sum. GA<sub>2</sub>×GI). Biga suggests the translation “weaving houses,” since the women listed for each 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> receive quantities of wool.<sup>601</sup> The term is almost exclusively attested in the text [75.1743 = A XX 9], where a list of this workplaces is given: six to more than sixty women worked in each 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, which was supervised by a senior worker (dam maḥ) (see also Table 17, p.239). The women who managed the 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>s are not mentioned in other documents. See also sub → (dam-)GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI).

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**azlag**<sub>4/x</sub> (5): «fuller?»

**Previous translation(s):** «follatore; lavandaio»<sup>AXII</sup>; «follatore»<sup>AXV</sup>

**Lexical**

Abu Salabiḥ

[α] ED lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	OIP 99, 54	o.II:12	'azlag(GIŠ.TUG <sub>2</sub> .(TE.A).DU)'
[β] ED lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	OIP 99, 55	o.II:9'	'azlag(GIŠ.(TE.A).TUG <sub>2</sub> .DU)'
[γ] ED lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	OIP 99, 60	o.II:14	azlag(GIŠ.DU.(TE.A).TUG <sub>2</sub> )

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), pp.87–88; Rubio, *JCS* 51 (1999), p.3;

**Contextual association(s):** azu<sub>x</sub>, dam, ir<sub>11</sub>, nagar, muḥaldim

**Places:** *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01] [fabrics] / N ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> / N nagar-nagar / N ugula IGI.NITA / N azlag<sub>x</sub> / N a-zu / N muḥaldim / DU

<sup>600</sup> See also Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999), pp.21–22.

<sup>601</sup> Biga, *Wool Economy* (2014), p.145

*aš<sub>2</sub>-ti* / PN

[02] [wool] (/ PN) / azlag<sub>4</sub>

[03] [fabrics] / dam / GN / azlag<sub>4</sub>

**Prosopography:** *Dam-da-il*

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**(dam) azu(-mi<sub>2</sub>)** (39): «(female) physician» (probably also a herbalist).

**Previous translation(s):** «medico»<sup>AMIII, AXII, AXV, M2</sup>; «physician»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «medico»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 15, 44	o.III:3'	azu <sub>x</sub>
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 50+	o.II':2'	azu <sub>x</sub>
[γ] ED lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	r.II:8	azu <sub>x</sub>
[δ] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.X:9	azu <sub>x</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[ε] *VE* (1328) azu<sub>x</sub> / [no gloss] *MEE* 4, 63+ r.II:23

**Bibliography:** Lahlou and Catagnoti, *ARET* XII (2006), p.517; D'Agostino, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003); Fronzaroli, *ZA* 88 (1998); *PSD* A/1, p.205ff; *TIE* A/1, p.45.

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *MA-LIK-TUM* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), *dam*, *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), *dumu-nita* PN/en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), *dumu-nita* PN/en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249)

**Places:** *A-dab<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Ni-da-dum<sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods] PN / a-zu

[01b] [goods] PN / azu / PN / dam / en / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01c] [goods] PN / ud-du<sub>11</sub>-ga / PN / azu / PN / dumu-nita / en

[02a] [goods] / dam / a-zu / en

[02b] [goods] PN / [goods] dam-*su<sub>3</sub>* / a-zu

[02c] [goods] [PN (/ dumu-nita)] / azu-mi<sub>2</sub> (/ *Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>'</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*) / GN (/ *MA-LIK-TUM* / *i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum*)

[02d] [goods and silver] guruš / dam / a-zu / GN

[03] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> N *NA-SE<sub>11</sub>* / azu

**Prosopography:**<sup>602</sup> (name of the 'patient' in brackets) *A-ba-tum* (*Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*, *En-da-za*, *En-ma-lik* (*I-da-ad-mu*), *Ha-zi-ir* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*; *Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>'</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*?), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar* (*A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ut*), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* *Ni-da-dum<sup>ki</sup>* (en), *Lu-la-NI*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-gi-iš-ar* (*Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>'</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*?), *U<sub>3</sub>-la-ma-u<sub>9</sub>*

**Discussion:** Evidence suggests that physicians were able to perform (probably simple) surgeries but were also expert herbalists. [75.2508 = *M* 12 37] provides a list of metal tools for the physician Rugi-ašdar:

<sup>602</sup> See also the prosopography published in D'Agostino, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), pp.137–40.

[75.2508 = M 12 37] o.XIX:4-17: 8 ½ gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN an-na / šub *si-in* / 52 ½ gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> / 1 *ma-š[a]-wa* / 3 *gu<sub>2</sub>-za-mi-lu* / 3 šum / 3 UM.NAGAR-sal / 3 *ma-da-gu* / 6 UŠ×KID<sub>2</sub> / 4 UŠ×KID<sub>2</sub> tur / *Ru<sub>12</sub>-gi-aš-ar* / azu / wa / maškim-SU<sub>3</sub>; «8 ½ weighted shekel of tin<sup>?</sup>, to be blended with 52 ½ weighted shekels of copper<sup>?</sup>, (for) 1 pair of pincers, 3 *gu<sub>2</sub>-za-mi-lu*, 3 saws, 3 ‘hammers’, 3 pestels, 6 blades, 4 small blades, for Rugi-ašdar, the physiscian, and his representantive.»<sup>603</sup>

A similar list enumerates the tools of another physician, Yišar:

[75.10074] o.XVII:31-41: 2 ½ an-na / šub *si-in* / 17 ½ a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> / 1 *ma-ša-wa* 3 / 1 zaḥ<sub>3</sub> 2 ½ / 2 UŠ×KID<sub>2</sub> 2 ½ / *da-bu<sub>3</sub>-um* 3 / 2 *ma-ša-wa* 2 / 1 šu-i 2 / *I-šar* / azu; «2 ½ (shekel of) tin<sup>?</sup>, to be blended with 17 ½ (shekels of) copper<sup>?</sup>, (for) 1 pair of pincers (of the value of) 2 (shekels), 1 needle (of the value of) 2 ½ (shekels), 2 blades (of the value of) 2 ½ (shekels), 2 pairs of pincers (of the value of) 2 (shekels), 1 razor (of the value of) 2 (shekels), (for) Yišar, the physician.»

The text [TM.75.G.1623 = Fronzaroli, *ZA* 88 (1998)] is a pharmaceutical text found in the Great Archive L.2769: the document lists three different medical plants, their properties, and their use. The “snake herb” (u<sub>3</sub> muš) was used for swelling and incontinence; the u<sub>3</sub> *mar-tum* (“herb for gall bladder disease”) was used to cure wounds and prepare medical treatments for skin rashes; the u<sub>3</sub> *nag sa-bur-bu<sub>3</sub>* (“herb for a potion for inflammation”) was used to cure wounds.<sup>604</sup>

Both male and female physicians are attested: there are, however, no evident gender restrictions for physicians, since Yirkab-har treated both lady *A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du* and princess Kešdut. Similarly, a female physician took care of crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu (see accounting models [02c]). It is not clear if the name of this female physician was Tūbil-damu, or if this name refers to her young apprentice.<sup>605</sup>

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**ašgab** (21): «leatherworker»

**Previous translation(s):** «Sattler»<sup>AII</sup>; «sellaio»<sup>AIII, AIV</sup>; «cuoiaio»<sup>AXV</sup> (LL); «pellaio»<sup>M2</sup>; «lavoratore di pelli»<sup>TIE</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:7	ašgab
[β] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	o.III:4	ašgab
[γ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.II:1	ašgab
[δ] ED Officials	<i>MEE</i> 3, 50+	o.VII:11	ašgab

Ebla bilingual

[ε] VE (945)	ašgab / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63+	r.II:23
Abu Salabiḥ			
[ζ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54	o.II:1	ašgab
Šuruppak			
[η] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>SF</i> 70	o.I:3	ašgab

**Bibliography:** *TIE* A/2, p.170

**Contextual association(s):**

<sup>603</sup> For the interpretations of the technical terms, see Archi, in *Fs Palmieri* (1993), p.623; Conti, *QdL* 4 (1993), p.103, Archi, in *Fs von Soden* (1995), p.10.

<sup>604</sup> Fronzaroli, *ZA* 88 (1998), pp.227–29. On these plants, see also recently Catagnoti, in *CMAO* 18 (2018), pp.143–44.

<sup>605</sup> See [75.2525 = A I 1] r.V:1-6: 2 aktum<sup>uug2</sup> [...] *Du-bil<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* azu-mi<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu.

**Social position(s)/role(s):** nagar

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods] / PN / ašgab

[01b] [goods] / PN / ašgab / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

[02] [wool] mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / nagar-nagar / ašgab

[03] [goods] / ašgab / PN ur<sub>4</sub> / GN

**Prosopography:** *A-a-na, Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-il, En-na-ma-lik, En-bu<sub>3</sub>-il, Gi-ma-lik, Ib-ga-il, Iš-da-la<sub>2</sub>, Mi-gi-il, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-be, Šu-ga-LUM*

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**dam** (952): «(adult) woman». 1) A generic term for «woman», equivalent to the sign SAL/mi<sub>2</sub> and possibly age-related; 2) a term used to indicate the feminine personnel of the Palace. For dam as a kinship term («wife, lady») and its socio-historical significance see → dam en [GN]/PN (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249); for → DAM.DINGIR («divine lady») see sub §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153. For other female professional categories, see the discussion below.

**Previous translation(s):** «donna (dipendente, lavorante)»<sup>AIII</sup>; «wife or woman servant»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «donna, lavoratrice (dipendente dall'amministrazione); sposa»<sup>AIIX, AXII</sup>; «donna, lavoratrice, moglie»<sup>AXV</sup>; «woman, working woman; wife»<sup>AXX</sup>;

see also → *a-si-ra-tum*, → (dam) azu(-mi<sub>2</sub>), → DAM.DINGIR (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), → dam en [GN]/PN (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249); → guruš, → (dam) nar(-mi<sub>2</sub>), → (dam) NE.DI(-mi<sub>2</sub>), → (dam) u<sub>2</sub>-a

**Lexical**

[α] VE (1256)	dam / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 63+	o.X:18'
[β] VE (329)	e <sub>2</sub> dam / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 24	r.VI:9

**Accounting models**

See also Table 18, p.240, Table 19, p.240.

[01] N še *bar* dam / še-ba dam

[02] N še *bar* dam / še-ba dam / Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup>

[03] N še *bar* dam / še-ba dam kikken<sub>(2)</sub>

[04] N še *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / dam / *a-si-ra-tum*

[05a] N še *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / dam / NE-ra / uru-bar

[05b] N še *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* / dam / NE-ra

[05c] N dam / NE-ra / wa / DAR

[06] N dam / du<sub>8</sub>:ga

[07] N dam / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ti<sup>lug2</sup>

[08] N dam / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ninda<sub>2</sub>

[09] N dam / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> še<sup>+TIN</sup>

[10] N dam / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-giš

[11] N dam / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> maḥ



[12] N dam / 'PN <dam en>

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *RAI* 47 (2002); Biga, in *HSAO* 2 (1988); Davidović, *OA* 26 (1987); Mander, *OA* 27 (1988); Waetzoldt, *Ebla 1975-1985* (1987)

**Discussion:** the term dam is used in the texts with two meanings: as a generic term for (adult) female, and as a kinship term denoting a man's spouse (for this latter meaning see sub → dam (PN/en), §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). As a generic word for "woman," the term dam is used to specify the gender of an individual, with a function similar to the sign SAL/mi<sub>2</sub>. Almost all terms denoting a profession or a function have identical forms for masculine and feminine, and when it is necessary to make a gender distinction, either dam or mi<sub>2</sub> are used. This is the case, for example, with the following terms: → nar, → NE.DI, → azu, → šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>, → u<sub>2</sub>-a. Generally speaking, the sign dam seems to be more frequent in ancient texts, and is gradually replaced with mi<sub>2</sub>: this diachronic variation is particularly evident in the cases of the female musical performers (nar) and female dancers (NE.DI), but is also attested with other professional categories (see for example muḫaldim-mi<sub>2</sub> and dam muḫaldim). As Milano noticed, Eblaite scribes often used terms which had a technical meaning in their contexts of origin, but with a more generic connotation: this is the case of terms like dam, for which one unique translation is extremely difficult to determine unless it is a very generic one.<sup>606</sup> This difficulty mirrors the very broad meaning meant by the scribes: for this reason, the main meaning of the term dam is that of "married (=adult) woman." See also the discussion sub → guruš.

Particularly relevant is the distribution of this term within the Archives: as the graph in Figure 19, p.195 shows, the majority of the attestations of the term dam recur in the texts of the Small Archive L2712.

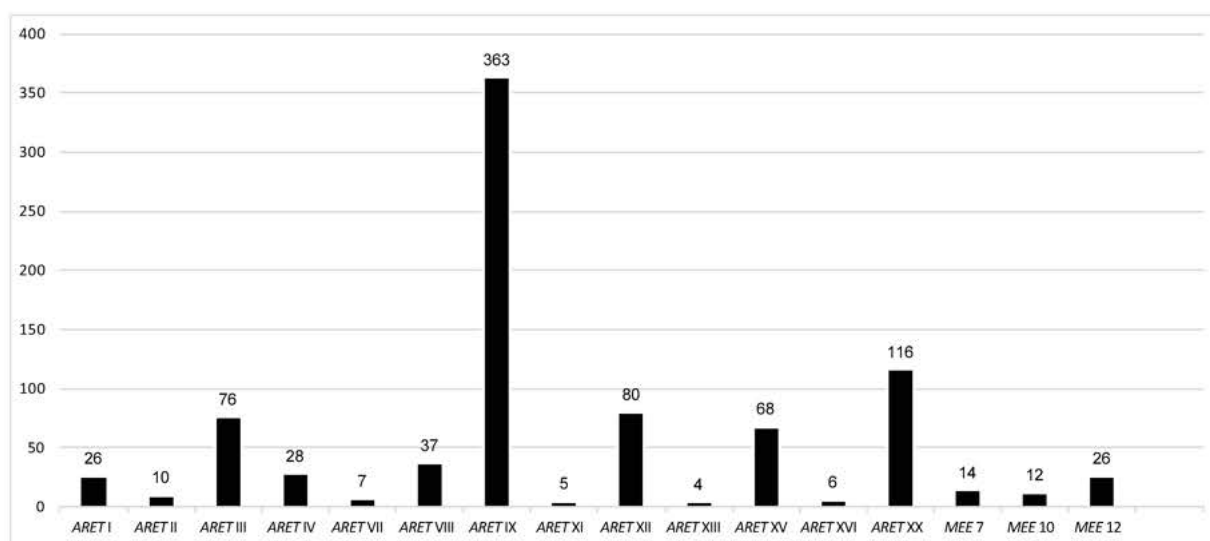


Figure 19 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term dam.

The occurrences of the term dam in the texts of the Great Archive L.2769 belong to the category identified through the pattern → dam en [GN]/PN, *i.e.*, dam with the meaning "wife, lady." In the texts [75.2601 = A I 44] more than 2,800 men and 1,500 women are deployed (see Table 25, p.242; see also sub → guruš): the document, unfortunately damaged, lists several groups of men and women as the recipients of rations (še-ba) accounted in silver. The individuals, both men and women, are divided into two categories marked by the numerals III and IV, which indicate the number of shekels pro capite. Interesting is the fact that, in the first part of the text, the groups of men and women have the same number of members. In the second part, the smiths and the carpenters also belong to the category of the guruš-vi (6 shekels for 160 men = 16 minas). The

<sup>606</sup> Milano, SEL 12 (1995), p.121.

account seems to be monthly. [75.2601 = A I 44] has no military connotation, mainly due to the presence of female personnel. According to [75.1743 = A XX 9], one of the few texts in the Great Archive L.2769 mentioning group of working women, the dam involved in the manufacture of textiles were organized in  $'a_5\text{-za-ru}_{12}$  (maybe a kind of workshop, see sub  $\rightarrow 'a_5\text{-za-ru}_{12}$ ). As it can be seen in Table 17, p.239, each  $'a_5\text{-za-ru}_{12}$  was managed by a woman, and by a dam maḥ: other classes of women, probably involved in different tasks, are mentioned (dam NE-ra, dam DAR, um-lu-lu).<sup>607</sup> Note, however, that women are rarely organized in  $e_2\text{-duru}_5^{\text{ki}}$ : all occurrences of groups of twenty women come from the Small Archive L.2712. In these texts, several categories of women are mentioned, such as the dam  $Bu_3\text{-zu-ga}^{\text{ki}}$  and the dam  $kikken_{(2)}$ : the main obstacle in the understanding of the organization of the female work is, however, the state of the documentation. The texts of the Small Archive, detailed but limited to the last years before the destruction of the City, offer information that is difficult to compare with that provided by the texts of the Great Archive.

Two texts give a detailed account of a group of women, the dam  $Bu_3\text{-zu-ga}^{\text{ki}}$ , who are frequently mentioned in the texts of the Small Archive (see Table 16, p.238): within this group were weavers, women involved in the manufacture of textiles, and women involved in food and beverages production (bakers, waitresses).<sup>608</sup> Groups of women, whose names are never recorded, worked for different other employees of the Palace, as [75.446 = A IX 53] demonstrates (Table 15, p.238): among these employees are several *ib*, and two “men of the house of the gods” (see also sub  $\rightarrow GA_2 \times GI$ ). See also the discussion sub  $\rightarrow$  guruš.

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**dub-sar** (18): «scribe»

**Previous translation(s)**: «scriba»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AXII, AXIII, AXV</sup>; «scribe»<sup>AVIII</sup>

see also  $\rightarrow$  dub-zu-zu

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XV:30	dub-sar
[β] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	o.l:1	dub-sar
[γ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.l:1	dub-sar

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (1163)	dub-sar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 9-11 r.XIII:7'
[ε] VE (1163)	dub-sar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63+64 o.V:9

<sup>607</sup> The term NE.RA is mentioned in the EBK, in the Word List A (*M* 3 53), and in the *VE*: (853) NE.RA // *sa<sub>2</sub>-lum / sa-ru<sub>12</sub>-um*. In [75.1939+ = A XI 2] *bi<sub>2</sub>-ra* (“to put”) replaces the Semitic spelling *i-da-ga-a* (<\*ngy, “to offer”) of [75.1823+ = A XI 1]. However, the entries of the *VE* and the occurrences of *bi<sub>2</sub>-ra* in the ERR might not be related to the dam NE-ra often mentioned in the Small Archive L2712. Waetzoldt suggested a meaning of NE-ra related to Sum. verb *ra*, “to beat,” but also “to thresh (grain with a flail).” See also Civil, *Farmer’s Instructions* (1994), p.87, *ra* = *rahāsu*, “to trample, to flatten” (but referred to soil), and p.95, *še* (giš) *ra*-(ah/an) = *rapāsu*, “beating with flails.” As Waetzoldt noted, the dam NE-ra are sometimes mentioned with other women involved in the textile production: they are, however, also mentioned with women involved in the production of food (*muḥaldim-mi<sub>2</sub>*) and a group of dam defined DAR (= dar, “to grind”?). See Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1990), p.141; Waetzoldt, in *Ebla 1975-1985* (1987), p.371. An alternative interpretation is, however, possible: if dam DAR is to be read dam *gun<sub>3</sub>* (“female dyers”), then dam NE-ra might indicate a group of women who beat with sticks (or a similar tool) the clothes, since in ancient times laundry was done by pounding clothes with a stick.

<sup>608</sup> On the dam *a-si-ra-tum*, see sub  $\rightarrow$  *a-si-ra-tum*; on *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-tum*, see sub  $\rightarrow$  *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-tum*; on *ḥa-ri<sub>2</sub>* (*ḥamru*), “un type de boisson alcoolisée fermentée à base de raisin,” see Catagnoli, *NABU* 2008/32 (2008). On the identification of *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup>* with the Buzqa mentioned in the texts from Emar see Catagnoli, *NABU* 2008/32 (2008). See also Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1 (1993), p.84.

[G] VE (1164)	dub mu-sar / (not glossed)	MEE 4 9-11 r.XIII:8'
[E] VE (1164)	dub mu-sar / (not glossed)	MEE 4 63+64 o.V:10
[O] VE (1165)	<dub-zu-zu> / u <sub>3</sub> -me-a-num <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4 9-11 r.XIII:9'
[I] VE (1165)	dub-zu-zu / u <sub>3</sub> -me-a-num <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4 63+64 o.V:11-12

Abu Salabih

[E] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 54+	o.l:1	[dub]-sar'
[G] ED Names and Professions	OIP 99, 62	o.l:9	dub-sar

**Bibliography:** Archi, *SEb* 4 (1981); Archi, *VO* 10 (1996), pp.44–48; Archi, in *Akkadian Language* (2006); Archi, *RAI* 57 (2015), p.514; Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993), p.128; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), pp.89–90; Bonechi, in *Fs Milano* (2016); Fronzaroli, in *LLLE* (1992), p.170; Fronzaroli, in *Gs Marrassini* (2014); Paoletti, in *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015); Paoletti, in *Materiality of Writing* (2016); Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001); *ARET XI*, pp.34–35.

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-lu/u<sub>3</sub>, dub-zu-zu

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods] / PN / dub-sar

[01b] [goods] / PN / dub-sar / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[02] [goods] / PN / dub-sar / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / ga-raš<sup>sar</sup> / aš<sub>2</sub>-du / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / mi-nu / GN

[03] [goods] / dumu-nita / GN / dub-sar

Colophons of the lexical texts:

MEE 3 1 r.VI:4-9: dub nam<sub>2</sub>-ēššita (šITA<sub>2</sub>.GIŠ.NAM<sub>2</sub>) / A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik / ki-gar / dub mu-sar / Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-BAD  
MEE 3 2+5 o.VII:16-r.I:4: A-zi / dub mu-sar / Ib-dur-i-šar / dub-z[u-zu] / [a]b-ba / [D]am-da-il / um-mi-a / A-zi  
MEE 3 26 r.VIII:10-17(?): A-zi / dub mu-sar / Ib-dur-i-šar / dub-zu-zu / ab-ba / Dam-da-il / um-m[i-a] / A-zi  
MEE 3 39 o.VIII:17-r.I:4: A-zi / dub mu-sar / Ib-dur-i-šar / dub-zu-zu / ab-ba / Dam-da-il / [um]-mi-a / A-zi  
MEE 3 48-49: r.I:1-8: A-zi / dub mu-sar / Ib-dur-i-šar / dub-zu-zu / [ab-ba] / [Dam-da-il] / u[m-mi-a] / 'A'-[zi]  
MEE 3 45-46 r.VIII:1'-2': En-na-il / dub-sar  
MEE 3 47 r.I:1'-7': in / ud / dumu-nita dumu-nita / dub-sar / e<sub>11</sub> / aš<sub>2</sub>-du / Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
MEE 3 50 r.I:3-6: Ti-ra-il / dub mu-[sar] / [Ib-dur]-i-šar / dub-zu-zu  
MEE 3 50 r.II:1-7: in / ud / dumu-nita dumu-nita / dub-sar / e<sub>11</sub> / aš<sub>2</sub>-du / Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
MEE 3 51a 1-4: ab-ba / Dam-da-il / um-mi-a / A-zi  
MEE 3 56 r.II:14-19: Ti-ra-il / dub mu-sar / A-zi / dub-zu-zu / En-na-il / zi-lugal-da

**Prosopography:** (PNs followed by \* are attested in the colophons of the lexical texts) A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik\*, A-zi\*, Ab-[N]E, Ba-za-a, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-BAD\*, Dam-da-il\*, En-na-il\*, Ib-dur-i-šar\*, Ib-*hur*-NI, Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-BAD, Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-il, Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba, Iš-ma-NI, Na-mi, Ti-ra-il\*

Scribes by lexical compositions

A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik ki-gar dub mu-sar: MEE 3 1 (ED Lu<sub>2</sub> A(B))

A-zi dub mu-sar: MEE 2+5 (ED Lu<sub>2</sub> A(A)); MEE 3 26 (Lista NAGAR/ED Metals); MEE 3 39 (Lista di uccelli / Bird List A); MEE 3 48-49 (Word List D); According to Paoletti also List of Animals A(A).

Ti-ra-il dub-mu-sar: MEE 3 50 (Word List E); MEE 3 56 (List of Geographical Name); According to Paoletti also List of Animals B

En-na-il dub-sar: MEE 3 45-46 (Word List B)

**Discussion:** The term for “scribe,” *dub-sar*, is not glossed in the *VE* ([**ḏ**]-[**ḗ**]). Bonechi suggests that the bilingual exercise *MEE* 4 74 offers a possible Semitic translation of *dub-sar*.<sup>609</sup>

[*M* 4 74] o.V:6-8: <sup>ki</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> / *ba-la-tum* / *sa-da-lu-da*

No exhaustive explanation has been given so far for the gloss <sup>ki</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> / *ba-la-tum sa-da-lu-da*: Conti interprets the first part of the gloss as *paraytum*, “orchard.”<sup>610</sup> According to Bonechi, the scribe mistakenly omitted <*dub-sar*> before *sa-da-lu-da* (to be read *sa-da-da:lu*), prompted by the lemma <sup>ki</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> also based on the sign *SAR*. The Semitic reading of *dub-sar* would thus be *šatārūm*, from *šatārum*, “to write, to copy.”<sup>611</sup> As *dub-sar*, also *dub mu-sar* is not glossed ([**ṣ**]-[**ḗ**]).

The only term which presents a gloss is *dub-zu-zu* ([**ṭ**]-[**u**]), translated as *u<sub>3</sub>-me-a-num<sub>2</sub>*: the latter is a Sumerian loan word in Semitic, which since the Old Akkadian period indicated the “expert scholar.”<sup>612</sup> The problem with the Semitic translation given in *VE* 1165 ([**ṭ**]-[**u**]) is that both *dub-zu-zu* and *um-mi-a* are attested together in the colophons of the lexical texts: thus, on the one hand, *dub-zu-zu* and *um-mi-a* are not synonymous; on the other hand, the Semitic loan word is used as a translation of *dub-zu-zu* in later bilingual lists. This problem had already been pinpointed by Cooper,<sup>613</sup> who noted that the phrase *e-sar-sar ... i<sub>3</sub>-zu-zu*, attested in a copy of Eanatum I’s inscription, is similar to the Eblaite lexical colophons:

[*RIME* 1.9.4.2] XIII:1-7: <sup>uri<sub>3</sub>urudu</sup> usu-<sup>uri<sub>3</sub>urudu</sup> ḡes<sub>3</sub>-a ḡar-ra ḡhendur-saḡ-ka-ka e-sar-s[ar] [ḡṣu] l-[MU]ṣ×[PA] [men<sub>x</sub>(GA<sub>2</sub>×EN)-z]i-[en]-te-me-na-ka-ke<sub>4</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-su-su lugal ma:[uri<sub>3</sub>]; «He (En-anatum) had (this text) inscrib[ed] on a copper standard and a ‘sheep’ of the copper standard fixed on wood belonging to the god Ḥendursaḡ. [Ṣ]ul-[MU]ṣ×[PA]-[menz]i-[en]metena checked (the inscription). He (Ḥendursaḡ) is the owner of the standard.»

Furthermore, Abu Salabiḥ and Ebla colophons have a comparable structure: the expressions PN *um-mi-a* and PN *dub-sar* are present in both, but the Eblaite PN *dub-zu-zu* is replaced in some Abu Salabiḥ colophons by PN *dub šu-ḡal<sub>2</sub>*. Cooper suggests that *zu-zu* / *šu-ḡal<sub>2</sub>* might signify “to check, verify.”<sup>614</sup> In addition, in the Fāra colophons, the scribes are indicated by the term *umbisaḡ*.<sup>615</sup> In the administrative texts, however, the scribes are mentioned with the titles *dub-sar*, *agrig*, *um-mi-a*, *dub-sar-kuš<sub>7</sub>*, *dub-sar-zi<sub>3</sub>*, and *dub-sar-maḥ*. About one hundred proper names of scribes are known from the Fāra administrative documents, while ca. eighty are mentioned in the lexical texts as *umbisaḡ* or *dub mu-sar*: of these individuals, 27 are present in both textual categories.<sup>616</sup> The term *umbisaḡ* does not appear in Ebla bilingual vocabulary, but the Eblaite scribes knew that it was a possible reading of the sign *ṣID*, since in the Ebla Sign List *ṣID/umbisaḡ* is read <sup>u</sup>ub<sup>’</sup>-*bi<sub>2</sub>-sa-ga-im*. Arcari recognized that the ESL is partly based on the ED Lu A: *SANGA* / <sup>u</sup>ub<sup>’</sup>-*bi<sub>2</sub>-sa-ga-im* of EBS (I.16) is to be related to ED Lu A I.41 *saḡḡa* GA<sub>2</sub>×GAR-ME.<sup>617</sup> The sign *SANGA* introduces three more signs (*KUM*, *KAM<sub>4</sub>*, and *GAN*), which do not belong to the ED Lu A. These have been added to explain some writing conventions: “the teacher explained the phonological form (/k(um)/, /ka(m)/, or /ga(n)/) of the unwritten genitive element /-ak/. ”<sup>618</sup> The ending *-im* of <sup>u</sup>ub<sup>’</sup>-*bi<sub>2</sub>-sa-ga-im* is, in fact, the only case of headless genitive in the whole ESL, as the original Sumerian term.<sup>619</sup> The only

<sup>609</sup> Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), pp.89–90.

<sup>610</sup> Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.200.

<sup>611</sup> *CAD* Ṣ/2 (1992), s.v. *šatārūm*.

<sup>612</sup> *CAD* U/W (2010), s.v. *ummānu*.

<sup>613</sup> Cooper, *RA* 76 (1982).

<sup>614</sup> Krebernik, in *LLLE* (1992), p.110, interprets *dub-zu-zu* as “master scribe (or the like).”

<sup>615</sup> The colophons of the Fāra lexical texts have been published in Krebernik, *OBO* 160/1(1998), pp.325–35. For some general remarks on colophons in lexical texts see Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition* (2014) pp.68–71.

<sup>616</sup> Visicato, *Power and Writing* (2000), p.22

<sup>617</sup> Arcari, *AION Suppl.* 32 (1982). The *Ebla Sign List* (ESL) has been published by Archi, in *Eblaïtica* 1 (1987).

<sup>618</sup> Civil, *AuOr Supp.* 25 (2009), p.65.

<sup>619</sup> Civil interprets *umbisaḡ* as <sup>m</sup>mbisaḡ-ak/, “the one of the tablet basket”. Civil, *AuOr Supp.* 25 (2009), p.65 and fn.10.

other mention at Ebla of the term umbisaġ is in [75.2658+ = A V 21], where the name of five non-Eblaite scribes are attested in the colophon.

According to paleographic data, the development of Eblaite cuneiform script can be divided into two phases, Phase I (archaic, ArrULUM) and Phase II (Yibrium/Yibbi-Dikir):<sup>620</sup> the lexical texts in which both dub-zu-zu and um-mi-a are attested are to be dated to Phase I, while the acrographic lists, the VE, and the ESL belong to Phase II or Late Phase II, as all the local Eblaite lexical texts. The gloss  $u_3$ -me-a-num<sub>2</sub> of dub-zu-zu and the reading 'ub'-bi<sub>2</sub>-sa-ga-im for SANGA/umbisaġ in the ESL are thus not contemporary to some of the most important lexical compositions where dub-zu-zu/um-mi-a are attested. Unlike dub-zu-zu, um-mi-a is not present as a Sumerian entry in the bilingual vocabulary. Furthermore, dub-zu-zu is attested, albeit only seven times, in the administrative documents, where it occurs in contexts which seem to be unrelated to the scribal activity: noteworthy is the fact that in these occurrences young people are always involved. In these passages mention is made of bows, barbers (→ šu-i), young female dancers (→ NE.DI), and female weavers (→ dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, → tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag; see accounting models sub → dub-zu-zu). In fact, in OB ummānu has maintained the meaning of “craftsman, artisan, expert” and of “scholar, sage.” As Michalowski noted, “[...] an ummia is a ‘master (craftsman);’ in the environment of the eduba’a he is the ‘school master,’ in the context of the conservatory, he is the ‘music master’”.<sup>621</sup> In this sense,  $u_3$ -me-a-num<sub>2</sub> could be the Semitic translation of dub-zu-zu “master, expert.”

The most famous scribes from Ebla are A-zi and Ti-ra-il, whose names are often mentioned in the colophons of the lexical texts. It is generally assumed that Yādi' and Tīra-'il were active during the reign of Yirkab-Damu, and probably also during the reign of his predecessor Yigriš-Ḫalab: Yādi' was probably older than Tīra-'il, since in the colophon of [MEE 3 56 (List of GNs)] Yādi' is the “teacher” (dub-zu-zu, or “teaches”), while Tīra-'il “writes” (dub mu-sar). However, the lexical texts drafted by Yādi' contain signs which stylistically belong to Phase II: Sallaberger thus suggests that either dub-zu-zu is not to be interpreted as “teacher” (maybe “scribe apprentice?”), or there were two scribes named Yādi'.<sup>622</sup> Ib-dur-i-šar supervised both Yādi' and Tīra-'il, although the first became the supervisor of the second by the time Tīra-'il composed the List of Geographical Names. Already Pettinato noted that the different colophons of the lexical texts suggest that En-na-il and Dam-da-il were the most experienced scribes, followed by Yiptur-yišar, Yādi', and Tīra-'il, who was probably the youngest.<sup>623</sup> Pettinato and others have inferred this chronology from the shifts in PNs attested in the different colophons (see sub accounting models).

The majority of the occurrences of the term dub-sar are attested in the documents of the time of minister ArrULUM (ARETXV), i.e., the period during which Yādi' was certainly active. At least three texts record similar deliveries of textiles and wool for Yādi': these occurrences have been studied by Archi and are all related to the rite of purification of the house of the king (a-tu<sub>5/22</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en).<sup>624</sup> In at least two of the three texts dated to ArrULUM in which Yādi' appears, there is no mention of the prayer (PN du<sub>11</sub>-ga i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub> / PN gu<sub>3</sub>-di-II i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>, “to pray/prayer for good fortune”; see sub → gu<sub>3</sub>-di) : Yādi', however, receives the same set of garments and wool which in later texts is given to the person who performs the prayer. When the prayer is spelled as gu<sub>3</sub>-di-II i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub> instead of du<sub>11</sub>-ga i-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>, Yādi' is no longer the performer: according to Archi, Yādi' is later replaced in this duty by his son I-da-ni-ki-mu. This role of Yādi' seems to be compatible with his office as a scribe since his function was to suggest the exact formulas for the invocations (probably to the purification priest, → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-lu/u<sub>3</sub>). However, if Yādi' had been chosen to fulfill this role due to his scribal skills (i.e., reading?), one might assume that also the other men were literate, but they are never qualified as dub-sar in the available documentation. One can argue that the formula which needed to be spelled

<sup>620</sup> Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001); see also Paoletti, in *Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography* (2015), and Paoletti, in *Materiality of Writing* (2016).

<sup>621</sup> Michalowski, in *Musiker und Tradierung* (2010), p.205.

<sup>622</sup> Sallaberger, in *Fs Orthmann* (2001), p.443–44.

<sup>623</sup> Pettinato, *MEE 3* (1981), p.xxix.

<sup>624</sup> Archi, *VO 10* (1996). See also sub → a-tu<sub>5/22</sub> and → 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-lu/u<sub>3</sub>.

by Yādi' in the time of minister ArrULUM, had been learned by heart in later years and that the men who replaced Yādi' were not necessarily literate (or were not literate in the language in which the prayer was pronounced?). The fact that Yādi' the scribe is mentioned together with *Dam-da-il* in both versions of the ERR, might suggest that scribal skills were considered necessary in the performance of at least some kinds of rituals (purification? Marriage?). Although Yādi' and *Dam-da-il* are not defined dub-sar in the Ritual, it has been argued that these two men are indeed the same Yādi' and *Dam-da-il* often mentioned in some of the colophons of the lexical texts. The most ancient version of the Ritual [75.1823+ = A XI 1] has been dated by Sallaberger to the ArrULUM period, while the most recent [75.1939+ = A XI 2] to the last part of Yibrium's vizierate.

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**dub-zu-zu** (5): «expert»

**Previous translation(s):** «esperto»<sup>4IV, M2</sup>; «specialista»<sup>4XII</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1165)	<dub-zu-zu> / u <sub>3</sub> -me-a-num <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4 9-11 r.XIII:9'
[β] VE (1165)	dub-zu-zu / u <sub>3</sub> -me-a-num <sub>2</sub>	MEE 4 63+64 o.V:11-12

### Accounting models

[01] [goods] / N dumu-nita / [goods] TAR.TAR / N dumu-nita / dub-zu-zu

[02] [goods] / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / dub'(UM)-zu-zu / gišban / in / GN

[03] [goods] / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / GN / dub-zu-zu / gišban-gišban

[04] [goods] / 2 šu-i / dub-zu-zu / dumu-nita / PN

[05] [goods] / dam / dub-zu-zu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / NE.DI / [goods] / 4 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-maḥ / 6 [goods] / 6 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu<-mi<sub>2</sub>> / NE.DI / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> PN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

**Discussion:** see sub → dub-sar

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**dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>** (292): «girl» or «(female) apprentice». A generic term for «girl», possibly age-related. For dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> as a kinship term («daughter») and its socio-historical significance see → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (PN/en) (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249).

**Previous translation(s):** «figlia»<sup>4III, 4IV, 4VII, 4XIII, 4XVI, M2, M5, M7</sup>; «daughter, and simply girl»<sup>4VIII</sup>; «figlia, ragazza»<sup>4IX</sup>; «figlia, ragazza; dipendente»<sup>4XII</sup>; «daughter, girl»<sup>4XX</sup>; «daughter»<sup>4M10</sup>;

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:31	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub>
[β] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:32	tur

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1086)	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:36
[δ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:37
[ε] VE (1086)	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:9
[ζ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:10

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** a-am-am, ga-du<sub>8</sub>, MA-LIK-TUM, NE.DI, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [wool] / N dumu-nita / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / NE.DI

[01b] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>(-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) / NE.DI

[01c] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / dub-zu-zu / NE.DI

[01c] [wool] / N dumu-nita / [wool] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / NE.DI

[01d] [goods] / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>(-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) / a-am-am

[01e] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag

[01f] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>(-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) / šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> / (fPN/MA-LIK-TUM)

[02] [wool] / tug<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / sukkal sukkal

[03] [goods] / N ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-(mi<sub>2</sub>/nita) (see also sub → ga-du<sub>8</sub>)

[04] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / aš<sub>2</sub>-ti / GN / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / PN / GN

[05] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir

[06] [goods] / geme<sub>2</sub> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / PN

[07a] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / N dumu-nita / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / MA-LIK-TUM / DN-DN / GN / GN / GN

[07b] [textile] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / MA-LIK-TUM

[07c] [fabrics] / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / DN / lu<sub>2</sub> GN / fPN / in-na-sum / in ud / <sup>mu</sup>mu<sub>4</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / N dumu-nita N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba-SU<sub>3</sub>

[08] [bread] N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / wa / du<sub>8</sub>:ga

[09] [goods] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / in ud / šub še / en

[10] [goods] / PN ur<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / GN / fPN / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>

**Discussion:** the term dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> is used in the texts with two meanings: as a generic term for “girl” and as a kinship term denoting a man’s/woman’s daughter (for this latter meaning see sub → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (PN/en), §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). As dumu-nita, also dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> can be used as *egocentric* or *sociocentric*: the *sociocentric* use of the term describes a relationship between two individuals not linked by kin but who are representatives of two distinct social groups, such as for example the dub-zu-zu (“expert”) and the dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (“apprentice”) as in the following passage:

[75.2273 = A XX 16] r.V:5-9: 1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI / dam / dub-zu-zu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / NE.DI; «1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI garment, (for one) woman, instructor of the apprentice cultic dancers»

[75.10159] r.VI:13-VII:6: (3 t.) dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>-dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> geme<sub>2</sub>-geme<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM DU.DU si-in Ša-dab<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> lu<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup> dub-zu-zu tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag; «3 textiles, for the apprentice female employees of the queen, (who) went to Šadab to learn (how) to weave».

As the textual patterns collected in the section ‘accounting models’ demonstrate, the term dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> is often referred to professions, such as dancers (→ NE.DI), weavers (→ tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag), or valets (→ šeš-pa<sub>4</sub>) ([01a-f]). The only professions for which the term dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> takes on an *egocentric* meaning are those related to childbirth and child care (→ ga-du<sub>8</sub> [03a], → ša-zu [03b]). The bilingual lexical list has four entries related to the terminology for young individuals: dumu-nita ([γ], [ε]), dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (VE 1086), tur ([δ], [ζ]), and dumu-sag (VE 270): for a discussion of these terms see sub → dumu-nita.

Contrary to dam, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (and dumu-nita) are not used for the purpose of specifying gender: the

writing dam NE.DI (= NE.DI-mi<sub>2</sub>), “female cultic dancer,” is not equivalent to dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> NE.DI since the latter is age-related when used as *sociocentric*. In [75.10159] (see above), since the term *geme*<sub>2</sub> is feminine, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> must be interpreted as “young female apprentices.” See also sub → dam, → dumu-nita, → guruš.

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**dumu-nita** (1251): «boy» or «(male) apprentice». A generic term for «boy», possibly age-related. For dumu-nita as a kinship term («son») and its socio-historical significance see → dumu-nita (PN/en) (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249).

**Previous translation(s)**: «figlio»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXIII, AXVI, M2, M5, M7</sup>; «son, perhaps more precisely heir, and adolescent (if not grown-up) boy»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «figlio, ragazzo»<sup>AIX</sup>; «figlio, ragazzo; dipendente»<sup>AXII</sup>; «son; boy»<sup>AXX</sup>;

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:30	dumu-nita
[β] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:32	tur

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1085)	dumu-nita / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:35
[δ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:37
[ε] VE (1085)	dumu-nita / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:8
[ζ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:10

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s)**: ga-du<sub>8</sub>, HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, NE.DI

### Accounting models:

- [01a] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> / dumu-nita dumu-nita / en  
 [01b] [fabrics] / PN / pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš dumu-nita / en  
 [01c] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> / PN  
 [03a] [fabrics] / N ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-(mi<sub>2</sub>/nita) (see also sub → ga-du<sub>8</sub>)  
 [03b] [fabrics] †PN / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / dumu-nita en  
 [04a] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / NE.DI (/ GN)  
 [04b] [wool] / N dumu-nita / [wool] / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / NE.DI  
 [05a] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / HUB<sub>2</sub>-HUB<sub>2</sub>  
 [05b] [fabrics] / dumu-nita dumu-nita / HUB<sub>2</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
 [06] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / GIŠ(-nu)-kiri<sub>6</sub>  
 [07] [fabrics] / PN / dumu-nita / dam / azu-mi<sub>2</sub> / GN / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum  
 [08] [goods] / PN / azu-mi<sub>2</sub> / PN / GN / [fabrics] / N dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>  
 [09] [fabrics] / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / nagar-nagar  
 [10a] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / muḫaldim  
 [10b] [fabrics and wool] / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / muḫaldim-muḫaldim



- [11] [fabrics and wool] / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / ugula-e<sub>2</sub> ugula-e<sub>2</sub>
- [12] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita dumu-nita / tug<sub>2</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub>
- [13a] [goods] / PN / ugula dumu-nita / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> / [goods] / dumu-nita dumu-nita / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>
- [13b] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> / dumu-nita(-dumu-nita) / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>
- [13c] [wool] / N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub>ki / ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> / dumu-nita ir<sub>11</sub>
- [14] [wool] / dumu-nita / u<sub>2</sub>-a / (lu<sub>2</sub>) PN
- [15] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / maškim maškim / PN
- [16] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita ur<sub>4</sub> / in GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [17] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / il<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / PN / DN GN
- [18] [fabrics] dumu-nita dumu-nita / <sup>gis</sup>ban / in / GN
- [19a] [fabrics] / PN / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / dam / PN / tu-da / dumu-nita
- [19b] [fabrics] PN / maškim / PN / KA.DI-II / al<sub>6</sub> / ur<sub>3</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> / DN / lu<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM / tu-da / dumu-nita
- [20a] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / MA-LIK-TUM / DN
- [20b] [fabrics] / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / DN / lu<sub>2</sub> GN / <sup>f</sup>PN / in-na-sum / in ud / <sup>mu</sup>mu<sub>4</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / N dumu-nita N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba-SU<sub>3</sub>
- [20c] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / N dumu-nita / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / MA-LIK-TUM / DN-DN / GN / GN / GN
- [20d] [fabrics] / N dumu-nita / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-ba / DN / GN / lu<sub>2</sub> tu-ra / N dumu-nita / MA-LIK-TUM

**Discussion:** the term dumu-nita is used in the texts with two meanings: as a generic term for “boy” and as a kinship term denoting a man’s/woman’s son (for this latter meaning see sub → dumu-nita (PN/en), §4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). The terms “son” (dumu-nita) and “daughter” (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) can be used as *egocentric* or *sociocentric*): the *egocentric* use of the term denotes a kinship relationship between an ego (“the father”) and his/her son. The *sociocentric* use of the same term describes a relationship between two individuals not linked by kin but who are representatives of two distinct social groups, such as for example the dub-zu-zu (“expert”) and the dumu-nita (“apprentice”) as in the following passages:

[75.1918 = M 10 29] o.XIII:7-12: 6 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> tug<sub>2</sub>-tug<sub>2</sub> / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / dub-zu-zu / HUB<sub>2</sub>.HUB<sub>2</sub> / šu-mu-<sup>r</sup>tag<sub>4</sub>; «6 weighted shekels of silver, price (for) garments (for the) young apprentices (of) the instructor of acrobats, have been delivered.»

[75.1360 = M 2 39] o.VII:12-18: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu</sup>g<sub>2</sub>-II 1 aktum<sup>tu</sup>g<sub>2</sub> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tu</sup>g<sub>2</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / 'A<sub>3</sub>-mu-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub> / HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI / Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> / dub-zu-zu / dumu-nita HUB<sub>2</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>; «1 cloak, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, for 'Amurugu, acrobat from Nagar, instructor of the apprentice acrobat(s) (of the) SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>»

As the textual patterns collected in the section ‘accounting models’ demonstrate, the term dumu-nita is often referred to professions, such as dancers (→ NE.DI), acrobats (→ HUB<sub>2</sub>.KI), carpenters (→ nagar), cooks (→ muḥaldim) ([04a-b], [05a-b], etc.). The only professions for which the term dumu-nita takes on an *egocentric* meaning are those related to childbirth and child care (→ ga-du<sub>8</sub> [03a], → ša-zu [03b]). The bilingual lexical list has four entries related to the terminology for young individuals: dumu-nita ([γ], [ε]), dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (VE 1086), tur ([δ], [ζ]), and dumu-sag (VE 270). The term dumu-sag is glossed bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-ru<sub>12</sub> / bu<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>3</sub>-lu, probably related to Akk. *bukru* (“son,

child”):<sup>625</sup> it is, however, not attested in administrative documents. The term *tur*, not glossed, can be interpreted as a generic term for newborn, without reference to the gender: it is attested only in the chancery document, [75.2094 = *A XVI 26*] r.V:6. The text deals, however, with the problems related to an illicit relationship between the priestess *Ti’a-barzu* and a man named *Titinu*. Although attested in the lexical texts (without gloss), the term *tur* is never used in the administrative documents with the meaning “newborn”.<sup>626</sup> The terms *dumu-nita* and *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>*, not glossed in the lexical texts but extensively attested in the administrative documents, show the same Semitic influence which in the Ebla documents characterizes Sumerian profession names and the generic terms for ‘man’ (*guruš*) and ‘woman’ (*dam*): the term for ‘child’ (*dumu*) is genderless, since Sumerian only distinguished between ‘human’ and ‘non-human’. The Semitic-speaking scribes of the Archives added *-nita* and *-mi<sub>2</sub>* to distinguish between sons and daughters.<sup>627</sup>

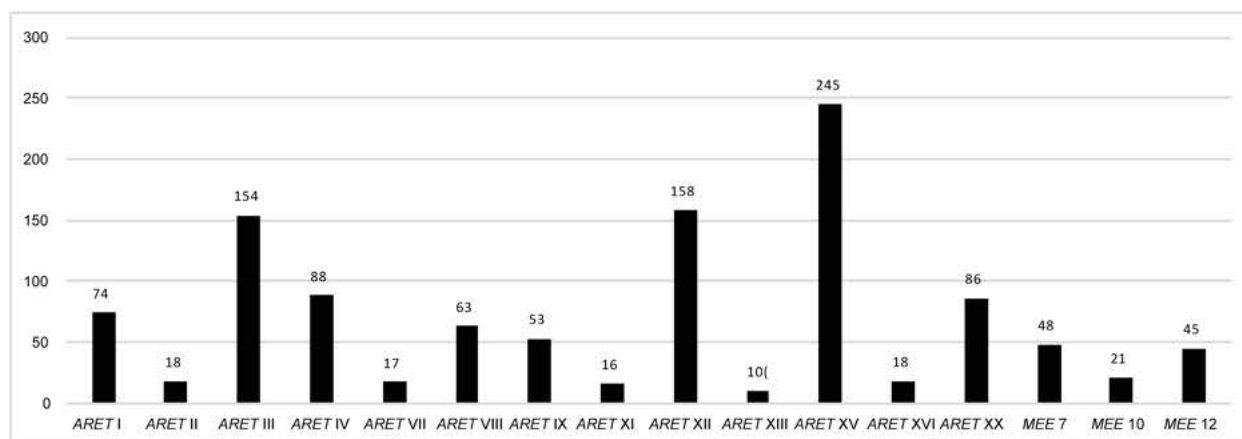


Figure 20 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term *dumu-nita*

As the chart in Figure 20, p.204 illustrates, the term *dumu-nita* is attested mainly in the documents of the time of minister *Arrulum*: this trend is not easily explainable but it must be stressed that in these texts *dumu-nita* is often attested as a kinship term. Similarly, the other possible pattern to express kinship (PN *lu<sub>2</sub>* PN) is also frequently attested in the texts written during *Arrulum*'s vizierate. See the discussion sub → *dumu-nita* en/PN (§ 4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249). See also the discussion sub → *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>*.

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**engar** (26): «farmer»

**Previous translation(s):** «contadino»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, M2</sup>; «farmer»<sup>AVIII, AXX</sup>; «agricoltore»<sup>AXII</sup>; «coltivatore»<sup>AXV</sup>; «funzionario-e.»<sup>M7</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE 3, 43+</i>	r.III:12b	engar
[β] Word List A	<i>MEE 3, 53</i>	o.VIII:15	engar

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1294')	engar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE 4, 63+</i>	o.XII:15'
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<sup>625</sup> *CAD B* (1965), s.v. *bukru*, p.309ff. Conti, *MisEb 3* (1990), p.111 with bibliography. See also Kogan, *Genealogical Classification* (2015), p.80 and fn.233.

<sup>626</sup> See also Bartash, *JCS 70* (2018), p.10 fn.28.

<sup>627</sup> See Bartash, *JCS 70* (2018); see also the discussion sub → *dam* and → *guruš*.

**Bibliography:** Alberti, *VO* 8 (1992), p.pp.184–85; Pomponio, *NABU* 1996/84 (1996) (with bibliography).

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam, ir<sub>11</sub>, ugula (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** *A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>*, *Du-u<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [fabrics] / PN / ugula engar / PN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / in GN

[01b] [fabrics] / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> / PN / ugula engar / PN

[01c] [fabrics] / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / PN / ugula engar

[01d] [fabrics] / al<sub>6</sub> / PN / ugula engar

[01e] [fabrics] / engar-engar

[02] [silver] / al<sub>6</sub> / PN / ugula engar / en

[03] [wool] / PN / ugula engar

[04] [wool] / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> / PN / ugula engar / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[05] [kunga<sub>2</sub>, IGI-nita] / lu<sub>2</sub> 2 šu / PN / ugula engar

[06] [wool] dam / ugula engar maḥ

[07] [wool] dam / engar tur

**Prosopography:** (u. = ugula engar) *A-du* (*Du-u<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), *A-gi* (*A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>*), *Ba-du-lum* (u.), *En-’a<sub>3</sub>-um*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>* (u.), *Gur-da-mu* (u.), *Ib-dur-i-šar* (u.), *Ib-dur-il*, *I-da-ni-ki-mu* (u.), *Ir-NE* (u.), *I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>* (u.), *Zi-la-i<sub>3</sub>* (u.)

**Discussion:** the profession of the engar has been studied in detail by Pomponio, who demonstrated that at Ebla APIN should be read engar and it is not a variant for nimgir.<sup>628</sup> The term is attested in most cases as ugula engar, and there are no reasons to believe that this function is not related to the agricultural field. The ugula engar was probably an officer who supervised agricultural work.

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**ga-du<sub>8</sub>** (also spelled du<sub>8</sub>:ga) (69): «wet-nurse and nursemaid»

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AXII</sup>; «nutrice, balia»<sup>AXV</sup>; «nutrice, balia» (LL 949 senza glossa)<sup>AXII</sup>; «balia»<sup>AXV</sup>

**Lexical**

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A *MEE* 4, 115 r.X:13 ga-du<sub>8</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (949)	ga-du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+ r.XV:8
[γ] VE (949)	ga-du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+ r.VII:2

**Bibliography:** Biga, *VO* 12 (2000); Pomponio, *VO* 5 (1982), pp.207–9.

**Contextual association(s):**

<sup>628</sup> Pomponio, *NABU* 1996/84 (1996).

**Professions:** dam, dam en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> PN/en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), dumu-nita PN/en (§4.6 Kinship Terms, p.249), NE.DI (§4.4 Entertainers, p.172)

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [goods] (/ <sup>f</sup>PN) / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-(mi<sub>2</sub>/nita)

[01b] [goods] (/ <sup>f</sup>PN) / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-(mi<sub>2</sub>/nita) / PN

[01c] [goods] / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-nita en / GN / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01d] [goods] / N ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-(mi<sub>2</sub>/nita)

[goods] / N ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-nita / wa / N ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>

[03] [goods] / PN / dumu-nita / <sup>f</sup>PN / ga-du<sub>8</sub>

[04] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / dam en / [goods] / dam / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>

[05] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / MA-LIK-TUM

[06a] [goods] / N dam / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / N dumu-nita N dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en / GN

[06b] [goods] / N dam / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / PN / dumu-nita en / e<sub>3</sub> / uru-bar

[07] [goods] / <sup>f</sup>PN / in ud / tu-da / [goods] / ga-du<sub>8</sub>

[08] [goods] / en / GN / [goods] / ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-nita-SU<sub>3</sub>

[09] [wool] / ga-du<sub>8</sub>

**Prosopography:**<sup>629</sup> (in brackets are indicated the wet-nurse's son; the children they took care of are marked with a \*) *A-zi-za* (Il<sub>2</sub>-<sup>2</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu\*; *A-wa-i-šar*), <sup>3</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ga-ša-du*, *Gi-sa/ša-du* (*Gi-dana-im*; en [= Yiṭgar-Damu\*]), *Iš-lu/ru*<sub>12</sub>-NI-a.

**Discussion:** the meaning of ga-du<sub>8</sub>, “wet-nurse,” has been recognized by Pomponio in 1982,<sup>630</sup> while the role and functions of the wet-nurses at Ebla have been studied in detail by Biga.<sup>631</sup> Based on the etymology of the term (ga “milk” + du<sub>8</sub> “to bring”),<sup>632</sup> there seems to be no doubt on the interpretation of this function: data, however, suggest that to this category belonged not only women who breastfeed, but women who, in a broader sense, took care of children. The social status of these women probably depended on the child they were performing their services for: Qīšatu, the wet-nurse of king Yiṭgar-Damu, is one of the most frequent mentioned wet-nurses and is frequently mentioned among the ladies of the court. Her death is recorded in [75.2247].<sup>633</sup> Generally speaking, one wet-nurse was able to take care only of one child at a time (see accounting models [01a-b]):

[75.1868 = *A IV 22*] r.X:3-7: 3 ga-du<sub>8</sub> / 3 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / 4 ga-du<sub>8</sub> / 4 dumu-nita en; «3 wet-nurses of 3 daughters, 4 wet-nurses of 4 sons of the king.»

By the time young Kešdūt was still in Ebla, before she married the king of Kiš, twenty-three wet-nurses were present in the Palace:

[75.2168 = *M 12 20*] o.VII:8-2: 23 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI / ga-du<sub>8</sub> ga-du<sub>8</sub> / dumu-nita dumu-nita / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>

<sup>629</sup> See also the prosopography published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list\\_of\\_pn/ga-du8.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/list_of_pn/ga-du8.pdf)) (last visit 2019-26-07). See also Biga, *VO* 12 (2000), pp.84–85.

<sup>630</sup> Pomponio, *VO* 5 (1982), pp.207–9. The spelling du<sub>8</sub>:ga is almost exclusively attested in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712.

<sup>631</sup> Quoted in Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.258.

<sup>632</sup> Pomponio, *VO* 5 (1982), pp.209.

<sup>633</sup> Biga, *VO* 12 (2000).

dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / en; «23 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI garments, (for the) wet-nurses (of the) sons (and) daughters (of the) king»

This number seems too high: [75.2168 = M 12 20] can be dated to the second part of the of Yibbi-Dikir's vizierate and it must not be chronologically distant from the texts of the Small Archive L.2712, where the nurses mentioned are generally nine or ten. In [75.527 = A IX 16] five ninda are given to the young girls and the wet-nurse(s). If the twenty-three tug<sub>2</sub>-NI.NI mentioned in [75.2168 = M 12 20] were given to twenty-three wet-nurses, these women were taking care of twenty-three children. However, the partial overlap between the group of the wet-nurses and that of the female dancers suggests a different interpretation. As Catagnoti and Biga noticed, among the wet-nurses are women who also appear in the list of female dancers: at least sixteen ga-du<sub>8</sub> also appear in the NE.DI lists.<sup>634</sup> This overlap is not easy to explain: as Catagnoti suggested, one possible explanation is that the group of female dances often mentioned with the ladies of the court was not composed exclusively by dancers. Less likely is Biga's hypothesis that after breastfeeding some women were employed again as dancers. Two other explanations can be taken into consideration: the first is that a dancer (who maybe just gave birth to her child) could occasionally be chosen as a wet-nurse. This situation would also have led to the suspension of her professional activity even for a prolonged period (sometimes even more than one year). The second is that at Ebla women who cared for children are defined 'wet-nurses' in a broad sense. A terminological distinction, not attested in the Ebla documents, is that between wet- and dry-nurses: at Mari, for example, the *mušēniqtu* ("wet-nurse") and the *târîtu* ("dry nurse, nursemaid") were kept distinct.<sup>635</sup> Children, who lived with women until they reached a certain age, could also be cared for by women who were not wet-nurses by profession.

The wet-nurses had children of their own, a necessary prerequisite since a woman can breastfeed only after giving birth: one Gīda-Na'im was the son of Qīšatu ([76.530 = A I 5] r.VIII:17-21),<sup>636</sup> while one *A-wa-i-šar* was the son of 'Azīza.

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**(dam)** GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI) (6): «(women of the) basket(s)?»

**Previous translation(s):** (una categoria di donne (forse addette alla confezione e al trasporto delle ceste di lana e tessuti))<sup>41X</sup>;

see also → 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, → a-si-ra-tum, → dam

Ebla unilingual

<b>[α]</b> ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43	r.III:13a	GA <sub>2</sub> ×GI-GA <sub>2</sub> ×GI
Abu Salabiḥ			
<b>[β]</b> ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 61	o.XI:10	GA <sub>2</sub> ×X-gi
<b>[γ]</b> ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 69	o.r.X':5'	GA <sub>2</sub> ×SAL-gi

**Bibliography:** Bonechi Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999), pp.21–27; Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), p.385

**Accounting models:**

**[01]** šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> N še *bar* / še-ba 1 iti / N dam / GA<sub>2</sub>×GI-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI (1 *mi-at*)

<sup>634</sup> Biga, *VO* 12 (2000), p.80 fn.38; Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.151–52; see also the lists of ga-du<sub>8</sub> and NE.DI published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* (<https://www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-338-studies.html>) (last visit 2019-26-07).

<sup>635</sup> *CAD* M/2 (1977), s.v. *mušēniqtu*, pp.265–66; *CAD* T (2006), s.v. *târîtu*, pp.232–33.

<sup>636</sup> For a possible identification of Gīda-Na'im the merchant with the son of Qīšatu, see Milano, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), p.419 fn.47, and Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.136.

[02] N dam / GA<sub>2</sub>×GI-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI / e<sub>3</sub> / uru-bar // nu ku<sub>2</sub> / še-ba (80)

[04] N dam PN / ... / AN.ŠE<sub>2</sub>.GU<sub>2</sub> N dam / GA<sub>2</sub>×GI / DAM:DINGIR<sup>!</sup> / N dam PN / ... / AN.ŠE<sub>2</sub>.GU<sub>2</sub> N dam / GA<sub>2</sub>×GI

[05] N la-ḫa «GIŠGAL»-TITAB

**Discussion:** According to Bonechi the writing <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> can be interpreted as /<sup>’</sup>asrum/, the Semitic equivalent of dam GA<sub>2</sub>×GI, “locked house (= workhouse)” (Akk. *gagûm*),<sup>637</sup> from the Semitic root <sup>’</sup>sr, “to tie, to yoke, hook up” and “to bind, make prisoner”.<sup>638</sup> The dam GA<sub>2</sub>×GI / <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> should therefore be interpreted as women held captive in a “locked house” or “workhouse”. A GN NI-za-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup> (var. NI-za-ar<sup>ki</sup>, NI-za-ri<sub>2</sub>-um<sup>ki</sup>) and a PN NI-za-ru<sub>12</sub> are also mentioned in the documents, but are probably not related to the <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>.<sup>639</sup> This term clearly qualifies a group of women: it should be emphasized, however, that the two terms (GA<sub>2</sub>×GI and <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>) are used in different contexts and there does not seem to be any obvious parallelism in their usage. GA<sub>2</sub>×GI is mentioned exclusively in the texts from the Small Archive L.2712, while <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> occurs in the texts of the Great Archive L.2769.

As Milano noted,<sup>640</sup> GA<sub>2</sub>×GI is not attested in the *VE*: a gloss similar to the terms → <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> and → *a-si-ra-tum* is attested, however, for GA<sub>2</sub>×GEME<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> (*VE* 1024 <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-lu-um); note, however, that the same Semitic spelling is also the Semitic translation of the verb te(.g), “to approach” (*VE* 1059, te / <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-lu-um).<sup>641</sup> Furthermore, GA<sub>2</sub>×GI is attested in two lexical compositions: in the ‘List of Sumerian Words B’ (*MEE* 3 45-46, r.IV:13) GA<sub>2</sub>×GI is listed after gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>. Powell suggests a reading pisan<sub>x</sub>, but a reading gurdub is also possible.<sup>642</sup> The term GA<sub>2</sub>×GI is attested also in the Ebla version of the Abu Salabiḫ list of names and profession:

	Abu Salabiḫ		Ebla
	<i>OIP</i> 99 61	<i>OIP</i> 99 69	<i>MEE</i> 3 43
l.266	Ur-saḡ-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	Ur-saḡ-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	Ur-saḡ-pa-e <sub>3</sub> engar
l.267	engar	’engar’	
l.268	Me-tag	Me-tag	Me-tag GA <sub>2</sub> ×GI-GA <sub>2</sub> ×GI
l.269	GA <sub>2</sub> ×X-gi	ama <sub>5</sub> (GA <sub>2</sub> ×SAL)-gi	
l.270	’Lugal-dumu-zid’	Lugal-dumu-zid	Lugal-dumu-zid a MIR
l.271	DIM	DIM	

In the Abu Salabiḫ version, one manuscript has GA<sub>2</sub>×SAL-gi in the place of GA<sub>2</sub>×GI-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI.

[75.446 = *A* IX 53] lists two groups of dam GA<sub>2</sub>×GI (Table 15, p.238): the first (dam GA<sub>2</sub>×GI DAM:DINGIR<sup>!</sup>) is a group of 88 women at the service of several men (ib-ib, and lu e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir, according to prosopography) and women. The secondo group (96 women), simply defined as dam GA<sub>2</sub>×GI, depends from both men and women. Among the second group are two dam <sup>giš</sup>sim and one ga:du<sub>8</sub>: it thus seems that a wet-nurses could be also characterized, from the administrative perspective, as GA<sub>2</sub>×GI and that the two statuses were not incompatible. In conclusion there is not enough evidence to consider GA<sub>2</sub>×GI and <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub> homonyms. See also sub → <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>637</sup> Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999); *CAD* G (1956), s.v. *gagû*, p.10, “(a building or section of the temple district, reserved for the women of the *naditu*-class)”.

<sup>638</sup> Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999); *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, p.110, s.v. <sup>’</sup>sr.

<sup>639</sup> See Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1 (1993), p.270–71 and Bonechi, *WO* 30 (1999), p.27.

<sup>640</sup> Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), p.385.

<sup>641</sup> The gloss of *VE* 1059, te / <sup>’</sup>a<sub>5</sub>-za-lu-um is probably related to the root \*’zl, “to go”. See Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.76.

<sup>642</sup> For the reading pisan<sub>x</sub> of GA<sub>2</sub>×GI see Powell, *JCS* 27 (1975), p.182; for the reading gurdub (a basket for fish), see Civil, *RA* 61 (1967), p.65 and the *DCCLT* edition of the text (P241395).

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**game<sub>2</sub>** (12): «female employee» (fem. of ir<sub>11</sub>)

**Previous translation(s):** «serva» (in genere destinataria di lana da lavorare)<sup>4111</sup>; «maid-servant»<sup>4V1111</sup>; «serva»<sup>4X11, 4X111, 4X11, 42</sup>; «serva, dipendente»<sup>4X11</sup> «maidservant»<sup>4X11</sup>

see also → ir<sub>11</sub>

### Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1297) SAL.KUR / *la-ba-u<sub>9</sub>-lum* MEE 4 9-11 r.XVIII:3'

**Bibliography:** Catagnoti, in *HdO* 721 (2003), pp.230–31; Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.390–91; Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), p.264.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, ir<sub>11</sub>

### Accounting models:

[01a] [wool] game<sub>2</sub>

[01b] [wool] šu-kešda game<sub>2</sub>

[02] [goods] / game<sub>2</sub> / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / PN

[03] [goods] / N game<sub>2</sub> / ama-gal en

**Discussion:** game<sub>2</sub> is glossed in the VE as *la-ba-u<sub>9</sub>-lum*, interpreted by Sjöberg as “not married woman.”<sup>643</sup> Hajouz suggests that the gloss might not be a Semitic word.<sup>644</sup> Note that in the fragmentary text [75.5696 = A XII 1143] the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> and game<sub>2</sub> of Arrulum are mentioned in the same context; the female employees of Tubuḥu-Ḥadda are mentioned in [75.3436 = A III 375]. The term is the feminine equivalent of «employee.» See the discussion sub → ir<sub>11</sub>.

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**(dam) gun<sub>3</sub>[(-gun<sub>3</sub>)-mi<sub>2</sub>]** (22): «dyer»

**Previous translation(s):** «tintore»<sup>4X11, 4X111, 4X11</sup>; «dyer»<sup>4X11</sup>; «dipendente»<sup>42, 47</sup>

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), p.28 fn.2; Biga, in *Textile Terminologies* (2010), pp.152–53.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, dumu-nita, simug

**Places:** *Ga-sa<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ḥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>*

### Accounting models:

[01] [fabrics] / dumu-nita dumu-nita / gun<sub>3</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub>

[02] [wool] / gun<sub>3</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub> (/ GN)

[03] [wool] / gun<sub>3</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub> / ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>

[04a] [wool] / N dam gun<sub>3</sub>

<sup>643</sup> Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), p.264.

<sup>644</sup> Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.390–91.

- [04b] N še *bar* / N dam gun<sub>3</sub>  
 [05] [fabrics] / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / gun<sub>3</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> / MA-LIK-TUM / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 [06] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> / simug(-simug) / (igi-)dur / bur-gil / gun<sub>3</sub>-gun<sub>3</sub> / tug<sub>2</sub>-ZI.ZI / nig<sub>2</sub>-sagšu

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**guruš** (498): «(adult) man»

**Previous translation(s):** «servo» (colui che svolge lavoro servile; corrispondente femminile: dam)<sup>AIII</sup>; «servo»<sup>AIIV</sup>; «lavorante» (correlato al femminile dam)<sup>AVII</sup>; «adult worker»<sup>VIII</sup>; «lavoratore (dipendente dall'amministrazione)»; (generalmente al plur.: guruš-guruš) «uomo, lavoratore (dipendente dell'amministrazione)»<sup>AIIX</sup>; vedi anche guruš'(KAL)-zi «dipendente» (LL 1385')<sup>AXII</sup>; «uomo»<sup>AXIII</sup>; «funzionario, lavoratore»<sup>AXV</sup>; «uomo» (*ARET IX*, p.337: dipendente dall'amministrazione, impiegato in attività di produzione e trasformazione, e anche in attività militari)<sup>AXVI</sup>; «dipendente»<sup>M2, M7</sup>

**Bibliography:** Archi, *HSAO 2* (1988); Archi, in *Fs Owen* (2010), pp.20–22, 27ff; Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), p.58; D'Agostino, *MEE 7* (1996), p.72–73; Davidović, in *HSAO 2* (1988);

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> (§4.2 Army and Soldiers, p.149), dam, maškim, ugula

**Places:** SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

- [01] [goods] / PN / guruš  
 [02a] [goods] / N guruš / [goods] / PN  
     [02b] [goods] / N guruš / [goods] / GN / TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub> (/ in GN )  
     [02c] [goods] / N guruš / [goods] / N guruš / GN / šu-du<sub>8</sub>  
     [02d] [goods] / N guruš / GN  
     [02e] [goods] (/ N guruš / GN...) ḥu-mu-DU GN  
 [03] [goods] / N guruš / [wool] / N dam / gaba-ru / DN  
 [04] [goods] / N guruš / GN / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / en / ŠEŠ.II.IB  
 [05a] N guruš-N / PN  
     [05b] N guruš-N / N dam / GN / PN (/lu<sub>2</sub> PN)  
 [06] [wool] / N guruš / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>  
 [07] [goods] / N guruš / GN / u<sub>5</sub> / GN / gibil / MA-ZA-LUM / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>  
 [08] [goods] / PN / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / guruš / GN / GN  
 [09] [goods] / PN guruš maḥ  
 [10a] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> guruš / ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num / PN  
     [10b] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>k</sup> guruš / dumu-nita dumu-nita banda<sub>3</sub> / PN ugula  
 [11] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>k</sup> guruš-guruš ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>  
 [12] [silver] nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / guruš / dam / PN  
 [13a] N še *bar* / (ninda/ŠE+TIN) guruš(-guruš)



[13b] N še *bar* / še+TIN guruš

[13c] N še *bar* / še+TIN guruš / ku<sub>2</sub> / guruš-guruš / in N ud

[13d] N še *bar* gibil / N še libir / še-ba guruš-guruš

[14] [wool] PN / maškim / PN / guruš / hi-mu-DU

[15a] [textiles and wool] / N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> guruš

[15b] [wool] / N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> guruš / ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> / PN

[15c] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> guruš / ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> / PN

[15d] [wool] / mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / N guruš / ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> / PN

[15e] [wool] / mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / PN / ugula *mi-at* guruš (maḥ/-N)

[16] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> [(/ N dumu-nita dumu-nita / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>)/ N guruš guruš nar.nar]

**Discussion:** the text [75.2601 = A I 44] (see also below) describes groups of men and women, qualified as *guruš* and *dam*, who receive quantities of silver. This text clarifies one main aspect of the term *guruš*: at Ebla *guruš* is, at least in specific contexts, equivalent to the term *dam*, the two terms indicating only a difference in gender. As observed for the term *dam* (see sub → *dam*), this word is used as a generic term for “(adult) woman” (with a function similar to the sign SAL/mi<sub>2</sub> when referring to specific professions), and as a kinship term denoting an man’s wife: however, the term *guruš*, although sharing a similar meaning of “(adult) man,” does not exhibit the same textual pattern. There are no attestations of *nar-guruš* or the like: any profession name that refers to both men and women is never, from a morphological point of view, feminine or masculine.<sup>645</sup> The gender mark *dam/mi<sub>2</sub>* is thus added only in the case of women: any Sumerian profession term is considered masculine by the Semitic-speaking scribes of the Archives, who introduced the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine in Sumerian terminology.<sup>646</sup> Similarly, there is no attestation of the term *guruš* with the meaning “husband:” this absence has two obvious explanations. First, all kinship relationships related to marriage are expressed according to a male Ego (see §3.1 Kinship, Households, and Families, p.41). Furthermore, the basic meaning of the term *guruš* is “male,” while in Sumerian the term for “husband” is *dam*, whose original meaning is in fact “spouse” (of both genders).<sup>647</sup> Ug. *mt* (Akk. *mutu*) has in fact a generic meaning “man, individual, member” besides that of “man, husband:”<sup>648</sup> a possible explanation is thus that Eblaite scribes introduced the term *guruš* as the male equivalent of *dam*, which originally had a generic meaning “spouse” (either male or female). The feminine equivalent of a Sumerian term was rendered by the scribes though the marker *dam/mi<sub>2</sub>*: *dam* was thus perceived as a feminine noun by the Eblaite scribes, probably because the cuneiform sign DAM ‘begins’ with SAL/mi<sub>2</sub>.

As it can be noted in Figure 21, p.212, the term *guruš* is mainly attested in the documents of the Small Archives L.2712 (mainly in its reduplicated form, *guruš-guruš*), and in the accountings of the Palace personnel (*ARET XX*).

<sup>645</sup> This stands true in the case of Sumerian profession/function names: Sumerian distinguished only between “human” and “non-human;” in a limited number of cases, gender is expressed thorough the use of two different words (ex. šeš/nin, “brother”/“sister”). See Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (2003), p.29; Jagersma, *Descriptive Grammar* (2010), p.102. Furthermore, Sumerian profession/function names are much more common than Semitic ones: see the Semitic profession names collected by Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2016), which rarely occur in the administrative documents.

<sup>646</sup> See also Bartash, *JCS* 70 (2018), pp.9–10.

<sup>647</sup> Wilcke, *Early ANE Law* (2003), pp.60–61. See also *CAD A/2* (1962), s.v. *aššatu* (*dam* = *mu-tum*, *aš<sub>2</sub>-ša<sub>2</sub>-tum*), p.462.

<sup>648</sup> *CAD M/2* (1977), s.v. *mutu*, “1) husband, 2) man, warrior,” pp.313–14; *DUL<sup>3</sup>*, s.v. *mt* (III), pp.590–91.

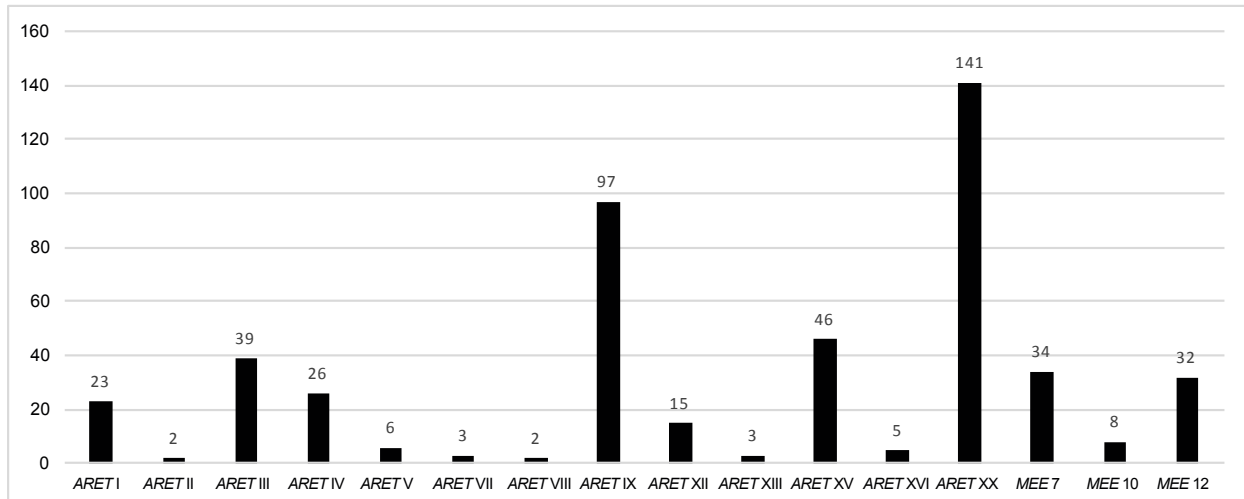


Figure 21 - Distribution by edition of the occurrences of the term *guruš*.

From the analysis of the contexts in which the term *guruš* occurs, it emerges that the term (as for example → *dam*, → *ugula*) can take on different meaning depending on the context.

Table 26, p.243 summarizes the content of [75.1655 = *M* 7 16]: fifteen groups of men are related to fourteen *lugals* and the *SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, for a total of 11,700 individuals. As D’Agostino noted the colophon of the text (*guruš-guruš / tuš / aš<sub>2</sub>-ti / <sup>ki</sup>Ti-in / iti i-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>*, «men stationed at Tin, month IV») does not explain the reasons for this deployment, but is probably due to military reasons.<sup>649</sup> The word *guruš* thus indicates the “(adult) man” able not only to work, but also to participate in military expeditions: in [75.12451 = *Archi*, in *Fs Owen* (2010), pp.20–22] a distinction is made between *guruš nig<sub>2</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub>* (“men fit for military expeditions”) and *guruš kin<sub>5</sub>-ak* (“men fit for work”) (see also → *aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>*, §4.2 *Army and Soldiers*, p.149). In the text [75.2601 = *A* I 44] the reason for the deployment of more than 2,800 men and 1,500 women is also omitted (see Table 25, p.242): the document, unfortunately damaged, lists several groups of men and women as the recipients of rations (*še-ba*) accounted in silver. The individuals, both men and women, are divided into two categories marked by the numerals III and IV, which indicate the number of shekels pro capite. Interesting is the fact that in the first part of the text the groups of men and women are equal in number of members. In the second part, the smiths and the carpenters also belong to the category of the *guruš-vi* (6 shekels for 160 men = 16 minas). The account seems to be monthly. [75.2601 = *A* I 44] clearly has no military connotation, especially due to the presence of female personnel. The numeral *did non* only indicate the number of shekels pro capite, as [75.1780 = *A* XX 14] demonstrates (see Table 28, p.245): in this text the *guruš* are divided in → *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>*: each *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>* is subdivided in several groups of 20 people (→ *e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>*), numbered progressively from *maḥ* (“great”) to *x*, and supervised by an *ugula*. Each *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>* is supervised by a man, whose title is not mentioned: unfortunately the supervisors who controlled the groups of *guruš* occur almost exclusively in these texts, and are rarely mentioned in other administrative documents.<sup>650</sup>

Groups of *guruš* are mentioned also in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712: daily and monthly rations for 50 to 60 *e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>* of *guruš* (1,000-1,200 men) are listed. While the activities in which the *guruš* are involved are not indicated, some data can be gathered related to the number of persons involved in these accountings. [75.325 = *A* IX 6] registers a group of 50 *e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>* of *guruš* (1,000 men) who receive 360 measures of barley for bread (*g. ninda*) and 180 measures of barley for ‘beer’ (*g. še+TIN*) per month (see Table 19, p.240). The group of people qualified as *en (wa abba<sub>2</sub>)* receives 120 *g. ninda* and 120 *g. še+TIN* each month: assuming that these two social groups receive the same daily ration, the *en (wa abba<sub>2</sub>)* would be a group of 333 individuals. This is of course not the case, since it is almost certain that the king and the high representatives received

<sup>649</sup> D’Agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996), p.72–73. *Archi*, *HSAO* 2 (1988), p.138.

<sup>650</sup> For the prosopography of these individuals, see *Archi*, *ARET* XX (2018), pp.214–17.

higher rations; the number of people involved is, however, incredibly high. Note that a group of *guruš* is mentioned in the accounts of sheeps, as [75.2096 = *M* 12 9]: as Milano noted, although the term used by the scribes is *ninda*, “offering,” the sheeps registered in these accountings were also meant to be distributed as food rations.

Note that the expression “(N) *guruš*” also indicates particular types of bracelets (see accounting models [02a]).

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**ib(-ib) (31): ?**

**Previous translation(s):** (anche in funzione del plurale *ib-ib*) una categoria di funzionari<sup>4IX</sup>;

**Bibliography:** Milano, *SEL* 12 (1995)

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** a-am, dam en, dam (*kikken*), dam (*Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup>*), KID<sub>2</sub>SAG (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), u<sub>2</sub>-a

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en, e<sub>2</sub> am, e<sub>2</sub> nagar

**People:** *Il-zi<sub>2</sub>*, *Ib-du-ra*

**Group(s):** see sub Prosopography.

**Phraseologies:**

[01] N še *bar* *ib-ib* / N *ib* / N še *bar* / N a-am / N še *bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

[02] N *ib* / lu<sub>2</sub> 2 šu PN / N *ib* / lu<sub>2</sub> 2 šu PN / N *ib* / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-am / 3 *ib* / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> nagar

[03] N < še *bar* > N dam en / N še [ba]r / N a-a[m] / N še *bar* / N *ib* / N še *bar* / N / N / dam / ku<sub>2</sub> / *ba-ri-zú*

[04] N še *bar* / N dam / N še *bar* / N a-am / N še *bar* / N *ib* / N še *bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

[05] N [še] *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* / N dam / N a-am / N *ib* / N še *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* / N u<sub>2</sub>-a

**Prosopography:** a list of *ib-ib* is provided in [75.537 = *A* IX 44]. Milano, *ARET* IX (1990) pp.134–35, confronts this list with an unpublished text [75.250] and the almost identical list of *ib-ib*. This is the only list of *ib-ib* known.<sup>651</sup>

*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*, *A-da-a-du*, *Lu-du-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I-šar*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu*, *Mi-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-be*, *Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ga-da-NE*, *Ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Si-a-ḥum*, *Ma<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>*, *Aš<sub>2</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Za-mi-lu*, *Zi-kir-ra-v* / *Zi-ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*, *I-a-da-mu*, *Su-ma-bad<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *NE-da-ru<sub>12</sub>*, *I-za-iš-lu*, *Zi-la-be*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*, *Šu-ma-lik*, *Ib-du-ma-lik*, *En-na*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*, *Wa-ti-lu*, *BE-zu<sub>3</sub>-NE-ḤAR*, *Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>*

**Discussion:** the list given in [75.537 = *A* IX 44] and [75.250] is partially reproduced in [75.523 = *A* VIII 523], where 12 of the *ib-ib* are mentioned: *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*, *A-da-a-du*, *I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*, *zi-kir-NE*,<sup>652</sup> *Ib-dur-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Wa-ti-lu*, *Ma<sup>’</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>*, *Si-a-um*,<sup>653</sup> *Za-mi-lu*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik* (also mentioned in [75.523 = *A* VIII 523] but omitted in [75.537 = *A* IX 44] and [75.250] are: *I-du-na-nu-NE* *ŠUM-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *I-ti-NE-II*). However, they are qualified as ur<sub>4</sub> and not as *ib(-ib)*.

The composition of this group is probably given in [75.236 = *A* IX 37], r.IV:1-8: 20 belong to

<sup>651</sup> See also the prosopography published in *The Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/ib%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/ib%20(1).pdf)) (last visit 2019-26-07).

<sup>652</sup> Probably a variant for *Zi-kir-ra-NE*.

<sup>653</sup> Probably a variant for *Si-a-ḥum*.

*I<sub>2</sub>-zi*, 15 to *Ib-du-ra*, 4 to the *e<sub>2</sub>* am, 3 to the *e<sub>2</sub>* nagar (20+15+4+3=42). The *ib-ib* are frequently mentioned with the “water bearers” (→ *a-am*) and the *u<sub>2</sub>-a*, and were thus probably involved in the management of the so-called *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup>*. There are no elements suggesting a possible interpretation of this term: note, however, that a *lu<sub>2</sub>* IB is mentioned in the ED *Lu<sub>2</sub>* C, and followed by *lu<sub>2</sub>* *ninda<sub>2</sub>* (“un addetto al pane”) and *lu<sub>2</sub>* *ku<sub>6</sub>-DU-da* (“un addetto al pesce”).<sup>654</sup>  
See also the discussion *sub* → *dam*.

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**ir<sub>11</sub>** (123): «employee» (masc. of *gme<sub>2</sub>*)

**Previous translation(s):** «*schiavo*»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX</sup>; «*servant*»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «*servitore*»<sup>AXII</sup>; «*servo*»<sup>AXV, AXIII, AXVI, M2</sup>; «*servant*»<sup>AXX</sup>; «*lavoratori-i.*»<sup>M7</sup>.

see also → *gme<sub>2</sub>*

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *Studia Eblaïtica* 2 (2016), p.27; Catagnoti, in *HdO* 721 (2003), pp.230–31; Milano, *SEL* 12 (1995).

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *a-am*, *gme<sub>2</sub>*, *ib(-ib)*, *u<sub>2</sub>-a*, *ugula* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** *GIGIR<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Ul-lu<sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [silver] *še-ba* / *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>* (/ PN)

[01b] N *še-ba* / *ir<sub>11</sub>*

[01c] N *še-ba* / *ir<sub>11</sub>* / GN

[02] N / *ir<sub>11</sub>* / GN

[03] [silver] *nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>* / *ir<sub>11</sub>* / GN<sub>1-2</sub> / *nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>*

[04] [goods] / PN / *ugula* *ir<sub>11</sub>*

[05] [goods] / N *ir<sub>11</sub>* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *simug*

[06a] [wool] *dumu-nita* *dumu-nita* / *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*

[06b] [wool] (to make) [fabrics] / N *ir<sub>11</sub>* *dumu-zi* / PN

[06c] N *e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>* / *dumu-nita* *dumu-nita* / *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*

[07a] [goods] / GN / *al<sub>6</sub>-tuš* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*

[07b] [goods] / *dumu-nita* GN / *al-bu<sub>x</sub>(PAD)* / *e<sub>2</sub>* *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*

[08] N *še gu<sub>3</sub>-bar* / *ir<sub>11</sub>* / *GIGIR<sup>ki</sup>*

**Prosopography:** *Zi-mi-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (i. ama-gal en)

**Groups:** (*ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>* PN) *A-bi<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>9</sub>*, en, *EN-gi-šum*, *En-na-il*, *I-ba-zi-mi-nu*, *I-da-ni-ki-mu*, *U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>*, *Wa-ba-lum*; (*ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>* DN): <sup>d</sup>*en-ki*, <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*

**Discussion:** the socio-historical study of the category of people defined as *ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>* has been studied in detail by Milano.<sup>655</sup> The following discussion is thus based on new available data. An important detail about the figure of the *ir<sub>11</sub>* is mentioned in the treaty between Ebla and Abarsal:

<sup>654</sup> See Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.80.

<sup>655</sup> Milano, *SEL* 12 (1995).

[75.2420 = A XIII 5] dumu-nita / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / u<sub>3</sub>-ma / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / ir<sub>11</sub> / Ib-la<sup>ki</sup> / i<sub>3</sub>-til<sub>2</sub> / A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / e<sub>2</sub> / Ib-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>ki</sup> / [nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>] / [DU] / [su-ma] / Ib-la<sup>ki</sup> / geme<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>11</sub> / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / šub / du-tum / 50 nita:udu / ħi-na-sum; «(when) a young men from Abarsal, or a young woman from Abarsal are servants of (a man from) Ebla, (and the man from) Abarsal [goes] (to) the house of (the man from) Ebla [to ransom (him/her)], [if] (the man from) Ebla frees the captured female servant (or) servant, 50 rams will be given (as) ransom price.»

In the section dealing with commercial frauds, the problem related to the ir<sub>11</sub> from Abarsal is addressed. The key words of this paragraph are “trade” and “ransom”: given the position of this paragraph within the text, these individuals were not necessarily war prisoners, even though this hypothesis cannot be entirely excluded. Despite the lacunae, the integration of nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> seems likely: the status of geme<sub>2</sub> and ir<sub>11</sub> was such that it required a payment for their release. It should also be emphasized that the individuals mentioned here are not of Eblaite origin. Another chancery document suggests that the ir<sub>11</sub> were not free persons:

[75.10195 = A XVI 30] o.VII:3-8: zah<sub>3</sub> / 1 ir<sub>11</sub> / 10 ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / zah<sub>3</sub> / 1 geme<sub>2</sub> / 10 ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>; «(if he lets) a servant escape, 10 shekels of silver, (if he lets) a female-servant escape, 10 shekels of silver».

As already stated, however, the two chancery documents mention foreign ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>, and the evidence here presented does not suggest that Eblaite ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> were held captive. The Eblaite ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> were also involved in construction works:

[75.2428 = M 12 35] o.XV:13–22, 43–46, r.II:4-9: 1 ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> garaš<sub>x</sub><sup>sar</sup> kur / TAR(=30) ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / še-in / šE<sub>3</sub>? i<sub>3</sub>-dim<sub>2</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> / en / ugula-ir<sub>11</sub>-ugula-ir<sub>11</sub> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti [...] šU<sub>2</sub>+šA gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in / sig<sub>4</sub>-gar / ugula-ir<sub>11</sub>-ugula-ir<sub>11</sub> [...] 2 ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> KUR.KUR / šU<sub>2</sub>+šA gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in / ugula-ir<sub>11</sub>-ugula-ir<sub>11</sub> / 3 šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti; «1 mina of silver, for the purchase of leeks, 30 (shekels of) silver, for the purchase of straw for the building works at the Palace, (to the) overseers of the ir<sub>11</sub> have received; 20 weighted shekels of silver, for the purchase of straw (for the) brick(s), (to) the overseers of the ir<sub>11</sub>; 2 minas of silver, for the purchase of wood?, 20 weighted shekels of silver, for the purchase of straw, (to) the overseers of the ir<sub>11</sub>, three (or third) receipt(s).»<sup>656</sup>

As already noted by Milano, the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> are divided in groups, generally guided by an overseer: as other professional categories, they could be young apprentices (dumu-nita-dumu-nita ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>); a female category is also attested (geme<sub>2</sub>). Particularly relevant is the unpublished chancery document quoted by Milano, which probably mentions an *en-ma* of the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> to Tubuḥ-Hadda, son of vizier Yibbi-Dikir.<sup>657</sup>

[76.117] o.III:2<sup>?</sup>-5<sup>?</sup>: ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> / si-in / Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu<sup>d</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-da; «(thus) the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> to Tubuḥ-Hadda»

The ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> who addressed Tubuḥ-Hadda were certainly not slaves or servants: the ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> probably performed different types of tasks for other individuals, and their social status depended on the kind of work they performed. The term thus indicate, in a very broad sense, a type of employee, who performed work for a fee.<sup>658</sup>

See also sub → a-am.

<sup>656</sup> For the interpretation of this passage, see Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016), pp.26–27 Bonechi suggests that the leeks were used to feed the ir<sub>11</sub>. On this plant see Catagnoti, *QdL* 17 (2007), p.222f. For another delivery of leek to ir<sub>11</sub>, see [75.2429 = M 12 36] o.XV:25-XVI:4: 1 ma-na <ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub>> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> garaš<sub>x</sub><sup>sar</sup> kur / šU<sub>2</sub>+šA-5 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 mi-at ib<sub>2</sub>×III<sup>lug</sup>2 bar<sub>6</sub> / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> gibil; «1 mina <of silver> for the purchase of leeks, 25 weighted shekels of silver for the purchase of 100 white waistbands, for the new ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>».

<sup>657</sup> Originally quoted in Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988), p.298; see also Milano, *SEL* 12 (1995), p.122.

<sup>658</sup> See also Catagnoti, in *HdO* 721 (2003), pp.230–31. Catagnoti also suggests that at Ebla sacred manumission was practiced, and that young girls (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) were “bought by the queen or by the mother of the king and then consecrated to the goddess Išḫara.”

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[lu<sub>2</sub>] kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>) (138): «[man belonging to a] caravan; retinue»

**Previous translation(s):** «inviato»<sup>AMIII</sup>; «messaggeri»<sup>AMIV,AM2</sup>; «courier»<sup>AMVIII</sup>; «corriere, messaggero»<sup>AMIX,AMXVI</sup>; «messaggero»<sup>AMXV</sup>; «corriere, messaggero» (LL 979)<sup>AMXII</sup>; «courier»<sup>AMXX</sup>.

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A MEE 4, 115 r.XI:5 kas<sub>4</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[β] VE (979)	kas <sub>4</sub> / wa-ba-lu	MEE 4, 1+ r.XVI:3-4
[γ] VE (980)	kas <sub>4</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub> / du-da-zi-lu-um	MEE 4, 1+ r.XVI:5-6
[δ] VE (979)	kas <sub>4</sub> / wa-ba-lu	MEE 4, 65+ r.VII:41-42
[ε] VE (980)	kas <sub>4</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub> / du-da-zi-lu	MEE 4, 65+ r.VII:43-44

Abu Salabiḥ

[ζ] ED Names and Professions OIP 99, 61 o.V:21 lu<sub>2</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.87; Fales, *SEL* 1 (1984); Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.76; Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.93–94 (with bibliography); Krebernik, in *LLLE* (1992), pp.124–25; Milano, in *Paleonutrition* (2014); Sjöberg, in *Fs Wilcke* (2003), pp.262–63; Waetzoldt, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), p.407.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** en (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), guruš, *MA-ZA-LUM*

**Places:** *Ar-ḥa-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Du-ne-ib*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *SAG-sa-nu*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ur-sa*<sub>2</sub>-*um*<sup>ki</sup>

### Accounting models:

[01a] [fabrics] / N kas<sub>4</sub> / GN

[01b] [fabrics] / N kas<sub>4</sub> / GN / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01c] [fabrics] / (N) GN (/ wa) / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / PN

[02] [fabrics] / lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>

[03] [fabrics] / ma-gal / SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / wa / ma-gal / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[04] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> (N guruš) / lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>

[05] [fabrics] / (PN /) GN / ḥi-mu-DU / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>

[06] [fabrics] / PN<sub>1-4</sub> / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / GN / in / GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[07a] N še gu<sub>3</sub>-bar / lu<sub>2</sub> ninda / N še gu<sub>3</sub>-bar / lu<sub>2</sub> še<sup>+</sup>TIN / in 1 iti / en / abba<sub>2</sub> / kas<sub>4</sub>

[07b] N še bar ninda en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub> / N še bar še<sup>+</sup>TIN en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub> / N še bar ninda-bappir en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub> / N še-munu<sub>4</sub> en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub>

[08a] N sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-giš du<sub>10</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> en / N sila<sub>3</sub> (oil for various individuals) / e<sub>3</sub> / kas<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> bur-kak / iti MN

[08b] N sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-giš du<sub>10</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> en / N sila<sub>3</sub> (oil for various individuals) / e<sub>3</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> bur-kak / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / iti MN

[09] [fabrics] / maškim / PN / ugula / kas<sub>4</sub>

[10] [fabrics] / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> (/ DU[.DU / si-in]/ GN)

**Prosopography:** *A-si-ma-lik, Ib-dur-i-šar, Si-da-ti, U<sub>3</sub>-ša (Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>)*; (lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>) *A-ba-lu, A-mur-da-mu, I-ti-um, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig, Ib-gi-tum, Il-da-ga-aš<sub>2</sub>, Maš-bar, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra- ha-al<sub>6</sub>, Šu-na, Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>*

**Discussion:** the gloss of VE 980 ([γ]-[ε], *du-da-zi-lu[-um]*) has been interpreted as /tu'tazzil-um/, "wayfarer, caravan" from \*zl, "to go."<sup>659</sup> according to Milano, Sum. kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> is equivalent to Ebl. *kam<sub>4</sub>-mu*, a term indicating "tribal (and possibly nomadic) family groups" and found only in chancery documents.<sup>660</sup> The term *kam<sub>4</sub>-mu* can be interpreted as /kaymum/, "famiglia (dei seminomadi): as it will be made clear in the following discussion, *kam<sub>4</sub>-mu* and kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> are not synonyms, although they can be considered semantically related.

The term kas<sub>4</sub> is glossed *wa-ba-lu*, from \*wbl, "to bring."<sup>661</sup> Fales suggests, however, an interpretation of both glosses as deriving from the root \*mzl, "to run."<sup>662</sup> Three terms related to the sign kas<sub>4</sub> are attested in the Archives: kas<sub>4</sub> (44 occurrences), kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> (94), and lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> (94). The interpretation "messenger" or "courier," however, poses two problems: news and messages were brought at Ebla by different individuals, and are usually registered in the documents through the term nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an, "news" (which occurs ca. 370 times). As for kas<sub>4</sub> = "courier," it must be noted that the ur<sub>4</sub> ("collector" see sub → ur<sub>4</sub>) were probably individuals who collected precious goods on behalf of someone else.

The term kas<sub>4</sub> is often attested in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712: in the chancery document [75.1394 = A XVI 12] the kas<sub>4</sub> are mentioned with 'the kings (of foreign countries)':

[75.1394 = A XVI 12] o.II:2-6: 1 *mi-at* ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / še-ba / en-en / wa / kas<sub>4</sub>; «100 minas of silver, for the kings' and kas<sub>4</sub>'s rations».

A similar mention of the kings (en-en) and their kas<sub>4</sub> is attested in [75.406 = A IX 18] (see accounting models [07a-b]):

[75.406 = A IX 18] o.IV:1-r.I:1: 40 la<sub>2</sub> 3 ½ še *bar* / ninda / en-en / wa / kas<sub>4</sub> / 22 ½ še *bar* še+TIN en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub> / [10? še *bar* ninda-bappir] / [en-en] / wa kas<sub>4</sub> / [AN].še<sub>3</sub>-GU<sub>2</sub> 74 ½ [še] *bar* [k]u<sub>2</sub> / en-en / wa kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / 1 iti; «36 ½ gu<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) bread, (for) the kings and the kas<sub>4</sub>, 22 ½ gu<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) 'beer', (for) the kings and the kas<sub>4</sub>, [10? gu<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) 'beer bread', (for) the kings and the kas<sub>4</sub>. Total: 74 ½ gu<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley, food (for) the kings and the kas<sub>4</sub>.

The letter [75.1394 = A XVI 12] seems in fact to deal with problems related to food rations, although the context is not clear. The circumstances may perhaps be clarified by another document from the Small Archive L.2712 (see accounting models [08a-b]):

[75.541 = A IX 82] o.I:1-III:2: 2 sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-giš du<sub>10</sub> / Ra-'a<sub>3</sub>-ag<sup>ki</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Bur-ma-an*<sup>ki(i)</sup> / 2 sil[a<sub>3</sub>] / *Du-ub*<sup>ki(i)</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Lum-n*[a]-an<sup>ki</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / I-N[E]-bu-N<sup>ki</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Ur-sa<sub>2</sub>-um*<sup>ki</sup> / 2 sila<sub>3</sub> / *Gar<sub>3</sub>-mu*<sup>ki</sup> / 1 sila<sub>3</sub> / G[u<sub>2</sub>-d]a-[da-num<sub>2</sub>]<sup>ki</sup> / [...] / AN.še<sub>3</sub>-[GU<sub>2</sub>] 21 sil[a<sub>3</sub>] i<sub>3</sub>-giš / e<sub>3</sub> / en-en / [N I]a-ḥa [...] / 'e<sub>3</sub>' / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> bur-KAK / iti *hur-mu*; «2 sila<sub>3</sub> of oil of good quality, (for) Ra'ag, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Burman, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Tūb, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Lumnan, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) INEBUNI, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Ursa'um, 2 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Garmu, 1 sila<sub>3</sub> (for) Guddanum [...]; Total: 21 sila<sub>3</sub> of oil, expenditure for the kings, [N I]a-ḥa [of oil], expenditure for the kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, those of the bur-KAK vase,<sup>663</sup> month X.»

<sup>659</sup> Pettinato, in *LdE* (1981), p.256 fn.55; Fronzaroli, *SEB* 2 (1980), p.94 fn.21; Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.76.

<sup>660</sup> For kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub> see Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.76, and Milano, in *Paleonutrition* (2014), p.283. For *kam<sub>4</sub>-mu*, see Fronzaroli, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), and Catagnoli and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.37 and 64.

<sup>661</sup> Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.76

<sup>662</sup> Fales, *SEL* 1 (1984).

<sup>663</sup> See Pasquali, *Lessico dell'artigianato* (2005), pp.46–47 (with bibliography).

The ‘kings (of foreign countries)’ mentioned in [75.541 = A IX 82] are probably the same mentioned in [75.1394 = A XVI 12] and [75.406 = A IX 18]. Furthermore, the kings of the GNs mentioned in this passage are the same kings mentioned in the texts of the *ARETI*, 1-9 type.<sup>664</sup> It is now clear that the bur-KAK is an oil container used in marriage rituals,<sup>665</sup> during which the groom poured oil on his bride’s head: it is not clear if [75.541 = A IX 82] refers to a marriage, but all the elements here presented are certainly related to a peculiar circumstance. However, [75.406 = A IX 18] and [75.541 = A IX 82] establish an important link between the kings mentioned in these texts of the Small Archive and those mentioned in the Great Archive: the latter periodically visited Ebla, together with officials of different ranks (*abba*<sub>2</sub>, *maškim*, *ma-za-lum*, see also Table 12, p.147). The *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub> mentioned in the Small Archive are thus probably caravans, *i.e.*, the foreign kings’ retinues, who traveled to Ebla with their respective sovereigns. The meaning “caravan, retinue” of the term *kas*<sub>4</sub>(-*kas*<sub>4</sub>) seems to be confirmed by the co-occurrence of this term with the verb *ḫi-mu-DU*:

[75.1520 = A IV 17] r.V:8-12: 10 *tug*<sub>2-NI.NI</sub> 2 *gu-dul*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> 2 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> ‘10’ *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *gu*<sub>n3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> / *Ib-al*<sub>6<sup>ki</sup></sub> / *ḫi-mu-DU* / *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub> / *Du-ne-ib*<sub>2<sup>ki</sup></sub>; «10 *tug*<sub>2-NI.NI</sub> garments, 2 *gu-dul*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> garments, 2 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> garments, ‘10’ embroidered waistbands, (for the ten men from) *Ib’al*, (who) accompanied<sup>666</sup> the caravan (to) Tunip».

[75.1520 = A IV 17] r.VI:3-7: 5 *gu-dul*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> 5 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> 4 *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *gun*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> / *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup> / *ḫi-mu-DU* / *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub> / *Du-ne-ib*<sub>2<sup>ki</sup></sub>; «5 *gu-dul*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> garments, 5 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> garments, 4 embroidered waistbands, (for the five? men from) *Dulu*, (who) accompanied the caravan (to) Tunip».

[75.1520 = A IV 17] r.VI:3-7: 1 *GU-ZI-TUM* 1 *aktum*<sub>tug2</sub> 1 *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gun*<sub>3</sub> / *dumu-nita en* / *Ir*<sub>3-PEŠ</sub><sub>2<sup>ki</sup></sub> / [X-X]-*SUD* / *ḫi-mu-DU* / *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub> / *Du-ne-ib*<sub>2<sup>ki</sup></sub>; «1 bracelet, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for the) son of the king of IrPEŠ [...], (who) accompanied the caravan (to) Tunip».

[75.1520 = A IV 17] r.VII:15-VIII:5: 3 *tug*<sub>2-NI.NI</sub> 3 *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *gun*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> / *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup> / 1 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> 1 *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *gun*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> / *MA-ZA-LUM* / 2 *aktum*<sub>tug2</sub> 1 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> 1 *ib*<sub>2-III</sub> *gun*<sub>3<sup>tug2</sup></sub> / *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup> / *ḫi-mu-DU* / *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub>; «3 *tug*<sub>2-NI.NI</sub> garments, 3 embroidered waistbands, (for the 3 men from) *Tüb*, 1 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> garment, 1 embroidered waistband, (for) the watchman, 2 tunics, 1 *SAL*<sub>tug2</sub> garment, 1 embroidered waistband, (for the 2 men from) *Kakmi’un*, (who) accompanied the caravan».

The passage of [75.541 = A IX 82] can thus be interpreted as follows: «36 ½ *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) bread, (for) the kings and the retinues, 22 ½ *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) ‘beer’, (for) the kings and the retinues, [10? *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley (for the preparation of) ‘beer bread’, (for) the kings and the retinues. Total: 74 ½ *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*bar* of barley, food (for) the kings and the retinues.» The term *lu*<sub>2</sub> *kas*<sub>4</sub>-*kas*<sub>4</sub> can be interpreted simply as “the one of the caravan/retinue,” and probably indicated a representative or a man who belonged to a caravan (see accounting models [02], [04]).

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**ma-za-(Dum) (212):** «watchman»

**Previous translation(s):** (il riferimento ad akk *maššārum* «guardia» sembra evidente; come NF, se riferito a NL, o anche ad un NP rappresentante un NL, segue nell’ordine ad *abba* e a *maškim*; ma anche un *ma-za-lum* può essere *maškim*) «agente, delegato»<sup>AIII</sup>; un funzionario<sup>AIV</sup>; «guard(ian)»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «guardia»<sup>AXI</sup>; «corriere, messaggero»<sup>AXII</sup>; «viaggiatore»<sup>AXV</sup>; «courier; messenger;

<sup>664</sup> On these texts see Bonechi, *NABU* 1990/26 (1990) and Bonechi, *AuOr* 8 (1990).

<sup>665</sup> See Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), pp.46–47 (with bibliography).

<sup>666</sup> For the meaning “to accompany” of *ḫi-mu-DU*, see Tonietti, *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.87, and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.33.



emissary»<sup>AXX</sup>; «corriere»<sup>M7</sup>

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.85 (with bibliography); Fales, *SEL* 1 (1984), pp.23–26; Fronzaroli, in *StLE* (1984), p.146; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 7 (1984), pp.170ff.; Waetzoldt, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.430–31

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** en (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), *ba-da-lum* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), [lu<sub>2</sub>] kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>), maškim

**Places:** *A-ra-u<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-mi(-um)<sup>ki</sup>*, *Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01] [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum* (/ [in] / GN / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>)

[02] [silver] / *ma-za-lum*

[03a] [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum* / maškim / PN / šu-du<sub>8</sub>

[03b] [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum* / maškim / PN / lu<sub>2</sub>-kar / GN / DU.DU / *si-in* / GN

[04] [fabrics] / N guruš / GN / u<sub>5</sub> / GN / gibil / *ma-za-lum* / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

[05] [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum* / PN / ugula nagar / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> am / *si-in* / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

[06a] [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum* / DU.DU / *si-in* / PN

[06b] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-kaskal / PN / *ma-za-lum* / DU.DU / *si-in* / GN

[07] N ninda / PN (/ ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>) / *wa* / *ma-za-lum*

[08a] [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum* / GN / lu<sub>2</sub> in / GN / ba<sub>4</sub>-DU

[08b] [fabrics] / N *ma-za-lum* / GN

[09a] [fabrics] / (en / *ba-da-lum* /) GN / [fabrics] / abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / maškim-su<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>*

[09b] [fabrics] / PN / GN / [fabrics] / abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / maškim-su<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>*

[09c] [fabrics] / (en/*ba-da-lum* /) GN / [fabrics] / abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> / *wa* / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>*

[09d] [fabrics] / PN / *wa* / PN / ugula GN / [fabrics] / maškim-su<sub>3</sub> / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>*

[09e] [fabrics] / (N) GN / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>*

[10] [fabrics] / PN / [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>* / GN / ḥi-mu-DU / GN

[11] [silver] / PN (/ *wa*) / PN / [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>* / en / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / [silver] / PN (/ *wa*) / PN / [fabrics] / PN / *ma-za-lum-su<sub>3</sub>* / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / lu<sub>2</sub> DU.DU / ki-sur<sup>!</sup> / ki-sur

**Prosopography:** *A-bi<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>9</sub>*, *Ab-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu*, *A-mu-ra*, *A-NE-<sup>!</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*, *A-<sup>!</sup>mu?* *Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-si*, *A<sub>3</sub>-da-gu<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>*, *A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra*, BAḤAR-*il*, *Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>!</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* *Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *En-na-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*, *En-na-ma-lik*, GIBIL, *Ib-du-ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Ib-dur-i-šar* *Gub-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Iš-gi-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*, *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš* *Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-ba<sub>4</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>*, *I-zi-ma-lik*, *Ki-nam-ki-iš/su* *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*, *Mi-na-il*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* *Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *Su-a-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *Ul-lu*, *Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>*

**Discussion:** *ma-za-lum* might derive from \*mzl (/mazzār-um/, “messenger”), or \*nšr (/maššār-um/, “guard”).<sup>667</sup> The latter interpretation, however, better fits the contexts in which the term appears. The GNs *Ar-ḥa-du<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*, *Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*, *Du-ne-ib<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, and *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, often related to the *ma-za-lum*, recur

<sup>667</sup> See CAD M (1977), s.v. *maššāru*, pp.341ff., “guardian, watchman.” See Fronzaroli, *SEb* 7 (1984), pp.170ff., with previous bibliography.

frequently associated also with the term *kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>*: the *ma-za-lum* was a watchman who followed caravans and probably offered protection during the travel (see the discussion sub → [lu<sub>2</sub>] *kas<sub>4</sub>*(-*kas<sub>4</sub>*)).

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**maškim** (2306): «appointee»

**Previous translation(s)**: «agente, delegato»<sup>4III</sup>; «delegato, rappresentante»<sup>4IX</sup>; «commissario»<sup>4XII</sup>,  
<sup>4XVI</sup>; «delegate, representative»<sup>4XX</sup>;

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.X:17	maškim
[β] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.X:18	maškim-e-gi <sub>4</sub>
[γ] Names and Professions	MEE 3, 43	o.VII:4b	maškim-e-gi <sub>4</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (955)	maškim / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XV:16
[ε] VE (956)	maškim-e-gi <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XV:17
[ζ] VE (955)	maškim / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.VII:9
[η] VE (956)	[maškim-e-gi <sub>4</sub> ] / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.VII:10

Abu Salabiḥ

[θ] ED Names and Professions	OIP 99, 61	o.XI:15	maškim
[ι] ED Names and Professions	OIP 99, 61	o.VI:7	e-gi-maškim

**Bibliography**: Davidović, in *Ebla 1975-1985* (1987).

**Contextual association(s)**:

**Social position(s)/role(s)**: *abba<sub>2</sub>* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), *MA-ZA-LUM*, *lugal* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš* (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), *NE.DI* (§4.4 Entertainers, p.172), *ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI)* (§4.4 Entertainers, p.172), *ugula* (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Accounting models**:

[01a] garments [and/or] metal (objects) 0 maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[01b] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1</sub> maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[01c] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1-a</sub> PN<sub>1-b</sub> (PN<sub>1-n</sub>) maškim PN<sub>2</sub>

[02] garments [and/or] metal (objects) PN<sub>1</sub> maškim PN<sub>2</sub> (TUŠ.LU<sub>2</sub>×TIL [in GN] / šu-du<sub>8</sub> / šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti, til / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an)

[03a] [fabrics] / (en / *ba-da-lum* /) GN / [fabrics] / *abba<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>* / [fabrics] / maškim(-maškim)-*SU<sub>3</sub>* / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>*

[03b] [fabrics] / PN / GN / [fabrics] / *abba<sub>2</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>* / [fabrics] / maškim-*SU<sub>3</sub>* / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>*

[03c] [fabrics] / PN / *wa* / PN / *ugula* GN / [fabrics] / maškim-*SU<sub>3</sub>* / [fabrics] / *ma-za-lum-SU<sub>3</sub>*

[04] [fabrics] / PN / [fabrics] / PN<sub>1-a</sub> [PN<sub>1-b</sub> (PN<sub>1-n</sub>)] / maškim(-maškim)-*SU<sub>3</sub>*

**Prosopography**: (PN<sub>2</sub>) *A-ag*, *A-ba*, *A-ba-an*, *A-ba<sub>(4)</sub>-il*, *A-ba<sub>4</sub>-li-im*, *A-bi<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>*, *A-bu*, *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-ma*, *A-da*, *A-da-mu*, *A-du-ra*, *A-ga*, *A-ku-’utu*, *A-ma-il*, *A-mi-i<sub>3</sub>*, *A-mu-ra*, *A-mu-ti*, *A-mur-da-mu*, *A-na*, *A-ni-za-mu*, *A-ra-da*, *A-sa/ša-ra*, *A-šum*, *A-ti*, *A-’a<sub>3</sub>-lu*, *Ad-da*, *Aḥ-ra-ma-lik*, *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM*, *Ar-si-*

*a-ḥa, Ar-zi-kir, Ba-ga-ma, Ba-ḥa/ḥi-ga, Ba-za-a, Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>, Bar-zi, Be-da-mu, Be-su<sub>3</sub>-kur<sup>ki</sup>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik, Bu<sub>3</sub>-du-du, Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Bur-ḥaš/-ḥa-aš<sub>2</sub>, Da-bur-da-mu, Da-zi-ma-du, Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Dab<sub>6</sub>-ki-<sup>d</sup>utu, Du-ba-NE-lu, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-<sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da, Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-uš-li-im, Du-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, Du-si, Dub-da-ar, Dur-du-lum, En-ar-li-im, En-ar<sub>3</sub>-ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>, En-bu<sub>14</sub>-ma, En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>, En-mar, EN-mar-ru<sub>12</sub>, En-na-be, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il, En-na-ma-lik, EN-zu-ma, Engar-uri<sub>4</sub>, Ga-da-mu, Ga-du-ri<sub>2</sub>, Ga-du-um, Gar<sub>3</sub>-da-um, Gi-a-da-mu, Gi-gi, Gi-ra-ma-lik, Gi-ri<sub>2</sub>, GIBIL-ma-lik, Gu<sub>2</sub>-gi-(w) a-an/nu, Gul-li-sum, Ḥa-a, Ḥa-bil, Ḥa-la, Ḥa-mar-aš<sub>2</sub>-da, Ḥa-bi<sub>2</sub>-du, Ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>/il, Ḥa-zi, Ḥab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar, Ḥal/ḥar-bi<sub>2</sub>-a, Ḥi-da-ar, I-am-da-mu, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum, I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, I-da-NE-u<sub>3</sub>, I-da-ni-ki-mu, I-ga-li-im, I-gi, I-ib-ma-lik, I-lu<sub>5</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik, I-nu-ud-da-mu, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ma-lik, I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-NI, I-šar, I-ti-il, I-zi-ma-lik, I<sub>3</sub>-lum-BAL, Ib-du-lu, Ib-du-ra, Ib-dur-i-šar, Ib-dur-il, Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub>, Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um, Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-ma-lik, Ig-na-da-ar, Ig-na-da-mu, Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš, Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa, Ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-su, Iḥ-su-ub-da-mu, Il<sub>2</sub>-ba-um, Il<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš, Il<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš-ti, Il<sub>2</sub>-zi, In-da-mu, In-gar<sub>3</sub>, In-ma-lik, In-ti, Ir-NE, Ir-ti, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu, Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik, Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik, Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar, Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba, Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-sa-u<sub>3</sub>, Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>a</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu, Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>, Iš-da-PA-ma<sub>2</sub>, Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥa, Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-il, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-NE-ḤAR, Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-rum<sub>2</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga/gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-da-ar, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-zu, Iš<sub>11</sub>-gur-li-im, Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru-ut, Iš<sub>12</sub>-a-il, Iš<sub>12</sub>-a-ma-lik, Iš<sub>12</sub>-ga-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>, Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu, Keš<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-lu, Ki-li-im, Ki-ti-ir, Ku-ra-gar<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>, Kum/kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an, La-ga-ab, La-<sup>a</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-lu, Mu-du-ri<sub>2</sub>/ru<sub>12</sub>, Mu-gar<sub>3</sub>, Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu, Na-bu<sub>14</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>, Na-za-an, Na-zu-mu, Na-zu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>, Nab-ḥa-il, NE-LUM, NE-zi-il, NE-zi-ma-lik, Ni-da-ba-du, Nu-du, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-(ra)-ḥa-al<sub>6</sub>, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-a-gu<sub>2</sub>, Ri<sub>2</sub>-ba-du, Ri<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik, Ri<sub>2</sub>-ti, Ru<sub>12</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-uš-li-im, Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik, Sa-gi-na, Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu-šum, SAG-da-mu, Sagi, Si-dib, Šu-ga-du, Šu-ma-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Šu-ma-lik, Su-ri<sub>2</sub>-a, Šu-ti-ir, Šum-da-mu, Ti-ir, Ti-šal/še<sub>3</sub>-li-im, Tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>-ba-an, U<sub>3</sub>-ti, U<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>, Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu, Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>, Wa-na, Wa-za-rum<sub>2</sub>, Za-a-mi, Za-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>, Za-NI, Za-za-lum, Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ze<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik, Zi-ib<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Zi-la-da-mu, Zi-ti, Zu-NI, Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba-LUM, <sup>a</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša, <sup>a</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ti, <sup>a</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-gu-LUM, <sup>a</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-zi, <sup>a</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-na*

**Discussion:** the term *maškim* (at Ebla written: PA.KASKAL.DU) is attested, without gloss, in bilingual lexical lists. The term often appears preceded or followed by the signs *e-gi<sub>4</sub>* or *e-gi*: in the Eblaite version of the Abu Salabiḥ Names and Professions List (*MEE* 3 43) both <sup>lu</sup><sub>2</sub>*maškim* and *e-gi<sub>4</sub>-maškim* are attested. A Semitic spelling of *maškim-e-gi* is attested in [75.2192 = *A* V 3] o.II:6: here the term *dag-da-su* replaces *maškim-e-gi<sub>4</sub>*, attested in the parallel text [75.1649 = *A* V 1] (r.I:8).<sup>668</sup> In a copy of the AS Names and Professions List, probably dated to the Ur III period, *e-gi<sub>4</sub>-maškim* is replaced with *šabra* (PA.AL):<sup>669</sup> the Semitic spelling *dag-da-su* has been interpreted as /taqdāš-u (m)/, “the consecrated”, from *qadāšum* (“to purify”),<sup>670</sup> this interpretation is paralleled by the *šabra* attested in the Ur III copy of the AS Names and Professions list.<sup>671</sup> The signs *e-gi<sub>(4)</sub>* are added only to two other terms: *lu<sub>2</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>* in the Sumerian Word List A (*lu<sub>2</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>-e-gi<sub>4</sub>*, o.VI:8) and *mu-DU* in the chancery document [75.1626 = *A* XIII 11] (*e-gi<sub>4</sub>|mu-DU*, *passim*).

The textual patterns which characterize the terms *maškim* and *maškim-e-gi<sub>4</sub>* are, however, extremely different: the latter is attested in a limited number of texts, most of which are chancery documents. On the contrary, the terms *maškim* is characterized by repetitive and regular textual patterns (see Figure 22, p.245 and accounting models).

As Figure 22, p.245 illustrates, *maškim* is attested mainly in its simplest form and with the suffixed pronoun (*-su<sub>3</sub>*). It has been suggested that at Ebla the *maškim* was an official who supervised commercial transactions, since the expression ‘*maškim* PN’ can be interpreted both as “*maškim* of PN” and “being NP *maškim*”.<sup>672</sup> In fact, the term *maškim* is always followed by a PN (PN<sub>2</sub>) (see

<sup>668</sup> Edzard and Wiggerman, *RIA* 7 (1989), p.450; Lambert, *RIA* 7 (1989), p.456.

<sup>669</sup> Fales and Krispijn, *JEOL* 26 (1980), p.42 ad \*III:6. See also Milano, *SEb* 3 (1980), p.15, sub *i*; Archi, *SEb* 4 (1981), p.185.

<sup>670</sup> *CAD* Q (1982), s.v. *qadāšu*, pp.46–47; *DUL*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. /q-d-š/, p.685, “to consecrate.”

<sup>671</sup> Fronzaroli, *VO* 7 (1988), p.19. However, a reading *ugula maḥ* of PA.AL is also possible, see Michalowski, *JAOS* 105 (1985), p.299, fn.51.

<sup>672</sup> Sollberger, *ARET* VIII (1986), p.62, s.v. *maškim*.

accounting models): on the contrary, PN<sub>1</sub> is sometimes omitted. Another important feature of the textual patterns concerning the term *maškim* is that while more than one PN can precede the term *maškim* (accounting models [01c]), only one PN follows the term. All the relationships which link PN<sub>1</sub> to PN<sub>2</sub> has been graphically represented in Figure 24, p.247:<sup>673</sup> this network is characterized by a core, where nodes are densely linked one each other, and by a surrounding ring characterized by small communities. All the main target nodes (highlighted by red circles), are all, without exception, PN<sub>2</sub>, *i.e.* PNs that follow the term *maškim*. This visual representation of the occurrences of the term demonstrates that there is a high number of individuals acting as *maškim* and performing their duties for a smaller set of individuals. These individuals are in most cases high officials: as shown in Figure 23, p.246, some of the most often mentioned PN<sub>2</sub> proper names refer to lugal (see sub → lugal). Furthermore, among these individuals are the three viziers (ARRULUM, Yibriyum, Yibbi-Ḍikir), crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu, Yibbi-Ḍikir's son Ṭubuḥu-Hadda, and Yibriyum's sons Yinḥar-Armi and 'Ūdī. On the contrary, the persons who act as *maškim* are not easily identifiable: most of them are individuals of different rank and background, such as merchants, dancers, and barbers. There are, however, few exceptions: some *maškims*, in the specific those of crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu, Yibbi-Ḍikir, and Yibriyum, can be identified as pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš:

[76.530 = A I 5] r.VII:25: 9 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-I</sup> 9 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 9 ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / A-bi<sub>2</sub> / En-na-'ba'-al<sub>6</sub> / I-in-i<sub>3</sub> / Ma<sub>2</sub>-NI / Mi-nu-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra / I-i-bu<sub>16</sub> / Šu-ma-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra / A-bu<sub>3</sub> / Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub> / En-na-i<sub>3</sub> / Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-gu<sub>2</sub>-lu / maškim / Ir<sub>3</sub>-'a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu; «9 cloaks, 9 tunics, 9 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) 'Abī, Ḥinna-ba'al, Ḥin-'il, MaNI, Minu-Kura, Yi'hibu, Šūma-Kura, 'Abu, Pū-ma'u, Ḥinna-il, Rūzī-gūru, appointees of Yirḥaq-Damu».

Ḥinna-ba'al, Minu-Kura, and Yi'hibu were gatekeepers (see sub → KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), while 'Abu, Ḥinna-il, and Rūzī-gūru were valets of the crown prince (see sub → pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153). While the presence of the gatekeepers does not seem to be the rule, also the preserved names of Yibbi-Ḍikir's *maškims* refer to pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš:

[76.530 = A I 5] r.V:5-15: 8 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 8 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 8 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Su-ma-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra / I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> / Da-zi-ma-du-<sup>I</sup> / Ḥa-zi-ir / A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra / A-bu<sub>3</sub> / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir / Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-bi<sub>2</sub> / maškim / I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir; «8 cloaks, 8 tunics, 8 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) Šūma-Kura,

Of course, not all *maškims* were valets: the possibility of a valet assuming the function of *maškim*, however, explains the difficulties in their identification. Only the valets of the highest ranking officials are known from the texts: moreover, the identification of some *maškim* as pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš confirms that *maškim* is a function and not a profession. The fact that the *maškims* performed their tasks for Eblaite high ranking individuals, and that in some cases they were close personal attendants, is relevant also for the analysis of the occurrences of the term with the suffixed pronoun -su<sub>3</sub> (accounting models [03a-c]): the suffixed pronoun in this textual patterns can refer to the kings or sovereigns of foreign kingdoms, who often came to Ebla along with their high representative (see sub → abba<sub>2</sub>) and watchmen (see sub → ma-za-lum). However, here is not a self-evident pattern in the presence or absence of *maškims* in these retinues.

In [76.530 = A I 5] all six individuals are well known cultic dancers (see sub → NE.DI):<sup>674</sup>

[76.530 = A I 5] o.XIV:19:XV:7: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tug2-II</sup> 1 aktum<sup>tug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / Ig-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-malik / 5 gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> 1 SAL<sup>tug2</sup> 5 ib<sub>2</sub>-II<sup>tug2</sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / Iš-la-da-du / In-na-a-ḥu / En-na-i<sub>3</sub> / De<sub>3</sub>:i<sub>3</sub>-ne-ki-mu / In-ma-lik / maškim-su<sub>3</sub> / NE.DI; «1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for) Yikbur-malik, 5 gu-mug<sup>tug2</sup> garments, 1 SAL<sup>tug2</sup> garment, 5 embroidered waistbands, (for) Yišrādādu, Ḥinna-'aḥu, Ḥinna-il, Yīde'-iqmu, Ḥin-malik, his appointees (who are) cultic dancers».

In [75.1300 = A I 10] an acrobat and his *maškims* are mentioned:

<sup>673</sup> An interactive version of the graph is available at the following link: <https://erica-scarpa.github.io/maškim-network/index.html>.

<sup>674</sup> See also Catagnoti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.164ff.

[75.1300 = A I 10] o.VI:16-VII:4: 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2-1</sup> [1] 'aktum<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Gi-ra-dum* / HUB<sub>2</sub> / 2 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2-1</sup> 2 ib<sub>2</sub>-IV<sup>tu<sub>g</sub>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-zu* / *Zu-zu-u<sub>3</sub>* / maškim-SU<sub>3</sub>; «1 cloak, [1] tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality, (for) Gēr-atum, the acrobat; 2 cloaks, 2 embroidered waistbands of good quality, (for) Būšušu and Šūšuḫu, his appointees».

Gēr-atum, Būšušu, and Šūšuḫu, are all acrobats from Nagar.<sup>675</sup> In her recent study on the maškim in the Ur III period, Culbertson emphasized again how the role and duties of this functionary are difficult to define, mainly due to the varied and chronologically extensive use of this term.<sup>676</sup> At the present time, however, there are no elements hinting to a legal role for the maškim at Ebla: the data suggest that the maškim was an individual personally or professionally linked to the person who dispatched them.<sup>677</sup>

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**muḫaldim** (60): «cook»

**Previous translation(s):** «cuoco»<sup>AIII, AIV, AIX, AXII</sup>; «fornaio»<sup>AXV</sup>; «cook»<sup>AXX</sup>;

**Accounting model(s):**

[01a] [goods] / PN / muḫaldim

[01b] [goods] / PN / ugula muḫaldim

[01c] [goods] / PN / muḫaldim / MA-LIK-TUM

[01d] [goods] / PN / muḫaldim / in GN / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[02] [goods] / N dumu-nita / muḫaldim

[02] N ninda / muḫaldim

[02] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> / muḫaldim

[02] N NA-SE<sub>11</sub> / muḫaldim

[02] N dam / muḫaldim

[02] N še / muḫaldim-mi<sub>2</sub>

[02] [wool] muḫaldim-muḫaldim

[02] [goods] dumu-nita-dumu-nita / muḫaldim-muḫaldim

**Prosopography:** *A-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *A-ga-dum*, *A-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *Ba<sup>II</sup>-du-la-ti*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>*, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum*, *Du-ḫu-na-še<sub>3</sub>*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* dumu-nita *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal-II*, *En-bu<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-ni-il*, *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *I-ib-ma-lik*, *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *NE-zi-ma-lik*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*, *Šu-a-sar* *Ḫa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>*, *Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum* (ugula m.), *Šu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Tar<sub>x</sub>-zi-na-u<sub>9</sub>*, *Wa-ad-ra-im* (m. MA-LIK-TUM)

**Groups:**

1) *Du-ḫu-na-še<sub>3</sub>*, *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum*, *NE-zi-ma-lik*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-ni-il*, *A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* [75.1886 = A IV 23] r.VI:1-11)

2) *Du-ḫu-na-še<sub>3</sub>*, *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *Šu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*, *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *I<sub>3</sub>-*

<sup>675</sup> See also Catagnoti, *MARI* 8 (1997) p.567.

<sup>676</sup> Culbertson, in *AOAT* 440 (2018).

<sup>677</sup> See also the definition given by Oh'e, *ASJ* 5 (1983), p.124: "the term maškim should be regarded as the deputy of some authority. The officials specified as maškim acted on behalf of some authority who was directly responsible for the task in question. In the case of the Ur III Puzrish-Dagan complex, the person designated as maškim was the king's representative." Note, however, that in the documents of the Archives there is no mention of a maškim of the king of Ebla.

*lum-bal-<sub>II</sub>, En-na-ni-il, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, I-ib-ma-lik, A-ga-dum, Ba<sup>!</sup>-du-la-ti, Bu<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub> [75.1886 = A IV 23] o.VIII:16-IX:10)*

3) *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal-I, Šu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>, I-da-i<sub>3</sub>, Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-lu, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal-<sub>II</sub>, En-na-ni-il, A-bu<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, En-na-i<sub>3</sub>, I-ib-ma-lik, A-ga-dum, Ba-du-la-ti, Bu<sub>3</sub>:dug<sub>3</sub>, Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>, NI-ba-i<sub>3</sub> ([76.530 = A I 5] r.III:12-IV:3)*

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**nagar** (106): «carpenter»

**Previous translation(s):** «carpentiere»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXII, AXVI</sup>; «joiner»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «carpenter»<sup>AXX</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:6	nagar
[β] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	o.II:10	nagar
[γ] ED Officials	<i>MEE</i> 3, 50+	o.VII:10	nagar
[δ] ED Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.VII:6	nagar
[ε] ED Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 50+	o.V:22	PA? nagar

Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (944)	nagar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VI:31'
[η] VE (1409)	nagar / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.XX:6"

Abu Salabiḫ

[θ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 55	o.I:17	ˁnagarˁ
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Šuruppak

[i] ED Officials	<i>SF</i> 59	o.VI:17	ˁnagarˁ
[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>SF</i> 70	o.I:2	ˁnagarˁ

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** ašgab, dumu-nita, simug, ugula (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>, Da-ra-um<sup>ki</sup>, Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>,*

### Accounting models:

[01] [fabrics] / PN / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> / PN / nagar / PN / PN / dumu-nita dumu-nita / dingir-dingir-dingir / šu-ra / en / DN

[02a] [fabrics] / PN (/ lu<sub>2</sub> PN) / nagar

[02b] [fabrics] / dumu-nita dumu-nita / nagar

[03a] [fabrics] / PN / nagar (/ PN<sub>1-n</sub>) / si-in / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

[03b] [fabrics] / i<sub>3</sub>-giš sag / PN / nagar

[04] N gana<sub>2</sub>-kešda-ki / PN / nagar (/ PN / GN)

[05] [fabrics] / PN / maškim / PN / ugula nagar / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / igi-du<sub>8</sub> / e<sub>2</sub> / DN

[06] [fabrics] / N ugula nagar / N ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / N maškim-SU<sub>3</sub>

[07a] [wool] (si-lu-ur<sub>4</sub>) / N nagar

[07b] [fabrics] / N nagar (/SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>)

[08] [wool] / PN / ugula nagar / [wool] / PN / [wool] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> a-gi / [wool] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> <sup>gis</sup>MA.IR / ki:lam / GN

[09] [fabrics] / PN / nagar / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak 1 guruš KABgunû / PN

[10] N gu<sub>2</sub>-bar / nagar

[11] [fabrics] / dumu-nita dumu-nita ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> / nagar

[12] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sup>ki</sup> / nagar

[13] [silver] za<sub>x</sub> / nagar(-nagar) (/ lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en)

[14] [wool] mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / simug-simug / [wool] mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / nagar-nagar / ašgab

**Prosopography:** *Ar-še<sub>3</sub>-a-hu*, <sup>’</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra, *Ba-du-lum*, *Bar-zi*, *Daš-NE*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu* (ugula n.), *Dur-i<sub>3</sub>-lum*, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*, EN-mar *Lu-ba-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, EN-šID lu<sub>2</sub> *Ma-na-ma-ne-su*, *Gu-la-u<sub>9</sub>*, *I-da-lum*, *I<sub>3</sub>-du*, *I-in-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Ib-du-il*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *In-ma-lik*, *I-ti-il*, *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>3</sub>-du* *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-bu<sub>14</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>* dumu-nita *Ib-dur-ma-lik*, *Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ħu-nu-ba-am<sub>6</sub>*, *Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Zu-zu-ba-u<sub>9</sub>*, NI-ba-i<sub>3</sub>, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*, *Si-ti-ša-nu*, *Šu-ma-lik*, *Šu-NE-ĦAR*, *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Za-ri<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>14</sub>* *Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Zu-za-um*, *Wa-ba-lum/rum<sub>2</sub>* (ugula n.)

**Discussion:** the sign nagar is attested in the *VE* without gloss. However, the term is attested in the *EBK* and in the bilingual texts in a section characterized by four profession names (simug, nagar, ašgab, tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>). There is therefore no doubt on the meaning “carpenter” of this term, well attested in Mesopotamian and later traditions. Given the nature and typology of the documents found in the Great Archive, it is difficult to reconstruct how the carpenters’ work was carried out or how it was organized. The almost total absence of more or less specialized artisans in the texts of the Small Archive is peculiar, a sign that these professional categories were administratively managed differently than, for example, female personnel. Some passages clarify some of the functions of the carpenters:

[75.1681 = A IV 19] r.IX:12-X:3: 5 KIN siki / *Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>* / ugula nagar / 8 KIN siki / *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu* / 9 KIN siki / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> a-gi / 5 KIN siki / [nig<sub>2</sub>-s]a<sub>10</sub> <sup>gis</sup>MA.IR / ki:lam / <sup>’</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-ni<sup>ki</sup>; «5 measures of wool, for Wabarum, foreman of the carpenter(s), 8 measures of wool, for Ṭūbī-karru, <foreman of the carpenter(s)>; 9 measures of wool (are the) price for the purchase of antimony powder, 9 measures of wool (are the) price for the purchase of fig wood at the <sup>’</sup>Adani’s fair.»<sup>678</sup>

As [75.1681 = A IV 19] demonstrate, the carpenters were probably managed by a foreman: Wabarum and Ṭūbī-karru were both ugula nagar (see prosopography), and as foremen were entrusted with the task of purchasing the raw materials. The carpenters also collaborated with other artisans or realized specific objects:

[75.4835 = A XII 501] o.I’ : 1’ -8’ : [...] / simug / wa / nagar / wa / šUBUR / *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup> / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / šE<sub>3</sub>-li; «[...] a smith, and a carpenter, and a šUBUR from Dulu, to work the ‘green stone’.»<sup>679</sup>

[75.4835 = A XII 501] r.X:6-9: 26 SAL<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / nagar-nagar / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / <sup>gis</sup>šilig; «26 SAL garment, for the carpenters, to make stool(s).»<sup>680</sup>

<sup>678</sup> On <sup>gis</sup>MA.IR see Biga and Milano, *ARETIV* (1984), s.v., p.298, Catagnoti, *QdL* 18 (2008), p.182; note, however, that the <sup>gis</sup>MA.IR is also a type of dye, see Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), p.17. On a-gi/gu<sub>2</sub>, see Archi, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), p.29, and Conti, *QdL* 4 (1993), pp.98–99. See also Biga, in *Mercanti e politica* (2003), p.65 fn.28, and Biga, in *Fs Parise* (2011), p.86 fn.51.

<sup>679</sup> On šE<sub>3</sub>-li “green stone,” see Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), pp.79–80.

<sup>680</sup> On <sup>gis</sup>šilig, “stool,” see Pasquali, *Lessico dell’artigianato* (2005), p.57.

[75.4835 = A XII 501] r.X:6-9: 1 gu-mug<sup>tu<sub>2</sub></sup> / 1 nagar / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak 1 e<sub>2</sub> <sup>giš</sup>eš<sub>11</sub> | <sup>giš</sup>eš<sub>11</sub> / II<sub>2</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu; «1 gu-mug garment, for 1 carpenter, to build 1 ‘house of terebinth’ for (crown prince) Yirḥaq-Damu.»<sup>681</sup>

[75.4835 = A XII 501] may be related to the agrun (Akk. *šutukku*), a reed hut used for cultic purposes, mentioned in relation with crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu and the queen (see sub → balag-di). Furthermore, two fragmentary texts, [75.3887 = A III 795] and [75.3888 = A III 796], mention plots of land assigned to carpenters, although the contexts are not clear. See also the discussion sub → ugula (sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>) (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101).

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**(dam) pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš(-mi<sub>2</sub>)** (also written šeš:pa<sub>4</sub>) (229): «valet»; personal servant of a high-ranking person or of a god(des). See sub §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153.

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**simug** (82): «smith, metalworker»

**Previous translation(s):** «fabbro»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXII</sup>; «smith, metalworker»<sup>AXX</sup>;

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:5	simug
[β] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	o.III:8	simug
[γ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.II:5	simug
[δ] ED Officials	<i>MEE</i> 3, 50+	o.VII:13	simug
[ε] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43	o.VIII:10	simug

Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (945)	simug / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VI:30’
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Abu Salabiḥ

[η] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54	o.II:5	‘simug’
[θ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 55	o.II:2’	simug
[ι] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 60	o.II:7	‘simug’

Šuruppak

[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> B	<i>SF</i> 70	o.I:5	simug
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**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** ašgab, dam, nagar, ugula (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Še<sub>3</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [fabrics] / PN / simug

[01b] [fabrics] / simug / GN

[02] [fabrics] / PN / simug / si-in / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

[03] [fabrics] / PN / simug / DU.DU / si-in / GN / šu-bal-ak / ku<sub>3</sub>-gi

<sup>681</sup> On <sup>giš</sup>eš<sub>11</sub>, “terebinth,” see Catagnoli, in *Gs Marrassini* (2014).



[04] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> / PN / simug / aš<sub>2</sub>-du PN

[05] [wool] / tug<sub>2</sub>-tug<sub>2</sub> / simug / GN

[06] [wool] / N dam / PN / simug

[07] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub> / N na<sub>4</sub> / simug

[08] N ninda-u<sub>9</sub> / simug

[09] N gu<sub>2</sub>-bar / simug

[10] [oil] / e<sub>2</sub> simug

[11] N e<sub>2</sub>-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> simug

[12] [wool] / N simug

[13] [wool] / mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / simug-simug

**Prosopography:** *A*-ʼa<sub>3</sub>-lu, *A*-du-su, *A*-zu<sub>2</sub>, Bu<sub>x</sub>-ma-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> ʼA<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra, *En*-na-il, *Ga*-du-um Zu-ša-ga-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ga*-lu-mu, *Gu*-NE-LUM, *Ib*-dur-i-šar (ugula simug uru-bar), *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik, *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-da-iš-lu, *I*<sub>3</sub>-sa-dum, *Kun*<sub>3</sub>-a-bi<sub>2</sub>, *La*-ga-ma-al<sub>6</sub>, *Ma*-da-na, *Mu*-ma-il, NE-zi-ma-ni lu<sub>2</sub> *A*-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-dutu *Ma*-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Sa*/Ša-ma

**Discussion:** the sign simug is attested in the *VE* without gloss: however, simug is attested in the *EBK* and in the bilingual texts in a section characterized by four profession names (simug, nagar, ašgab, tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>): there is therefore no doubt on the meaning “smith” or “metalworker” of this term, well attested in Mesopotamian and later traditions. As for the carpenters, it is difficult to reconstruct how the smiths’ work was carried out or how it was organized. Some passages clarify some of the functions of the smiths:

[75.1278 = *A* IV 16] o.III:11-IV:4: 1 gu-mug<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / 1 aktum<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> / 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> gun<sub>3</sub> / *I*<sub>3</sub>-sa-dum / simug / DU.DU / *si*-in / *Ar*-mi<sup>ki</sup> / šu-bal-ak / ku<sub>3</sub>-gi; «1 gu-mug garment, 1 waistband of good quality, for Yišadum, the smith, who went to Armi to exchange gold»

[75.2128 = *A* VII 10] r.II:1-IV: 12 ½ ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / šu-bal-ak / 2 ½ ma-na ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / 2 ma-na 15 ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / šu-bal-ak / šu<sub>2</sub>+ša-7 ku<sub>3</sub>-gi / *Ma*-da-na / simug / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak <sup>giš</sup>MA<sub>2</sub>×GAN *atenû* kunga<sub>2</sub> / u<sub>3</sub> kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / <sup>giš</sup>ḫa-bu<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>*Ra*-sa-ap / *Du*-ni-ib<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>; «12 ½ minas of silver, of the value of 2 ½ minas of gold; 2 minas and 15 shekels of silver, of the value of 27 shekels of gold, for Mātana, the smith, to make (<sup>giš</sup>MA<sub>2</sub>×GAN *atenû*) for a kunga<sub>2</sub>-equid, and to make (a kind of axe) for the god Rašap of Tunip.»

See also sub → nagar.

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ša<sub>3</sub>-zu (9): «midwife»

**Previous translation(s):** «levatrice»<sup>AIII, AXII, AXV</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.I:8	ša <sub>3</sub> -zu
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 32	r.III':16'	ša <sub>3</sub> -zu
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 53	r.II':6'	ša <sub>3</sub> -zu

Ebla bilingual

[δ] <i>VE</i> (581)	ša <sub>3</sub> -zu / <i>mu</i> -li-tum	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	o.II:19
[ε] <i>VE</i> (581)	ša <sub>3</sub> -zu / <i>mu</i> -li-du	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	o.I:9

**Bibliography:** Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016), p.82; Bonechi, *QdL* 16 (2006), p.84; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.163; Fronzaroli, *SEb* 7 (1984), p.174; Hajouz, *Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), p.783–84 (with bibliography); Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p.23

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam, MA-LIK-TUM

**Places:** Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, Še<sub>3</sub>-’a<sub>3</sub>-mu<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [fabrics] / PN ur<sub>4</sub> / nig-mul-an / GN / <sup>f</sup>PN / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>

[01b] [fabrics and silver] / PN / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> / in ud / <sup>f</sup>PN / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>

[02] [fabrics] <sup>f</sup>PN ur<sub>4</sub> / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / dumu-nita en

[03] [fabrics] dam / ša<sub>3</sub>-zu / <sup>f</sup>PN

**Prosopography:** Ma-kun<sub>3</sub>-ni-a

**Discussion:** the term ša<sub>3</sub>-zu is glossed *mu-li-du/-tum* in the VE ([δ]-[ζ]): the term has been interpreted as /mullitt-um/, “midwife”, from \*wld, “to give birth.” The Semitic spelling is attested also in an administrative document:

[75.1264 = A I 15] o.V:15-VI:3: 1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI|NI 1 BU-DI zabar / 1 dam / mu-wa-li-tum / MA-LIK-TUM;  
«1 tug<sub>2</sub>-NI|NI garment, 1 bronze toggle-pin, for 1 woman, the midwife of the queen.»

The term ša<sub>3</sub>-zu is most frequently attested in the documents dated to ArrULUM’s vizierate: in most documents the birth of a child is mentioned with the expression “<sup>f</sup>PN dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/nita tu-da” (“<sup>f</sup>PN gave birth to a girl/boy”).

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**šitim** (5): «builder»

**Previous translation(s):** «costruttore»<sup>AXII</sup>; «muratore»<sup>AXV</sup>; «capomastro»<sup>M7</sup>; «builder»<sup>M10</sup>

**Bibliography:** Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016), p.25

**Contextual association(s):**

**Places:** Ab-ru<sub>12</sub>-ti-um<sup>ki</sup>, Gu<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01] [wool] / šitim / GN

[02] [wool] / šitim-šitim / e<sub>2</sub> / PN ur<sub>4</sub>

[03] [fabrics] / šitim-šitim / e<sub>2</sub> / PN / in / GN

[04] N gu / PN / šitim

[02] [silver] / nig<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> / 1 lu<sub>2</sub> / šitim / GN / aš<sub>2</sub>-ti / GN

**Prosopography:** A-gi-ra

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**šu-i** (41): «barber»; also a specialized valet of the king (pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en).

**Previous translation(s):** «barbiere»<sup>AIII, AIV, AXII, AXV, M7</sup>; «barber»<sup>AVIII, AXX, M10</sup>

## Lexical

### Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	o.XIII:12	šu-i
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.V':3	šu-i
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 59	o.I:7'	'šu-i'
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	r.II:9	šu-i
[ε] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.III:6	šu-i
[ζ] ED Names and Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 43	o.VIII:7	šu-i
[η] ED Practical Voc. A	<i>ARES</i> IV EAEC	o.III:3	gir <sub>2</sub> šu-i

### Ebla bilingual

[θ] VE (945)	šu-i / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	o.XV:10
[i] VE (945)	šu-i / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 40	o.VII:4

### Abu Salabiḥ

[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 60	o.III:10	šu-i
[λ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 61	o.VII:5	'šu-i'
[μ] ED Names and Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 74	o.VI:1'	šu-i

### Šuruppak

[ν] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> B	<i>SF</i> 70	o.II:14	šu-i
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## Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dub-zu-zu, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

## Accounting models:

[01] [metal objects] PN / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum / PN / šu-i / *ap* / [metal objects] / gi<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en

[02a] [fabrics] / PN / šu-i

[02b] [fabrics] / PN / šu-i / *in* GN

[02c] [fabrics] / PN / šu-i / PN

[02d] [fabrics] / PN / šu-i / kaskal / GN

[02d] [fabrics] / PN / šu-i / DU.DU / *si-in* / GN

[02e] [fabrics] / PN / PN / šu-i / pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš / en

[02f] [fabrics] / dumu-nita / PN / šu-i / PN / GN

[03] [fabrics] / i<sub>3</sub>-giš-sag / PN / šu-i

[04] [wool] / PN / PN / N šu-i

[05] [fabrics] / tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag / tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> / GN / PN / šu-i / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

**Prosopography:** *Ar-si/še<sub>3</sub>-a-ḥa* (*Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *Da-zi-ma-ad/du* (šu-i *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *EN-da-ar* (šu-i *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>* (šu-i *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*), *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *In-zi-bu<sub>3</sub>*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-gi*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ba* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Su-na-im* (šu-i en), *Uš-ra-gal-lu*

**Discussion:** *Su-na-im* is the šu-i most frequently mentioned: he was a pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš of the king, and is often mentioned with other members of this professional group:

[75.1446 = A IV 14] r.I:7-II:3: 8 ib<sub>2</sub>-iv<sup>tu</sup>g<sup>2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> / *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu* / *Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Ag-ga* / *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* / Ni-za-a[r<sup>ki</sup>] / *Su-na-im* / šu-i / 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša / wa / *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Ra-i-zu* / 'A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša / Zi-i<sub>3</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš* <pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en>; «8 embroidered waistband of good quality, for Na'am-

ḫāl, Yil'ē-yišar, man of Yaggah, Yibbi-Dikir from Nizar, Šū-na'im, the barber, Ḥadaṭa and Rūzī-malik, man of Rā'izu, Ḥadaṭa, Zi', man of Na'am-šammuni, <valets of the king>.»

Na'am-ḫāl, Yil'ē-yišar, Yibbi-Dikir, Ḥadaṭa, Rūzī-malik, Ḥadaṭa, and Zi' were all valets of the king. Na'am-ḫāl and Na'am-šammuni were among the most important valets: they receive in [75.1860 = M 10 20] four barber's razors, two of which were decorated with silver:

[75.1860 = M 10 20] r.X:8-17: 4 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN an-na / šub *si-in* / šU<sub>2</sub>+ŠA gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN a-gar<sub>5</sub>-a-gar<sub>5</sub> / 4 <gir<sub>2</sub>> šu-i / 1 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN ku<sub>3</sub>:bar<sub>6</sub> / NU<sub>11</sub>-za / 2 <gir<sub>2</sub>> šu-i / Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš / wa / Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḫa-lu; «4 weighted shekels of tin<sup>?</sup>, to be blended with 20 weighted shekels of copper<sup>?</sup>, for 4 barber's razors,<sup>682</sup> 1 shekels of silver for the silver leaf of 2 barber's razors, for Na'am-šammuni and Na'am-ḫāl»

It is not clear why Na'am-ḫāl and Na'am-šammuni received the razors, since the barber was Šū-na'im. In addition, two razors are mentioned with an expert (dub-zu-zu) and an apprentice (dumu-nita) barbers:

[75.1860 = M 10 20] r.XVII:5-11: 2 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN an-na / šub *si-in* / 10 gin<sub>2</sub>-DILMUN a-gar<sub>5</sub>-a-gar<sub>5</sub> / 2 <gir<sub>2</sub>> šu-i / dub-zu-zu / dumu-nita / Ra-i<sub>3</sub>-zu; ««2 weighted shekels of tin<sup>?</sup>, to be blended with 10 weighted shekels of copper<sup>?</sup>, for 2 barber's razors, for the expert (and) the apprentice (of) Rā'izu.»

The barbers, as well as male pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, are never mentioned in the text of the Small Archive.

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\***tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>** (167): «felt»

**Previous translation(s):** «preparatore di feltri»<sup>AIII</sup>; «fabbricante di feltri»<sup>AIV, AVII</sup>; «feltro»<sup>AXII, AXV</sup>; «Seiler und Flechter»<sup>M12</sup>

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.X:8	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VII:20	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 6	r.I:4	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[ε] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>MEE</i> 3, 8+	o.II:11	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>

Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (1396)	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.XV:4
[η] VE (1396)	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	r.VI:33'

Abu Salabiḫ

[θ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 54	o.II:11	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> '
[i] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 55	o.II:8'	'tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub> '
[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 57	o.II':3'	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
[λ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E Professions	<i>OIP</i> 99, 60	o.II:13	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>

Šuruppak

[j] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> B	<i>SF</i> 70	o.II:7	tug <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>8</sub>
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**Bibliography:** Biga, in *Wool Economy* (2014), p.143 (with bibliography); Steinkeller, *OA* 19 (1980)

<sup>682</sup> The gir<sub>2</sub> šu-i, "barber's razor," was probably made of bronze and decorated with precious metals; the term is attested in the ED Practical Vocabulary A. See Civil, *ARES* IV (2008), p.88 l.150. See also Archi, in *Fs von Soden* (1995), p.10.

**Dicussion:** the term  $tug_2-du_8$  does not seem to denote a profession.<sup>683</sup> Note, however, that  $tug_2-du_8$  is mentioned in the EBK after *simug*, *nagar*, and *ašgab*, and in the ED Lu<sub>2</sub> E.  $Tug_2-du_8$  is also attested as a PN and as an onomastic element.

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**tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag (91):** «female weaver»; «to weave»

**Previous translation(s):** «tessitore/trice»<sup>A1</sup>; «tessitrice»<sup>AIII, AIV, AIX</sup>; «tessitore/tessitrice»<sup>AVII</sup>; «tessere; tessitrice» (LL 1311' senza glossa)<sup>AXI, AXII</sup>; «tessitore, da tessere»<sup>AXV</sup>; «to weave; female weaver»<sup>AXX</sup>;

### Lexical

Ebla bilingual

[α] VE (1311')  $tug_2-nu-tag_4$  / [no gloss] MEE 4, 65+ r.XVIII:8'

### Bibliography:

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** dam, *MA-LIK-TUM*,

**Places:** *Ba-u<sub>9</sub>-ra-ad<sup>ki</sup>*

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [fabrics] / dam /  $nu-tug_2-tag_4$  / *MA-LIK-TUM* /  $i_3-na-sum$

[01b] [fabrics] /  $tug_2-nu-tag$  / *MA-LIK-TUM* /  $in-na-sum$

[02a] [fabrics] /  $tug_2-nu-tag$  / dam-dam / PN

[02b] [wool] /  $tug_2-nu-tag$  /  $e_2$  / PN

[03] [fabrics] /  $nu-tug_2-tag$  / [fabrics] /  $lu_2$  *MA-LIK-TUM* / <sup>f</sup>PN /  $šu-ba_4-ti$

[04] [wool] /  $tug_2-nu-tag$

**Prosopography:** *Ga-da-NE*

**Discussion:** when the term  $tug_2-nu-tag$  occupies the syntactic position of a verb it is generally followed by an object (such as  $u_2-su$ , “cushion,”  $tug_2-du_8$ , “felt”). When preceded by → dam, however, it clearly indicates a profession. Weaving was a female activity: most, if not all, weavers were probably women. A man named *A-zi* is mentioned in four documents of the Great Archive related with the Palace weavers: there is no evidence suggesting that he is *Yāḏi'* the scribe (see sub → *dub-sar*). Although *Yāḏi'* (the scribe) is often the recipient of quantities of wool, these are related to the  $a:tu_{22}$  (“purification”) of the house of the king. A man named *Yāḏi'*, however, is mentioned in two texts of Arrulum's period:

[75.2160 = A XV 44] r.VIII:4-7: 4 KIN siki /  $nig_2-sa_{10}$  *a-gu<sub>2</sub>* / *A-zi* /  $šu-ba_4-ti$ ; «4 measures of wool, price for the purchase of antimony powder, *Yāḏi'* has received.»<sup>684</sup>

[75.1438 = A XV 21] r.IV:13-V:3: 12 ½ KIN siki /  $nig_2-sa_{10}$   $u_2-ḥab_2$  / *A-zi* /  $šu-ba_4-ti$ ; «12 ½ measures of wool, price for the purchase of (a plant used for dying), *Yāḏi'* has received.»

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<sup>683</sup> For the meaning “felt” of  $tug_2-du_8$ , see Steinkeller, *OA* 19 (1980).

<sup>684</sup> On *a-gi/gu<sub>2</sub>*, “antimony (powder),” see Archi, in *Fs Fronzaroli* (2003), p.29, and Conti, *QdL* 4 (1993), pp.98–99. See also Biga, in *Mercanti e politica* (2003), p.65 fn.28, and Biga, in *Fs Parise* (2011), p.86 fn.51.

(dam) u<sub>2</sub>-a (50): «provisioner»

**Previous translation(s):** (Una categoria di funzionari)<sup>4IV, 4IX</sup>; (meaning uncertain)<sup>4VIII</sup>; «addetto all'approvvigionamento» (LL 297)<sup>4XII</sup>; «provider»<sup>4XX</sup>; «approvvigionatore»<sup>4M7</sup>

### Lexical

#### Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK	MEE 4, 115	o.VIII:19	ʾu <sub>2</sub> -a
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 27	o.V:12	u <sub>2</sub> -a
[γ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	MEE 3, 6	o.IV:3	u <sub>2</sub> -a
[δ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	MEE 3, 7-11	r.ʾIII:21	u <sub>2</sub> -a
[ε] Body Parts	MEE 3, 68	r.IV:1	u <sub>2</sub> -a

#### Ebla bilingual

[ζ] VE (297)	u <sub>2</sub> -a / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+	o.IX:3
[η] VE (297)	u <sub>2</sub> -a / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 13+	o.IX:26'
θ VE (297)	ʾu <sub>2</sub> -a / ga-si-lu	MEE 4, 24	r.III:12

#### Fara

[ι] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> C	SF 47	o.III:9	u <sub>2</sub> -a
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#### Abu Salabiḥ

[κ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 55 + OIP 99 59	o.III:17	ʾu <sub>2</sub> -a
[λ] ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E	OIP 99, 60	o.IV:5	u <sub>2</sub> -a

**Bibliography:** Arcari, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.321–22; Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.40, pp.114–15; Hajouz, *Der Wortschatz der Ebla-Texte* (2013), pp.568–69. Milano, *MARI* 5 (1987), pp.546–47; Pettinato *RSO* (1976), 50,; p.13 fn.27; Pomponio and Xella, *AfO* 31 (1984), p.31; Sjöberg, in *Fs Pettinato* (2004), pp.260–61.

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** a-am(-am) ib(-ib), ir<sub>11</sub>, geme<sub>2</sub>, ugula (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101)

**Places:** e<sub>2</sub> en, e<sub>2</sub> maḥ

### Accounting models:

§01 [75.288 = A IX 1; 75.247 = A IX 2; 75.538 = A IX 3]

N [mi-at N la<sub>2</sub>-N] še bar še-ba e<sub>2</sub> en / N še bar še-ba dam / N še bar še-ba dam Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-ga<sup>ki</sup> / N še bar ib-ib / N še bar a-am / N še bar u<sub>2</sub>-a

§02 [75.351 = A IX 58]

N mi-at N la<sub>2</sub>-N še-ba dam / N še bar <dam> dar / N še bar u<sub>2</sub>-a / še-ba iti MN

§03 [75.560 = A IX 59]

N še bar še-ba dam / N še bar še-ba u<sub>2</sub>-a / iti MN

§04 [75.346 = A IX 87]

N še bar še-ba dam en uru-bar / N še bar gibil še-ba dam kikken<sub>2</sub> / N iti / N še bar še-ba u<sub>2</sub>-a-u<sub>2</sub>-a / N iti / N še libir / še-ba / dam kikken<sub>2</sub> N iti / N še bar libir / še-ba u<sub>2</sub>-a-u<sub>2</sub>-a / N iti

§05 [fabrics] u<sub>2</sub>-a / e<sub>2</sub> / dingir-dingir-dingir

See also the accounting models sub → a-am and → ib.

**Discussion:** Pettinato noted the presence of the sumerogram  $u_2$ -a in the Eblaite ED Lu<sub>2</sub> E ([ $\gamma$ ] and [ $\delta$ ]), ED Lu<sub>2</sub> C, and in the Lu<sub>2</sub> = *ša*.<sup>685</sup> In the *VE* the term is glossed *ga-si-lu*: this Semitic spelling and the variant *ga-si-ru*<sub>12</sub> are attested in the administrative documents, but have been interpreted as proper names. Pomponio and Xella suggested that the  $u_2$ -a were mainly involved in agricultural activities ( $u_2$  = “plant, grass”, also equated with Akkadian *nukarribu*, “gardener”):<sup>686</sup> they were low-ranking workers according both to the kind of objects and to the modest rations they generally receive ( $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *gu<sub>2</sub>-bar* per month). For this reasons the *VE* gloss [θ] should be derived in their opinion from the Semitic root \**qšr* (hbr., “to collect”, “to reap”), and not from \**gšr* (“to be strong”). Furthermore, the spelling *ga-si-ru*<sub>12</sub>, attested only in administrative documents, might be unrelated to  $u_2$ -a / *ga-si-ru*: *ga-si-ru*<sub>12</sub> could in fact derive from from \**gšr* (“to be strong”).<sup>687</sup> Conti suggests a meaning based on the Semitic root \**qšr*, “to bind, bind up, bind together,”<sup>688</sup> interpreting the gloss as /qāširu(m)/.<sup>689</sup> Arcari, following Pettinato’s interpretation of [75.336 = *RSO* 50],<sup>690</sup> identified the  $u_2$ -a as an official in charge of the stables (GIGIR<sup>ki</sup>) and of the  $e_2$  am. The equation on which their interpretation is based ( $u_2$ -a = *za-ni-nu*, *e-pi<sub>2</sub>-ru*)<sup>691</sup> is however late, being attested in lexical lists from the Old-Babylonian period onwards: Arcari observed that the Eblaite gloss (*ga-si-lu*) probably has a more general meaning. It is not clear however, how the same official is also in charge of the distribution of rations to the female personnel.

The  $u_2$ -a most likely had a function similar to Akk.  $u_2$ -a/*zāninu*, “provider,”<sup>692</sup> although the Eblaite Semitic spelling is based on a different etymology. The  $u_2$ -a were closely linked to the dam, as it is shown in Table 23, p.241: the total of the rations listed is summarized as *še-ba dam-dam*, and this total includes the rations both for the dam-dam and the  $u_2$ -a. The  $u_2$ -a are also strongly connected to the *ib* and the *a-am*: while the *a-am* were probably in charge of water supplies, the role of the *ib* is difficult to define. See also the discussion sub → a-am and → ib.

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**ur**<sub>4/x</sub> (268): «collector» (a person who collected goods, probably precious, on behalf of someone else).

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AI, AII, M10</sup>; (FN)<sup>AIII, AVII, AXII</sup>; (un funzionario)<sup>AIV</sup>; «‘shearer’ and ‘shorn’»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «raccogliitore»<sup>AXV</sup>; «collettore, agente commerciale»<sup>AXVI</sup>; «carrier»<sup>AXX</sup>; «Handelsbeauftragte»<sup>M12</sup>

see also → a-ur<sub>4/x</sub>

## Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VI:13'	ur <sub>4</sub> ?
[β] Word List A	<i>MEE</i> 3, 53	o.IX:17	ur <sub>4</sub>
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.III:6	a-ur <sub>4</sub>
[δ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 25+	r.IV:6'	a-ur <sub>4</sub>

<sup>685</sup> Arcari, *AION Suppl.* 32 (1982), p.321. For the composite text of the ED Lu<sub>2</sub> E (Abu Salabiḥ + Gasur + Kiš + Ebla), see *MEE* 3, 33-46. See also Pettinato, *MEE* 3 (1981), p.44, l.63.

<sup>686</sup> Pomponio and Xella, *AfO* 31 (1984), p.30.

<sup>687</sup> See also Pagan, *ARES* III (1998), s.v. *ga-si-ru*, p.310

<sup>688</sup> *CDG*, pp.450–51.

<sup>689</sup> Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp.114–15.

<sup>690</sup> Pettinato, *RSO* 50 (1976).

<sup>691</sup> Civil, *MSL* XII (1969), Lu IV p.365f.; Civil and Güterbock, *MSL* XIII (1971), Izi E p.281f.

<sup>692</sup> *CAD Z* (1961), s.v. *zāninu*, p.45. See Milano, *MARI* 5 (1987), p.546–47.

Ebla bilingual

[ε] VE (1307')	ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4 63+	r.l:13
[ζ] VE (1307')	ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4 65+	r.XVII:4"
[η] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4 1+	r.IV:14
[θ] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4 51	o.?'ll':6'
[i] VE (631)	a-ur <sub>4</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4 65+	o.XVII:14'

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), pp.6–7; Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.533ff.; Catagnoli and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI, p.171; Pasquali, *NABU* 1996/85 (1996); Waetzoldt, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.427–8.

**Contextual association(s):**

**Social position(s)/role(s):** KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir, lugal, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

**Places:** *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-da*-NE<sup>ki</sup>, *Ha-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>, *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>,

**Prosopography:** *A-bi<sub>2</sub>*-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>, *A-da*<sub>(5)</sub>, *A-gi-lu*, *A-lum*, *A-si-da-mu*, *A-šu-ur-i<sub>3</sub>/A-šur<sub>x</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>* (pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš en; lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir), *Ad-da*, AN-MAH, <sup>a</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ti*, <sup>a</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-gi*, *Ba-lu-zu<sub>2</sub>* (*I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>), *Ba-ra-a*, Be-NI-HAR, Be-su<sub>3</sub>-kur<sup>ki</sup> (*Ma-ri<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>), *Bu<sub>14</sub>-du*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Dam-da-il*, DIRI-um, *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*(-<šum?>), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu* (šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>*-<sup>a</sup>*ag-da-mu*), *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* (Pa<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> E<sub>2</sub>×PAP; ki:lām; *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>), *Du-na-sa-gi*, EN-<sup>a</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-da-mu* (ki:lām; lu<sub>2</sub> *Šu-ma-lik*), *En-be*, *En-na-ba-al<sub>6</sub>* ([lu<sub>2</sub>] e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir; lu<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>), *En-na-BAD*, *En-na-be* (BAD-e<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), *En-na-il* (*Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>), *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, Engar-URI, Engar-IDIM, *Gur-ni-ba*, *Gu<sub>2</sub>-za-ba* (*Gar<sub>3</sub>*[-mu<sup>ki</sup>]), *Ha-zu<sub>2</sub>*, *I-az<sub>x</sub>*(LUL-ZA<sub>x</sub>)-*ma-lik*, *I-da-i<sub>3</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir), *I-gi* (*Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>), *I-ku-NI*, *I-lu<sub>(5)</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik*, *I-šar* (*Ha-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>; ur<sub>4</sub>-mah), *I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>*, *I-ti-NE* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir; pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš en; lu<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM), *Ib-dur-il* (a-NE-tum), *Ig-na-da-mu*, *Il<sub>2</sub>-a-da-mu* (šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> en), *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*, *In-gar<sub>3</sub>*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-mu*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*, *Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* (KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG), *Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*, *KU-TU Dam-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*, *Kun<sub>3</sub>-nu*, *La<sub>2</sub>-du-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Ma-zu-lu*, Maš-kaskal, *Mi-ga-il*, *Mu/MUNU<sub>4</sub>-ma-il*, *Mu-ri<sub>(2)</sub>* (*Ar-mi*[-um]<sup>ki</sup>), NE-dar (*Da-da*-NE<sup>ki</sup>), NE-LUM (ur<sub>4</sub>-tur), NE-zi-*ma-lik* (ugula e<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*), NI.NUN, NI-zi (*Na-gar<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>; *si-gi-su-ma*), *Nu-za-ar/ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Wa-ba-sum*, Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-be (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> *Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-hu-d*<sup>a</sup> *A<sub>3</sub>-da*), Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik*, *Sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*, *Su/Šum-ma-il*, *Šu-ma-lik* (*Lum-na-an*<sup>ki</sup>), *U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>* (*Ma-ri<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>), *U<sub>3</sub>-zu* (*I<sub>3</sub>-mar*<sup>ki</sup>), *Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu* / *U<sub>3</sub>-aš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir), *Wa-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>*, *Wa-ti-lu/ru<sub>12</sub>*, *Ze<sub>2</sub>-kam<sub>4</sub>*, *Zi-kir-ra-ar*, *Zi-la-be* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Bu<sub>3</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>*:bar<sub>6</sub>), *Zi-la-i<sub>3</sub>*, *Zi-li*, *Zi-mi-nar*, *Zi-ti*, *Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum*.

For a list of PNs qualified as ur<sub>4</sub> see also Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), pp.533–34, and *The Prosopography of Ebla Project*.<sup>693</sup>

**Accounting models:**

[01a] [fabrics or silver or wool] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> (/ GN)

[01b] [fabrics or silver] / PN / lu<sub>2</sub> PN / ur<sub>4</sub>

[01c] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

[01d] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / šu-du<sub>8</sub>

[01e] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub>

[01f] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / šeš:pa<sub>4</sub> / PN

[01g] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / *si-in* / E<sub>2</sub>×PAP

<sup>693</sup> See also the prosopography published on the *Prosopography of Ebla Project* ([https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/ur4%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/ur4%20(1).pdf)) (2018-03-15).



[01h] [fabrics or silver] / PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / si-in / ki:lam

[01i] [fabrics or silver] / maškim / PN / ur<sub>4</sub>

[01I] [fabrics] PN ur<sub>x</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / MA-LIK-TUM / PN lu<sub>2</sub> PN / ŠEŠ.II.IB in GN

[01I] [fabrics] PN / ur<sub>4</sub> / nig<sub>2</sub>-mul-an / <sup>f</sup>PN / dumu-nita / tu-da / MA-LIK-TUM / i<sub>3</sub>-na-sum

**Discussion:** At Ebla the sign ur<sub>4</sub> is found in two different contexts: associated with different types of wool, or as a function name (ur<sub>4</sub> and a-ur<sub>4</sub>). With reference to wool, the term ur<sub>4</sub> is attested in the bilingual lists in VE 1120 (si-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>) and VE 1121 (si-ur<sub>4</sub>). Although no gloss is provided for si-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>, the term si-ur<sub>4</sub> presents the gloss *me-a-gu-um*: first interpreted by Pasquali as a *mapras-noun* (nomina instrumenti) from \*hlq, “to be/make hairless; to shave,”<sup>694</sup> the same author later accepted Conti’s interpretation of *me-a-gu-um* as *malāq-um*, from the West Semitic root \*mlq, “to tear off.”<sup>695</sup> The expression siki si-udu-ur<sub>4</sub> thus designates a type of plucked wool of low quality.<sup>696</sup> However, when occurring alone, the sign ur<sub>4</sub> clearly indicates a function:<sup>697</sup> the bilingual lists (VE 631 and VE 1307’, [ε]-[t]) provide no clue on the Semitic reading of this sign, but from the occurrences of the term in the administrative documents this function seem to be unrelated to wool and its processing. A further element which confirms that ur<sub>4</sub> as a function name is not related to wool plucking is the fact that the latter was a seasonal activity: the occurrences of ur<sub>4</sub>-functionaries in the Ebla documents are not, however, characterized by a seasonal pattern.<sup>698</sup> In addition, if si-ur<sub>4</sub> = *malāqum* is the Eblaite equivalent of Akk. ur<sub>4</sub> = *baqāmu*, it must be stressed that in Akkadian ur<sub>4</sub> is also equivalent to *hamāmu*, “to pluck and gather.” the Akk. verb *hamāmu* is used with reference to barley/reed harvesting (not wool plucking) and defines “a primitive technique of harvesting without the use of a sickle.”<sup>699</sup> Civil observed that si-udu-ur<sub>4</sub> could in fact be a type of comb, since “sheeps, and goats, had their wool removed not by cutting with shears, but by plucking.”<sup>700</sup> The meaning of ur<sub>4</sub> is thus related to two activities: plucking and collecting. The document [75.2012 = M 10 38] r.V:8-VII:12 records a list of persons (NA-SE<sub>11</sub>) from Emar, qualified as a-ur<sub>4</sub>: as Bonechi noted, there is almost no parallel between the PNs registered in this list and the prosopography related to ur<sub>4</sub>, so that the two functions are semantically related but should be kept distinct (see sun → a-ur<sub>4</sub>).<sup>701</sup> The function of ur<sub>4</sub> is often connected to different professions: among the individuals qualified as ur<sub>4</sub> are → KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG (§4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir (see sub → lu<sub>2</sub> {-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153), → lugal (4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), and → pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153). A connection between the ur<sub>4</sub> and the KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG («gatekeeper») seems to be proved by the parallelism between [75.1263], [75.1298], and [75.1318]:<sup>702</sup> the men listed in [75.1263] and [75.1298] are KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, while they are qualified as ur<sub>4</sub> in [75.1318].<sup>703</sup> Further parallels can be found in [75.1243 = A XV 4], [75.1727 = A XV 33], [75.1862 = A XV 36], [75.2246 = A XV 49], [75.10276 = A XV 59],

<sup>694</sup> Pasquali, *NABU* 1996/85 (1996).

<sup>695</sup> Pasquali, in *Textile Terminologies* (2010), pp.173–74; Conti, *MisEb* 4 (1997), p.33–34.

<sup>696</sup> See Lahlou and Catagnoti, *ARET* XII (2006), p.579 s.v. siki, “lana strappata.”

<sup>697</sup> The variant ur<sub>4</sub>+*Winkelhacken* (often transliterated ur<sub>x</sub>) is not a diachronic variant, and no semantic difference distinguishes the two signs, which are therefore equivalent in all respects. See Catagnoti, *Paleografia* (2013), p.49 n.271.

<sup>698</sup> Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* (1997), pp.91–93; for Ebla, see Bonechi, *Syria Supp.* 4 (2016), p.68 fn.252.

<sup>699</sup> *CAD* H (1956), p.58 s.v. *hamāmu* (attested from OB). See also D’Agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996), p.68 comm. ad r.I:2. For a similar consideration on the possible meaning of ur<sub>4</sub> = *hamāmu* at Ebla, see Astour, *Eblaïtica* 3 (1992), p.52 fn. 316.

<sup>700</sup> Civil, *ARES* IV (2008), p.139 fn.374.

<sup>701</sup> Bonechi, *MARI* 8 (1997), p.534. Pettinato and D’Agostino in *TIE* A/1 (1995), pp.43–44, suggested that a-ur<sub>4</sub> is the complete form of ur<sub>4</sub>. See 5.1 Administrators and Supervisors → a-ur<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>702</sup> Quoted in Archi, in *Fs Giorgadze* (2002<sup>2</sup>), p.155.

<sup>703</sup> Three further parallel lists of gate-keepers have been identified by Bonechi, *RA* 106 (2012). The individuals recorded in these lists, however, do not occur as ur<sub>4</sub> in other texts. It thus seems that the function or ur<sub>4</sub> is not necessarily connected with the activities of the gatekeepers.

and [76.523 = A VIII 523]. Note, however, that several men mentioned in [76.523 = A VIII 523] are ib-ib (see sub → ib, §4.5 Producers, p.186):

[75.10276 = A XV 59]	[75.1727 = A XV 33]	[75.1862 = A XV 36]	[75.1243 = A XV 4]	[75.2246 = A XV 49]	[75.1318]	[76.523 = A VIII 523]
[...]	20 la <sub>2</sub> -1 SAL <sup>lug2</sup>	20 la <sub>2</sub> -1 SAL <sup>lug2</sup>	10 ib <sub>2</sub> -III <sup>lug2</sup> gun <sub>3</sub>	18 SAL <sup>lug2</sup>	18 SAL <sup>lug2</sup>	22 ½ kin siki
Šu-i <sub>3</sub> -[um]	2 En-na-il	A-su-da-mu "ur <sub>4</sub> "	Be-ni-ħar ur <sub>4</sub>	La-za-ħi-a	Aš <sub>2</sub> -da-mu	Iš <sub>11</sub> -a-ma-lik
Ĥu-ni-a	Ar-si-a-ħa	La-za-ħi-su	Wa-ti-ru <sub>12</sub> ur <sub>4</sub>	NE-lum	A-da <sub>5</sub>	A-da-a-du
I <sub>3</sub> -lum-ak	A-bi <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>9</sub>	En-na-il	Ir <sub>3</sub> -a-mu ur <sub>4</sub>	A-si-da-mu	Nab-ħa-il	I-du-na-nu-ni Šum-ri <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>
Na-na	An-maħ-x <sup>˘</sup>	Puzur <sub>4</sub> -ra-ma-lik	Ib-te-da-mu ur <sub>4</sub>	En-na-il	A-zu <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>2</sub> -ra	I-ti-i <sub>3</sub>
A-dub	Ir <sub>3</sub> -[...]	Ze <sub>2</sub> -kam <sub>4</sub>	Il <sub>2</sub> -a-da-mu	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-ak tur	I-lu <sub>5</sub> -za <sub>x</sub> -ma-lik	I-ti-i <sub>3</sub> -II
Šu-i <sub>3</sub> -lum-II	Ba-li	Na-na	EZEN=BE	A-bi <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>9</sub>	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-bal	[Ir <sub>3</sub> -I <sup>˘</sup> i <sub>3</sub> -ba
Zi-ti	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-ak	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-ak <sub>3</sub> maħ	Be=EREN <sub>2</sub> +X	Ba-li	Šu-i <sub>3</sub> -lum	Zi-kir-NI
Bu <sub>3</sub> -da- <sup>˘</sup> ma <sup>˘</sup> -lik	[N]a-na	I-sar maħ	[Ir <sub>3</sub> -]i <sub>3</sub> -ba	Puzur <sub>4</sub> -ra-ma-lik	Bu <sub>3</sub> -da-ma-lik	Ib-dur-i <sub>3</sub>
Nab-ħa-il	A-da <sub>5</sub>	Šu-i <sub>3</sub> -lum	[...]	Zi-ti	Gul-la	En-na-i <sub>3</sub>
NE-lum	Šu-i <sub>3</sub> -lum	I <sub>3</sub> -lum-ak tur		Bu-da-ma-lik	A-bi <sub>2</sub> -u <sub>9</sub>	Wa-ti-lu
Ir <sub>3</sub> -ga	Zi-ti	Nab-ħa-il		A-d[a <sub>5</sub> ]	Na-zi	Ma <sup>˘</sup> a <sub>3</sub> -u <sub>3</sub>
En-na-il-II	Bu <sub>3</sub> -da-ma-lik	[x] <sup>˘</sup> dab <sub>6</sub> <sup>˘</sup> ?		<sup>˘</sup> Nab <sup>˘</sup> -[ħa-il]	Puzur <sub>4</sub> -ra-ma-lik	Si-a-um
Ar-si-a-ħa	Nab-ħa-il	[...]		[...]	Ba-li	Za-mi-lu
A-bi <sub>2</sub> - <sup>˘</sup> a <sub>3</sub> <sup>˘</sup>	NE-lum				Gul-la-II	Bu <sub>3</sub> -da-ma-lik
	Aš <sub>2</sub> -d[a]-mu				En-be	"ur <sub>4</sub> "
	[x] <sup>˘</sup> i <sub>3</sub> <sup>˘</sup> ?-lum				Ir <sub>3</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -ba	
	A-bi <sub>2</sub> -a				Ar-si-a-ħa	
					"ur <sub>4</sub> "-"ur <sub>4</sub> "	

As the following passages suggest, the ur<sub>4</sub> were probably in charge of collecting goods, especially precious objects, on behalf of someone else:

[76.529 = A VIII 529] o.VIII:24-IX:6: 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>lug2</sup> / Da-mur-da-še<sub>3</sub>-li / dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> / Ri<sub>2</sub>-ti / e<sub>2</sub>-gi-a / en / 1 zara<sub>6</sub><sup>lug2</sup> / mi<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>3</sub><sup>!!</sup> / 1 'a<sub>3</sub>-da-um<sup>lug2</sup>-II 1 aktum<sup>lug2</sup> 1 ib<sub>2</sub>-III<sup>lug2</sup> sa<sub>6</sub> gun<sub>3</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba "ur<sub>4</sub>"-su<sub>3</sub>; «1 zara<sub>6</sub>-garment (for) Ta' mur-Dašin, daughter of Rēti', daughter-in-law of the king; 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-garment (for) her female female high representative?; 1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 embroidered waistband of good quality for Yir'ib-a, her collector».

Yir'ib-a was KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG at the gate of Rašap of (the?) Gunu.<sup>704</sup> It does not seem probable that ur<sub>4</sub> was the title of a high official at Nagar.<sup>705</sup> the activity of the ur<sub>4</sub> is only related to the collection of goods on the behalf of someone else, regardless of social rank.

<sup>704</sup> See Bonechi, *RA* 106 (2012), p.35 and fn. 13.

<sup>705</sup> See Archi, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998), p.6.

*Tables*

dam	PN	
10	<i>Il<sub>2</sub>-zi</i>	BAD e <sub>2</sub> en?
8	<i>I<sub>3</sub>-da-AN</i>	?
5	<i>Ti-da</i>	?
2	<i>Na-da-ba-du</i>	dam en
2	<i>Gar<sub>3</sub>-ra</i>	?
4	<i>A-zi-kir</i>	NE.DI, ga-du <sub>8</sub> , dam abba <sub>2</sub>
1[+2]	<i>Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu</i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
4	<i>[En]-na[-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>3</sub>]</i>	ib
[2+]1	<i>[Ib]-du-<sup>7</sup>ma<sup>7</sup>-lik</i>	ib
5	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>7</sup>i<sub>3</sub><sup>7</sup>-ba</i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
3	<i>Ib-ḥur-i<sub>3</sub></i>	ib
2	<i>Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu</i>	lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir, ur <sub>4</sub>
3	<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub></i>	ib
2	<i>I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bad<sub>3</sub></i>	ib
4	<i>Su-ma-bad<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	ib
2	<i>I<sub>3</sub>-a-ar</i>	?
2	<i>Za-nu-du</i>	?
4	<i>A-da-BE-du</i>	?
2	KAL	?
1	<i>A-sa-du</i>	?
3	Be-su <sub>3</sub> -NE-ḤAR	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
2	<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-ba-du</i>	?
4	<i>Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na</i>	dam en
2	<i>Dar-a</i>	dam abba <sub>2</sub>
1	<i>A-zi-kir lu<sub>2</sub> NI-za-ra</i>	?
2	<i>Dab<sub>6</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik</i>	?
1	<i>Ba-zi-da-ḥu</i>	?
2	<i>A-a-du</i>	dam
88	Total	?
10	<i>A-zi</i>	?
2	<i>En-na</i>	ib lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> am
4	<i>Iš-lu-du</i>	dam en tur
2	<i>Gu<sub>2</sub>-za-la</i>	?
4	<i>En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu</i>	dam en
[2+1 <sup>?</sup> ]	<i>En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu</i>	pa <sub>4</sub> -šeš <sup>d</sup> KU-ra
4	<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik</i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
7	<i>Ma-za-a-du</i>	dam en
1	<i>I-ti-i<sub>3</sub></i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
2	GIŠ.ŠIM	?
2	<i>Si-ma</i>	?
4	<i>A-bi<sub>2</sub>-na-du</i>	dam abba <sub>2</sub>

7	<i>Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik</i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
1	<i>Za-li</i>	dam
[...]		
10	<i>En-na-i<sub>3</sub></i>	ib?
5	<i>Da-ba-a-du</i>	dam en
2	<i>Si-a-ma</i>	?
2	<i>Wa-ti-lu</i>	ib, ur <sub>4</sub>
2	<i>I<sub>3</sub>-giš-nu-du</i>	dam abba <sub>2</sub>
3	<i>Ib-ga-i<sub>3</sub></i>	?
2	<i>Ga-na-ba-du</i>	dam en tur
3	<i>Zi-kir-ra-i<sub>3</sub></i>	ib
4	<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-du-um</i>	ib
2	<i>A-šur<sub>x</sub>-i<sub>3</sub></i>	lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir, ur <sub>4</sub>
96	Total	

Table 15 - [75.446 = A IX 53]

še bar	No. of dam	dam	
19	19	giššerim	“women of the loom”
3	3	gada <sup>lug2</sup>	“women of the linen”
4	4	lu <sub>2</sub> gu	“women of the spin”
4	4	NE-ra	
2	2	ib <sub>2</sub> -ll <sup>lug2</sup>	“women of the waistbands”
1	1	lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -giš	“woman of the oil”
1	1	lu <sub>2</sub> ḥa-ri <sub>2</sub>	“woman of the ḥamru beverage”
8½	19	<i>a-si-ra-tum</i>	“waitresses”
?	3+4	lu <sub>2</sub> šE+TIN	“women of the beer”
?	4	<i>a-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-tum</i>	“female baker”
?	1	lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -giš	“woman of the oil”
?	1	lu <sub>2</sub> ḥa-ri <sub>2</sub>	“woman of the ḥamru beverage”
?	4	<i>Gu<sub>2</sub>-zu-zi</i>	
[...]			
?	1	Ni-ba	
50	78		dam Bu <sub>3</sub> -zu-ga <sup>ki</sup>

Table 16 - [75.537 = A IX 44]

	KIN siki			per person
	bar <sub>6</sub>	gi <sub>6</sub>	gi <sub>6</sub> bar <sub>6</sub>	
17 dam pa-sikil-sud ama-gi <sub>4</sub>	34			2
1 dam-maḥ		2		2
37 dam giššerim			74	2
51 dam <i>a-si-ra-tum</i>			51	1
13 dam NE-ra	26			2
7 dam gun <sub>3</sub>		14		2
1 dam aktum <sup>lug</sup>	2			2

2 dam maškim-sù			2	1
3 dam giš-šerim lu <sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM		6		2
10 dam ugula engar maḥ		20		2
24 dam engar tur Da-ba-a-du			24	1
4 dam-maḥ	8			2
12 dam lu <sub>2</sub> ŠE+TIN en			12	1
10 dam ga-du <sub>8</sub>		10		1
2 dam-maḥ		4		2
23 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> Ba-a-ga			23	1
1 dam-maḥ		2		2
26 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> Ḥa-lu-du			26	1
1 dam-maḥ		2		2
30 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> Gu <sub>2</sub> -da-da-aḥ			30	1
1 dam-maḥ		2		2
31 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> A-ga-me-nu			31	1
1 dam-maḥ		2		2
65 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> e <sub>2</sub> -maḥ			65	1
4 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> guruš-guruš			4	1
12 NE-ra e <sub>2</sub> KU-ra		24		2
2 dam lu <sub>2</sub> sar			2	1
2 dam lu <sub>2</sub> banšur			2	1
7 dam lu <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -giš			7	1
10 dam muḥaldim lu <sub>2</sub> ninda-si-ga			10	1
2 dam maḥ	4			2
11 dam lu <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> ama-gal en	11			1
2 dam maḥ	4			2
11 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> šeš:pa <sub>4</sub> MA-LIK-TUM	11			1
4 dam maḥ	8			2
22 dam lu <sub>2</sub> I-šar-tum lu <sub>2</sub> diri			22	1
2 dam maḥ	4			2
15 dam lu <sub>2</sub> ŠE+TIN guruš			15	1
[1 dam maḥ]		2		2
[10] dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -a e <sub>2</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> -maḥ			[10]	[1]
1 dam maḥ		2		2
5 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -a Ma <sub>2</sub> -NE<ki>			5	1
2 dam maḥ	4			2
11 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> ti-tug <sub>2</sub>			11	1
11 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> ad-???			11	1
6 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -a e <sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir			6	1
2 dam Ne-ir-da		4		2
9 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> um-lu-lu			9	1
20 a-am lu <sub>2</sub> // <sub>2</sub> -zi			20	1
Na-na-bu <sub>3</sub> -u[m <sup>ki</sup> ]		4		?
5 dam maḥ		10		2
28 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> e <sub>2</sub> 'A <sub>3</sub> -da-ti			28	1
6 dam 'a <sub>5</sub> -za-ru <sub>12</sub> Mi-na-du			6	1
7 dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> -tur tug <sub>2</sub> -nu-tag			7	1
Total expected	116	110	503+[10]	
Total accounted	116	100	513	

Table 17 - [75.1743 = A XX 9]

e <sub>2</sub> en	dam kikken	dam	dam Bu <sub>3</sub> -zu-ga <sup>ki</sup>	ib-ib	a-am	u <sub>2</sub> -a	iti	Text
-------------------	------------	-----	--	-------	------	-------------------	-----	------

871[+]	110	-	-	-	-	-	še-gur <sub>10</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub>	
810[+]	110	-	-	-	-	-	<sup>d</sup> AMA-ra	
825	110	-	-	-	-	-	<sup>d</sup> ga-mi-iš	
845	-	110	-	20	5	30	be-li	IX 3
845	-	110	-	20	5	30	<sup>d</sup> aš-da-BIL <sub>2</sub>	
8 <sup>45</sup>	-	110	50	20	5	30	NI[-DU]	
845 <sup>?</sup>	-	110	50 <sup>?</sup>	[20]	[5]	30 <sup>?</sup>	<sup>d</sup> a <sub>3</sub> -da	
845	-	110	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	NI-la-mu	IX 1
845	-	110	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	hur-mu	
845	110	-	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	e <sub>3</sub>	IX 2
845	110	-	20	20 ½	10 ½	30	kur <sub>6</sub>	

Table 18 - Schematization of ARET IX 1-3.

ninda	en	150	120 (wa abba <sub>2</sub> )	120 (wa abba <sub>2</sub> )
	<sup>d</sup> Ku-ra	10	10	10
	sikil d.-d.-d. uru-bar	6	6	6
	guruš-guruš	-	410	405
še+TIN	en	10	70	70
	abba <sub>2</sub>	45	-	-
	guruš-guruš	-	230	232 ½ (wa abba <sub>2</sub> )
še-ba	dam	100	110	110*
	dam Bu <sub>3</sub> -zu-ga <sup>ki</sup>	-	50	50 (80 dam B.)
	ib-ib	6 ½	20 ½	20 ½ (42 ib)
	a-am	3	10 ½	10 ½ (21 a-am)
	u <sub>2</sub> -a	10	30	30 (60 u <sub>2</sub> -a)
iti	<sup>d</sup> a-dam-ma-um	-	-	-
Text		IX 4	IX 12	IX 13

Table 19 - Schematization of [75.229 = A IX 13].<sup>706</sup>

e <sub>2</sub> en	dam	kikken	dam	dam Bu <sub>3</sub> -zu-ga <sup>ki</sup>	ib-ib	a-am	u <sub>2</sub> -a	iti	Text
871[+]	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	še-gur <sub>10</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub> (II)	
810[+]	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	<sup>d</sup> AMA-ra (III)	
825	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	<sup>d</sup> ga-mi-iš (IV)	
845	-	110	-	-	20	5	30	be-li (V)	IX 3
845	-	110	-	-	20	5	30	<sup>d</sup> aš-da-BIL <sub>2</sub> (VI)	
8 <sup>45</sup>	-	110	50	20	5	30	NI[-DU] (VII)		
845 <sup>?</sup>	-	110	50 <sup>?</sup>	[20]	[5]	30 <sup>?</sup>	<sup>d</sup> a <sub>3</sub> -da (VIII)		
845	-	110	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	NI-la-mu (IX)	IX 1	
845	-	110	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	hur-mu (X)		
845	110	-	50	20 ½	10 ½	30	e <sub>3</sub> (XI)	IX 2	
845	110	-	20	20 ½	10 ½	30	kur <sub>6</sub> (XII)		

Table 20 - [75.288 = A IX 1; 75.247 = A IX 2; 75.538 = A IX 3]

N mi-at N lá-N še-ba dam N še bar <dam> dar N še bar u<sub>2</sub>-a še-ba iti MN

<sup>706</sup> The total number of rations delivered is 110, but [75.229 = A IX 13] gives also a detailed account of the recipients: 6 še bar for the queen, *Ti-iš-da-mu* and *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>UTU; 20 for 10 women and 10 high representatives; 11 for 22 dam en tur; 73 for 300 dam

208 ½	6 ½	50	a-nun-nun (VIII)
208 ½	[6 ½]	41	ir-me (IX)
208 ½	6 ½	41	hur-mu (X)
20[8 ½]	6 ½	41	e <sub>3</sub> (XI)
208 ½	5 ½	41	kur <sub>6</sub> (XII)
208 ½	5 ½	41	<sup>a</sup> a-dam-ma-um (I)
253 ½	5 ½	41	še-gur <sub>10</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub> (II)
Total: 1230 še-ba dam in 6 iti // 246 še bar u <sub>2</sub> -a in 6 iti			

Table 21 - [75.351 = A IX 58]

**Comment:** note that the months are consecutive; this accounting covers the period from November-December to May-June. (205×6=1230; 41×6=246) 1251-39=1260

N še bar še-ba dam	N še bar še-ba u <sub>2</sub> -a	iti MN
[...]	31	izi-gar (X)
115	31	e <sub>3</sub> (XI)
115	31	kur <sub>6</sub> (XII)
115	31	<sup>a</sup> a <sup>r</sup> -dam-ma-um (I)
115	31	še-gur <sub>10</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub> (II)
Total: 1022 še-ba dam-dam in 7 [iti] (Note 115x7+31x7=1022)		

Table 22 - [75.560 = A IX 59]

**Comment:** note that the months are consecutive; this accounting covers the period from January-February to May-June. The total of 1022 še-ba dam-dam includes both the rations for the dam and the u<sub>2</sub>-a [(115×7)+(31×7)=1022]. The monthly ration for the u<sub>2</sub>-a amounts to 31: according to [75.229 = A IX 13] 60 u<sub>2</sub>-a are the recipients of 30 še bar; the ration pro capite is thus of ½ gu<sub>2</sub>-bar of cereals. If we assume that this ratio is true also for [75.560 = A IX 59], the group of u<sub>2</sub>-a is composed by 62 individuals.

dam en uru-bar	dam kikken <sub>2</sub>	u <sub>2</sub> -a-u <sub>2</sub> -a	iti
93	230 (gibil)	-	2
-	-	62 (gibil)	2
-	460 (libir)	-	4
-	-	124 (libir)	4
Total: 1022 še-ba dam-dam in 7 [iti] (Note 115x7+31x7=1022)			

Table 23 - [75.346 = A IX 87]

**Comment:** the rations of cereals for the dam kikken<sub>2</sub> and the u<sub>2</sub>-a over a period of two months are half of the quantities accounted for four months (230×2=460; 62×2=124). The ration is that of 31 gu<sub>2</sub>-bar per month, the same amount given in §03 [75.560 = A IX 59], although in the present texts the cereals are defined as gibil and libir respectively. It is not clear if the first assignment to the dam en uru-bar is part of the estimate.

Months	§01	§02	§03	§04
--------	-----	-----	-----	-----

<sup>d</sup> a-dam-ma-um (I)	-	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	31 = 62 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-
še-gur <sub>10</sub> -ku <sub>5</sub> (II)	-	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-
<sup>d</sup> AMA-ra (III)	-	-	-	-
<sup>d</sup> ga-mi-iš (IV)	-	-	-	-
be-li (V)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-	-
<sup>d</sup> aš-da-BIL <sub>2</sub> (VI)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-	-
NI[-DU] (VII)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-	-
<sup>d</sup> a <sub>3</sub> -da (VIII)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	50 = 100 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-
NI-la-mu (IX)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-	-
hur-mu (X)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	31 = 62 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-
e <sub>3</sub> (XI)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	31 = 62 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-
kur <sub>6</sub> (XII)	30 = 60 u <sub>2</sub> -a	41 = 82 u <sub>2</sub> -a	31 = 62 u <sub>2</sub> -a	-
per month	30	41	31	31

Table 24 - Schematization of the food allotment from the u<sub>2</sub>-a personnel

ma-na-kb.	guruš-III	dam-III	guruš-/dam-III Na-gar <sub>3</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	Supervisor
25	250	250	-	'A-daš
19	150	150	80 dam	EN-ti lu <sub>2</sub> Iš <sub>11</sub> -gi-bar-zu
15 <sup>!</sup>	140	140	20 dam	Du-bi <sub>2</sub> -zi-kir
25	250	250	-	Šu-še <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>2</sub>
37+30 shekels	340	340	70 guruš	En-na-ma-lik lu <sub>2</sub> Il <sub>2</sub> -da-mu
10	100	100	-	Iš-ma <sub>2</sub> -da-ba-an
13	130	130	-	Sa <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>2</sub> -si

**Total:** 200 ma-na kb. še-ba-i-ti i<sub>3</sub>-nun

ma-na-kb.	guruš[-VI]	Supervisor
[12+48 shekels]	128	I-bi <sub>2</sub> -zi-kir
15+36 shekels	156	A-du-lu
[19]	190	En-na-i <sub>3</sub>
20+6 shekels	200	x-x
19+30 shekels	195	Ir <sub>3</sub> -a-dum
27	270	Ib- <sup>?</sup> lu <sup>?</sup> -[x]
16	160	simug
16	160	nagar

Table 25 - [75.1655 = A I 44]

guruš	PN
800	Ti-ir
600	A-bu
400	Ib-ri <sub>2</sub> -um
600	A-da-mu
400	Ar-si-a-ḥa
400	Ru <sub>12</sub> -bu <sub>2</sub> -uš-li-im
500	Ir <sub>3</sub> -da-ma-lik
600	I-bi <sub>2</sub> -zi-kir



500	<i>I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu</i>
600	<i>Za-za-lum</i>
400	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar</i>
500	<i>Iš-gi-da-ar</i>
400	<i>I-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-zi-nu</i>
300	Šubur
4700	SA.ZA <sub>x</sub> <sup>ki</sup>
11,700	AN.ŠE <sub>3</sub> .GU <sub>2</sub>

Table 26 - [75.1655 = M 7 16]

e <sub>2</sub> -d.-d.-d.	ku <sub>2</sub> en	ku <sub>2</sub> guruš-guruš	kas <sub>4</sub>	(šu-du <sub>8</sub> ) maš <sub>2</sub>	al <sub>6</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga	ug <sub>7</sub>	Month
231	131	404	90	152	40	300	<i>za-lul</i>
194	128	289	81	74	36	300	<i>i-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa</i>
371	103	300	112	124	ʿ85ʼ	153	e <sub>3</sub>
185	160	278	66	74	52	286	šuku
328	94	311	82	53	59	40	<i>i-si</i>
67	116	385	92 <sup>?</sup>	99	17	-	<i>ig-za</i>
373	151	220	112	35	30	200	<i>za-ʾa<sub>3</sub>-tum</i>
145	161	331	92	76	67	447	<i>gi-NI</i>
310	122	343	128	47	67	606	<i>ḥa-li</i>
413	216	201	100	61	59	600	<i>i-ri<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub></i>
2717	1382	3062	955	795	512		<b>Total</b>

Table 27 - [75.2096 = M 12 9]<sup>707</sup>

ugula	guruš	No. of men	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>Gi-a-li-im</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>Il-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš-ma-lik</i>	maḥ	100	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>Iš-da-mu</i>
<i>Ir<sub>2</sub>-kab-ar</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>[I]b-dur[m]a-[I]ik</i>	II	100	
<i>Ma-gal</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>NE-ti</i>	III	100	
<i>Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub></i> <i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-ḥu-sum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	IV	100	
[...]	V	100	
<i>Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>Ib-ga-i<sub>3</sub></i>	VI	100	
<i>Kun<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga</i>	[VII]	100	
[...] <i>I[u<sub>2</sub>]</i> <i>Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu</i>	VIII	100	
<i>I-ib-ma-lik</i> lu <sub>2</sub> <i>Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga</i>	IX	100	
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar</i>	ʿXʼ	100	

<sup>707</sup> See also Milano, in *StLE* (1984), p.222 Tab.2.

<i>A-a-zi-kir</i>	maḥ	100	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Da-zi-du-lu</i>
<i>I-in-ze<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Du-b[i<sub>2</sub>]-zi-kir</i>	II	100	
<i>A-mu-tum Še<sub>3</sub>-la-du<sup>ki</sup></i>	III	100	
<i>A-ba-a-an lu<sub>2</sub> Iš<sub>11</sub>-ti-li-im</i>	IV	100	
<i>[...]da-a[r] lu<sub>2</sub> 'A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra</i>	V	100	
<i>Ga-ba-da-ar lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-gi-da-mu</i>	VI	100	
<i>Ma-'a<sub>3</sub>-lu lu<sub>2</sub> Iš-ma<sub>2</sub></i>	VII	100	
<i>I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal lu<sub>2</sub> Da-li-im</i>	VIII	100	
<i>Wa-su-lum lu<sub>2</sub> I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub></i>	IX	100	
<i>A-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I-i-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	maḥ	100	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-ga-bu<sub>3</sub> šeš Gul-la-lum</i>
<i>Zi-kir-ra-ar lu<sub>2</sub> Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik</i>	II	100	
<i>Kun<sub>3</sub>-i-šar lu<sub>2</sub> Aš<sub>2</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub></i>	III	200	
<i>En-na-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Lu-a-i<sub>3</sub></i>	IV	100	
<i>Sa<sub>2</sub>-mu-um lu<sub>2</sub> Im-ma-lu</i>	V	100	
<i>Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir lu<sub>2</sub> Lu-a-i<sub>3</sub></i>	VI	100	
<i>'A<sub>3</sub>-teš lu<sub>2</sub> A-zu<sub>2</sub>-ma</i>	VII	100	
<i>Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum dumu-nita dumu-nita ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub></i>	VIII	100	
<i>Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu lu<sub>2</sub> Ig-na-da-ar</i>	maḥ	100	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> I-ri<sub>2</sub>-sum</i>
<i>A-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Ma-sa-gi-sa</i>	II	100	
<i>Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> In-na-du</i>	III	100	
<i>Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> I-ne-šum</i>	IV	100	
<i>Ni-a lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-i<sub>3</sub>-ba</i>	V	100	
<i>Ni-sa-du [lu<sub>2</sub>] E[n-na]-i<sub>3</sub></i>	VI	100	
<i>Ni-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Mi-ga</i>	VII	100	
<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-d' A<sub>3</sub>-da lu<sub>2</sub> A-ti-ga</i>	VIII	100	
<i>En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> En-mar</i>	IX	100	
<i>Ba-du-rum<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> A-ga</i>	X	100	
<i>En-ar<sub>3</sub>-li-im lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-bi<sub>2</sub></i>	maḥ	100	<i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> A-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra</i>
<i>Iš-i<sub>3</sub>-lum lu<sub>2</sub> A-da-lu-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	II	100	
<i>Ar-si-a-ḥu lu<sub>2</sub> Sar-gu<sub>2</sub></i>	III	100	
<i>I-ti-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Tarx-gi</i>	IV	100	
<i>Ib-da-du lu<sub>2</sub> I-in-ze<sub>2</sub></i>	V	100	
<i>En-iš-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> I-ša-ni-ki-mu</i>	VI	100	
<i>Gu<sub>2</sub>-la &lt;lu<sub>2</sub>&gt; Ib-bi<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu</i>	VII	100	
<i>[...] lu<sub>2</sub> Gu-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš</i>	VIII	100	

<i>Me-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Hu-bu<sub>3</sub>-lu</i>	maḥ	100	<i>Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> Gi-a-ka<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>I-šar lu<sub>2</sub> Bil<sub>2</sub>-za-i<sub>3</sub></i>	II	100	
<i>I-ti-dRa-sa-ap lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba</i>	III	100	
<i>En-na-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> A-du-lu</i>	IV	100	
<i>Ib-ḥur-ma-lik lu<sub>2</sub> Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra</i>	V	100	
<i>Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-be lu<sub>2</sub> En-na-i<sub>3</sub></i>	VI	100	
<i>[D]a-wa-[k]a-ṣ</i>	VII	100	
<i>Iš-la-ab lu<sub>2</sub> I-šar</i>	VIII	100	

Table 28 - The *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub>* of guruš in [75.1780 = A XX 14]

No. of persons	
172	guruš-guruš <i>ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>2</sub> abba<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub></i>
55	šeš:pa <sub>4</sub> en
40	maškim <i>I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir</i>
[...]	[...]
26	lu <sub>2</sub> kas <sub>4</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub>
38	azu
460	simug
29	nar
60	lu <sub>2</sub> giš-ti giš-ti
20	muḥaldim
20	maškim 'A <sub>3</sub> -gu <sub>2</sub> -li
Total	920+

Table 29 - The personnel in [75.1780 = A XX 14]

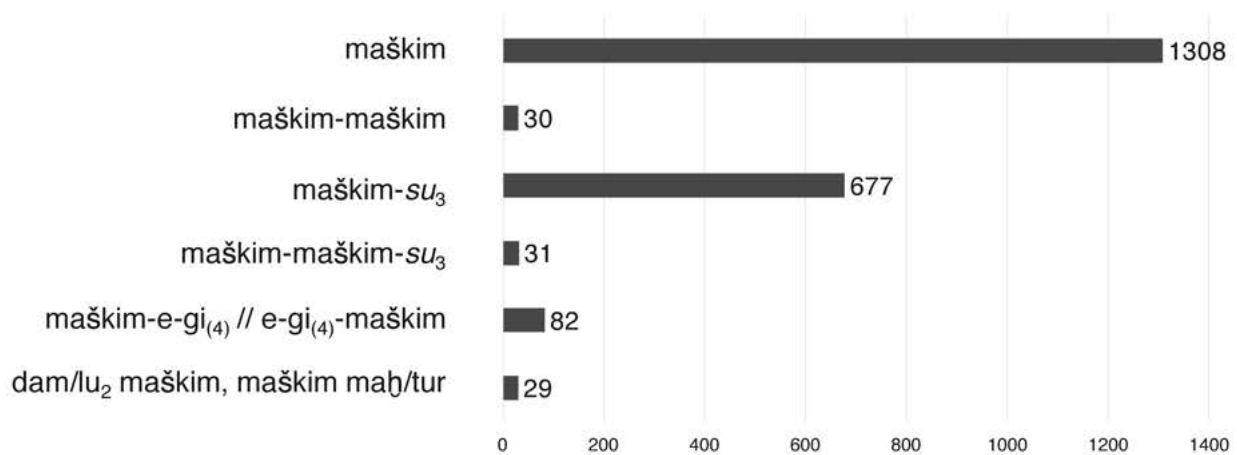


Figure 22 - Distribution by pattern of the occurrences of the term maškim.

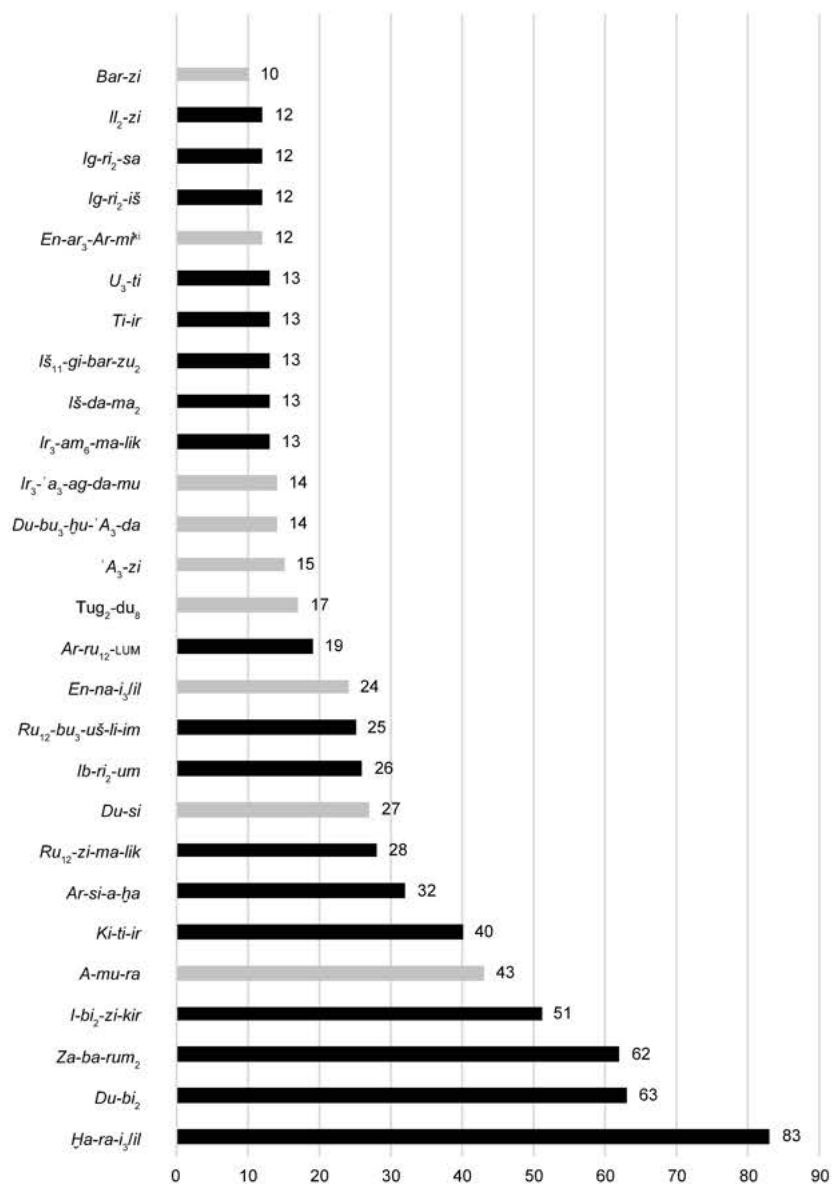


Figure 23 - Frequency of the most often mentioned PN<sub>2</sub> in the expression 'PN<sub>1</sub> maškim PN<sub>2</sub>' (occurrences > 10). The bars highlighted in black refer to lugalš.

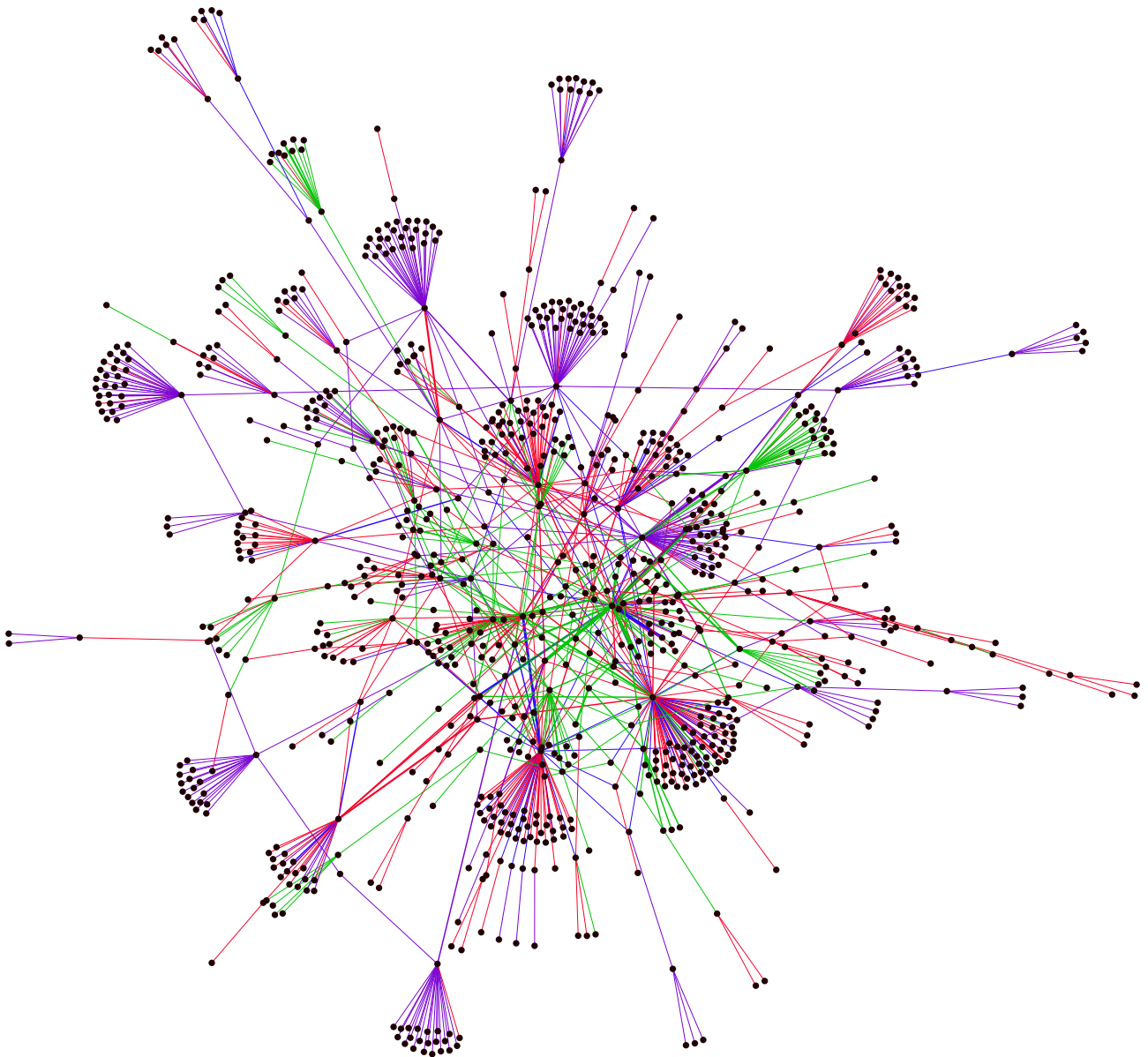


Figure 24 - Network of the occurrences of the term maškim



## 4.6. Kinship Terms

**a-MU** (34), **a-bu<sub>3</sub>** (11): «father» (male parent)

**Previous translation(s):** «padre»<sup>AI, AIV, AXI, AXV</sup>; «Vater»<sup>AII</sup>; «padre» (lett. «mio padre») <sup>AIII</sup>; «padre; antenato»<sup>AXII</sup> «father; ancestor»<sup>AXX</sup>.

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.II:8	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	o.III':1	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)
[γ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.III:7	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)
[δ] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 54	r.III':4'	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)

Ebla bilingual

[ε] VE (617)	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+	r.III:40
[ζ] VE (617)	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+	o.III:22
[η] VE (617)	a-MU(a-ġu <sub>10</sub> ?) / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+	o.XVII:15

**Bibliography:** Brugnatelli, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottogico Milanese* 29 (1987-1988); Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988); Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47; *PSD* A/1 (1992) p.32; *TIE* A/1, p.38

### Frequency:

<i>a-ba</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>-a<sub>3</sub>-su-ma</i> :	1
<i>a-bu<sub>3</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub></i> :	2
a-MU:	9
a-MU-a-MU:	2
a-MU-SU <sub>3</sub> :	11
a-MU-a-MU-SU <sub>3</sub> :	4
a-MU-/a-bi <sub>2</sub> -iš	12

**Discussion:** 'abu is one of the seven onomastic elements of close kinship attested in the PNs from Ebla.<sup>708</sup> In the bilingual lexical lists, a-MU (not glossed) might be read a-ġu<sub>10</sub> (lit. “my father”).<sup>709</sup> The alternation between a-MU and *a-bu<sub>3</sub>* in the ERR proves, however, that a-MU was the Sumerian spelling at Ebla for “father.”<sup>710</sup> Note, however, that a-MU is frequently attested with the possessive particle -SU<sub>3</sub>, both in the ERR and in administrative documents (see also the discussion sub → NIN. NI). The interpretation of -MU as -ġu<sub>10</sub> is thus still uncertain: the same stands true for → ama(-gal),

<sup>708</sup> Others are: 'Aġu (“brother”), Dādu (“paternal uncle”), Hālu (“maternal uncle”), 'Ummu (“mother”), 'Ammu (“uncle”), Mūtu- (“man, husband”), Šumu- (“son”). See Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.186–89. For the possible Semitic spellings of 'abu in onomastics, see Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.190–206. On dingir a-mu, “the god of the father,” see Xella, *UF* 15 (1983), p.288; on this and other personal gods, see Archi, in *QS S1* (2012), pp.14–16. See, however, Pasquali, *RA* 107 (2013), p.44 fn.8.

<sup>709</sup> The Sumerian term for “father” is /aya/ (a[-a]), not a-MU: see *PSD* A/1 (1992), p.32ff. On the possessive particles attested with kinship terms in the bilingual lexical texts, see Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47.

<sup>710</sup> See also Archi, in *Fs Ehrman* (1988), p.107 and fn.11. For the Semitic spellings of *a-bu<sub>3</sub>* in the ERR, see Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI (1990), s.v. *a-bu<sub>3</sub>*, p.137: *a-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš* (gen. sing., bound form, + personal suffix pronoun; Sum. a-MU-iš), *a-bu<sub>3</sub>-SU<sub>3</sub>* (pl., bound form, Sum. a-MU-a-MU-SU<sub>3</sub>), *a-ba*<sup>3</sup>*-a<sub>3</sub>-su-ma* (gen.-acc. dual, bound form; Sum. a-MU-a-MU-SU<sub>3</sub>).

registered as ama-MU (ama-ġu<sub>10</sub>?) in the lexical texts and glossed *u<sub>3</sub>-mu-mu*. However, the terms a-MU and šeš-MU (and probably also → NIN.NI, “his sister”) retain the element -MU also in non-lexical documents, while ama-MU is never attested in administrative documents. Why the signs MU/NI follow these kinship terms is still unclear.<sup>711</sup>

The high diffusion of “father” as an onomastic element is inversely proportional to its attestation as a kinship term: since the father is generally the Ego of the kinship relationship attested in the documents (see sub §3.1 Kinship, Households, and Families, p.41), to indicate the father-descendant link it is more common to use the terms for son/daughter (PN<sub>a</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/-nita (<sup>0</sup>PN<sub>b</sub>)). Consequently, since male individuals are usually the egos of kinship relationships expressed in the documentation, it is much more common for these to be rarely attested (see e.g., the absence of a term for “husband” whose pattern is comparable to that for “wife”; see sub → dam and → guruš, §4.5 Producers, p.186). See also the discussion sub → a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) / ama dingir-dingir-dingir (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153)

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**ama(-gal) (90):** ama(-gal), «mother» (female parent); ama-gal en [GN]: «mother of the king [of GN]» (at Ebla, a royal title held only by Lady Dusigu); ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM: «mother of the queen».

**Previous translation(s):** «madre»<sup>AI, AVII, AXII, AXIII, AXVI</sup>; Dürfte die Mutter des Herrschers bezeichnen<sup>AI</sup>; «gran madre» (titolo della madre dell’en di Ebla e dei membri della famiglia regale)<sup>AI</sup>; «gran madre»<sup>AI, AIX</sup>; «great mother»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «mother»<sup>AXX</sup>; «madre, nonna, grande madre (titolo onorifico della madre del sovrano di Ebla)»<sup>TIE</sup>.

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.XII:29	ama-MU(ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)	“mother”
[β] EBK	MEE 15, 17	r.III:6	ama-MU(ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)	“mother”
[γ] EBK	MEE 15, 54	r.III’:5’	ama-MU(ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)	“mother”

Ebla bilingual

[δ] VE (1044)	ama-MU(ġu <sub>10</sub> ?) / u <sub>3</sub> -mu-mu	MEE 4, 65+	r.IX:37-38
[ε] VE (1044)	[ama-MU(ġu <sub>10</sub> ?)] / ‘u <sub>3</sub> ’-[mu]-‘mu’	MEE 4, 1-7+	r.XVIII:15-16

**Bibliography:** Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987), pp.41–42; Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993), p.109–10; Brugnatelli, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottogico Milanese* 29 (1987-1988); Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988); Catagnoti and Fronzaroli, *ARET* XVI (2010), p.214; Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47; Sollberger, *ARET* VIII (1986), p.51; Tonietti, in *Gs Bottéro* (2009), pp.269ff.; Tonietti, *NABU* 2009/63 (2009); *PSD* A/3, p.211; *TIE* A/2: 117

### Frequency

ama-gal:	77
ama:	6
ama-gal-SU <sub>3</sub> :	5
ama-gal-ama-gal-SU <sub>3</sub> :	1
ama-gal-ga:	1

**Prosopography** (when referring to a title): see Plate I The kings’ family, p.95

**Discussion:** in the Ebla documents both ama and ama-gal are attested. As Tonietti demonstrated, ama-gal is a diachronic variant of ama, introduced since Yibriyum’s vizierate:<sup>712</sup> ama-gal does not

<sup>711</sup> See also Rubio, *OIS* 2 (2007), p.41 and fn.48.

<sup>712</sup> Tonietti, *NABU* 2009/63 (2009), Tonietti, in *Gs Bottéro* (2009), pp.264–65.



indicate a difference in rank, since it is used to indicate also the mother of persons who did not belong to the élite. In fact, the term *ama* is attested exclusively in the most ancient documents, such as the MATs of ArrULUM's period,<sup>713</sup> and is consistently replaced with *ama-gal* in the texts of Yirkab-Damu's period: particularly relevant in this aspect is the fact that Adada, Lady Dusigu's mother, is mentioned as *ama* in a text dated to ArrULUM's period, and as *ama-gal* in a text dated to Yibriyum/Yibbi-Dikir.<sup>714</sup> It is not clear, however, why the addition of the sign GAL has been considered necessary. The expression *ama-gal en* (lit. "mother of the king") cannot be considered an *ad hoc* royal title of Lady Dusigu, since also the mothers of foreign kings are called *ama-gal en*. Sollberger suggested that the mother of the king took the title of *ama-gal en* after the son had access to the throne:<sup>715</sup> the only woman who bore the title of *ama-gal en*, however, has been Lady Dusigu. No information is provided in the documents about the identity of Yirkab-Damu's mother, or other mothers of Ebla's kings.

The title of *ama-gal en* can be compared to that of *ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM*, although the title of "mother of the queen" apparently did not hold the same prestige as that of "mother of the king". On the basis of the mentions of two different "mothers of the queen" in two contemporary texts,<sup>716</sup> Biga and Pomponio suggested that *ama-gal* might indicate "un rapport de parenté plus général désignant l'ascendance féminine."<sup>717</sup> However, the status of "mother of the queen" did not cease with the queen's death: the two women might have been the mothers of two different queens, one being deceased. It is difficult to ascertain if *ama-gal en* / *MA-LIK-TUM* were considered expressions denoting social status: at Ebla, kinship terms are generally followed by a proper name, such as *dam PN*, *dumu-nita* / *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> PN*, *šeš* / *nin-ni PN*. In this respect, the expressions *ama-gal en* and *ama-gal MA-LIK-TUM* have the same social characterization of terms such as *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>/-nita en*. Nevertheless, the main problem related to the interpretation of *ama-gal en* as a title is that, contrary to other kinship terms characterized by a social character, it is attested only for Lady Dusigu. The reason why only Dusigu is defined *ama-gal en* may be, however, due to historical reasons: she never held the title of queen, and no other "mother of the king" actively participated to the political life of the city. Since Yitgar-Damu's son, crown prince Yirhaq-Damu, never became king, his mother (maybe queen Tabur-Damu) is never referred to as *ama-gal en*. It must also be stressed that, especially in the case of Lady Dusigu, a translation of *ama-gal en* as "queen mother" is not acceptable, since she never held the title of → *MA-LIK-TUM*.<sup>718</sup>

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**dam [PN/en (GN)]** (131): 1) «wife» (*dam PN*); 2) [denoting also social status, as a title] «lady of the king» (*dam en*); «lady of the king [of GN]» (*dam en GN*). For *dam* as a generic term for «(adult) woman», as an age-related term, or as a term indicating the Palace personnel, see sub → *dam* (§4.5 Producers, p.186); for DAM.DINGIR «divine lady», see sub §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153.

see also → *dam* (§4.5 Producers, p.186)

**Previous translation(s):** [no transl.]<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, AVIII, AIX, AXII, AXVI</sup>; «donna del re»<sup>AXV</sup>; «woman of the king»<sup>AXX</sup>

<sup>713</sup> [75.1349 = A XV 9] r.VIII:17: (*ama* / *I-ti-il* / *nagar*); [75.1418 = A XV 19] o.IX:8: (*ama* / [*Du*]-*si-gu<sub>2</sub>* / *dam en*); [75.1535 = A XV 26] o.IV:2: (*ama* / *Kir-su-ud*); [75.2629 = A XV, 54] r.VII:7: (*ama* / *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik* / *lu<sub>2</sub> NE-<sup>-</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-da*). The only other document in which the term appears is [75.1913+ = A XIII 1] (see sub §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153).

<sup>714</sup> [75.1418 = A XV 19] o.IX:7-10, and [75.1321 = A I 11] o.IX:15-X:3. See Tonietti, *Gs Bottéro* (2009), p.265.

<sup>715</sup> Sollberger, *ARET VIII* (1986), p.53.

<sup>716</sup> *NE-ti-bu<sub>3</sub>-du* / *ama-gal* / *MA-LIK-TUM* ([75.1264 = A I 15] o.II:15-17) and *Zar<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub><sup>!!</sup>-du* / *dam* / *En-na-da-mu* / *ama-gal* / *MA-LIK-TUM* ([75.1276 = A IV 7] o.IX:6-10).

<sup>717</sup> Biga and Pomponio, *MARI 7* (1993), p.110.

<sup>718</sup> See *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "queen-mother" (*n*), p.590: «a dowager [= widowed] queen who is mother of the reigning sovereign».

**Bibliography:** Archi, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); Archi, in *RAI* 47 (2002); Archi, in *Gs Black* (2010); Archi et al., in *ARES* I (1988); Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016); Bonechi, in *CMAO* 18 (2018); Davidović, *OA* 26 (1987); Mander, *OA* 27 (1988); Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Tonietti, *NABU* 1990/55 (1990)

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** *dumu-mi*<sub>2</sub> (§4.5 Producers, p.186); *dumu-nita* (§4.5 Producers, p.186); *ga-du*<sub>8</sub> (§4.5 Producers, p.186); *pa*<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mi<sub>2</sub> (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153); *ša*<sub>3</sub>-zu (§4.5 Producers, p.186). For other terms related to dam with the meaning «(adult) woman», see sub → dam (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

**Places:** [Eblaité dam en] *'A*<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>, *A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma*<sub>2</sub>-bar-du<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup>; [dam en GN] *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ḫa-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>, *I*<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ra*-*'a*<sub>3</sub>-ag<sup>ki</sup>

**Prosopography (dam en):**<sup>719</sup> *A-a-du* (dam en tur), *A-ba-da-du* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *A(m<sub>6</sub>)-ma-ga*, *A-ni-a(-lu/u<sub>3</sub>)-du* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), *A-zi-ga(-za)-u<sub>3</sub>* (dam en tur), *A-zu-ga-za*, *A/'A*<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-mu, *Am<sub>6</sub>-ma-ga* (dam en tur), *Ar-dum*, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>, *A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig*<sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur), *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-du, *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-du-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (dam en tur), *Da-a-ga-ba*<sub>(4)</sub>-al<sub>6</sub>/lu (dam en tur), *Da-a-šar*, *Da(-a)-šum* (dam en tur), *Da-a-zi-kir* (*'A*<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), *Da-ba*<sub>(4)</sub>-a-du (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur), *Da-bu*<sub>3</sub>-du, *Da-bur-da-mu* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *ma-lik-tum*), *Da-du-bu*<sub>3</sub>, *Da-dub* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), *Da-dub-si-nu* (dam en tur), *Da-ḫu-šum* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Da-lik-i*<sub>3</sub>, *Da-mi-gi* (dam en tur), *Da-si-ḫu* (dam en tur), *Da-šum* (dam en tur), *Dag<sup>l</sup>-mul-da-mu*, *Dal-du-du* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>), *Da(m)-mi-gi* (dam en tur), *Da-si-ḫu(m)* (dam en tur), *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-da-mu (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam maḥ en), *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir (dam en tur, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), *Du-si-gu*<sub>2</sub> (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur, *pa*<sub>4</sub>:šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-ra), *En-nu*-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (dam en tur), *En-nu-ni*, GIBIL-KA-du, *Gu-zi-du*, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-li-ša-du, *Ḫa-gi-a-du*, *Ḫa-na-ba-du* (dam en tur), *Ḫe*<sub>2</sub>-si-bu-ud, *Ḫi-su/zu-du* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>), *Ḫu-za-u*<sub>3</sub>, *I-bu*<sub>3</sub>-du (dam en tur), *I-da-du* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), *I-du-ni(-l)a* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *I-du-nu/u*<sub>3</sub>-na (dam en tur), *I-du-u*<sub>3</sub>-na-II, *I-šar-tum* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur), *Iš-lu/ru*<sub>12</sub>-du/ud (dam en tur), *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-x-bad<sub>3</sub> (dam en tur), *Keš*<sub>2</sub>-du-ud, *Kir-su-ut/du*, (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Lu-ub*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig*<sup>ki</sup>), *Kir-su-ut-II* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *La-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum (dam en tur), *Li-mu-ud*, *Lu-du-du-na*, *Lu-du-u*<sub>3</sub>-na(-I/-II) (dam en tur), *Ma-a-du*, *Ma-ba*-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, *Ma-ga-na-a-du* (dam en tur), *Ma*<sub>(2)</sub>-ga-ra-du/tum (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam maḥ en), *Ma-kum*-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (dam en tur), *Ma-li-ni-lu* (dam en tur), *Ma-ni-a*, *Ma-za-a-du* (dam en tur, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), *Maš-ga-ša-du* (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Maš-gu*<sub>(2)</sub>-du/ud (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam en tur, *Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *Mi-da-a-nu*, *Mi-da-še*<sub>3</sub> (dam en tur), *Mi-da-še*<sub>3</sub>-li, *Mi-kum*-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra(*Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *Mi-li-ga/gi-du/ti* (dam en tur), *Na-da*<sub>5</sub>-ba-du (dam en tur, *Ma*<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *NE-ti-bu*<sub>3</sub>-ud, *NI-da-ba-du* (dam en tur), *Nu-lu/ru*<sub>12</sub>-ud (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-du*<sup>ki</sup>, *'A*<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), *Puzur*<sub>4</sub>-(ra)-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (dam en tur), *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, *Ra-su-ud*, *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-tum (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, dam maḥ en), *Ri*<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-du, *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-zu-mu (dam en tur), *Sag-gi-du-ud*, *Sal-li*, *Sar-du-ud*, *Si-ḫa-mu*, *Si(-na)-i*<sub>3</sub>-ma-du (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>), *Si-na-ma-lik* (dam en tur), *Su-na-im/i*<sub>3</sub>-(ma-du) (dam en tur), *Su-ma-bad*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> (dam en tur), *Šu-u*<sub>3</sub>-du (dam en tur), *Ti-ḫa-bu*<sub>3</sub>, *Ti-si-lum* (dam en tur), *Uš-du*-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (dam en tur), *Za-i-mu* (dam en tur), *Za-li* (dam en tur), *Za-na-ma-al*<sub>6</sub>, *Zi-la-ma-NE* (dam en tur), *Zi-mi-na-nu* (dam en tur), *Zu-ma-NE* (dam en tur), *Zu*<sub>2</sub>-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>)

### Groups:<sup>720</sup>

1) *Kir-su-ut*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-tum, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum, *Maš-ga-ša-du*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, [75.1263 = K<sub>3</sub>]<sup>721</sup>

2) *Kir-su-ut*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, *Maš-ga-ša-du*, *Ma-ga-ra-du* [75.1319 = K<sub>2</sub>]

<sup>719</sup> See also Milano, *ARET* IX (1990), Tables 3–4, pp.141–42.

<sup>720</sup> See also Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989).

<sup>721</sup> See also Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989): D(usigu), DA(gmul-damu), K(irsut), M(A-LIK-TUM), R(autum)

- 3) MA-LIK-TUM, Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ma-ga-ra-du, I-šar-tum, Da-ba-a-du, I-du-NI-a, Dal-du-ud, Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du, I-du-nu-na, A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du, Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>) [...] [75.1419 = M<sub>3</sub>]
- 4) Dag<sup>l</sup>-mul-da-mu, (Di-ne-ib-du-lum, Ar-za-du, Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut, Zu<sub>2</sub>-ga-lum), Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, A-ba-da-du [75.1793]
- 5) Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>, Da-bur-da-mu, (Di-ne-ib-du-lum, Ar-za-du, Zu<sub>2</sub>-ga-lum), Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, A-ba-da-du, A-NI-a-lu-du, GIBIL-KA-du, Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut [75.1885 = DA<sub>1</sub>]
- 6) MA-LIK-TUM, A-ma-ga, Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ma-ga-ra-du, (Dar-ib-da-mu, Ti-iš-te-da-mu), Da-ba-a-du, I-šar-tum, I-du-NI-a, Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du, Da-dub, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu šeš:pa<sub>4</sub>, Gi-ša-du, Ĥa-gi-a-du, (Dab<sub>6</sub>-du-<sup>d</sup>utu, Iš-lu-du.) Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> (A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>), Kir-su-ut (A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>), Ĥi-su-ut (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>), Dal-du-ud (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>), Ma-za-a-du (‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir (‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), A-NI-a-lu-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>), Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>), Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>) [75.1894 = M<sub>4</sub>]
- 7) Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum maḥ, Ma-ga-ra-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu [75.2417 = R<sub>2</sub>]
- 8) Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>, Da-bur-da-mu, (Di-ne-ib-du-lum, Tar<sub>x</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-da-mu), Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Gi-ša-du, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, A-ba-da-du, Da-ba-a-du, I-šar-tum, Kir-su-ut-II, Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du, Da-ḥu-šum, Dal-du-du, Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud, Zu<sub>2</sub>-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du, I-du-NI-a (dam dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) I-da-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), A-NI-a-lu-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Da-a-zi-kir (‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>) [75.2527+ = D<sub>6</sub>]
- 9) MA-LIK-TUM, A-ma-ga, Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, A-ba-da-du, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Da-ba-a-du, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, I-šar-tum, Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-ud, Dal-du-ud, Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>, Si-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du, Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud, I-du-NI-a, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, (Dar-ib-da-mu, Ti-iš-te-da-mu), A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du, Da-dub, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir, Ma-za-a-du, Kir-su-ut, Ĥi-su-ut [75.1890 = M<sub>2</sub>]
- 10) Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>, Da-bur-da-mu, (Di-ne-ib-du-lum, Tar<sub>x</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-da-mu), Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, A-ba-da-du, Da-ba-a-du, I-šar-tum, Kir-su-ut-II, Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du, Da-ḥu-šum, Dal-du-du, Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud, I-da-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), A-NI-a-lu-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Da-a-zi-kir (‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>) [75.10150 = D<sub>5</sub>]
- 11) Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>, Da-bur-da-mu, (Di-ne-ib-du-lum, Ar-za-du, Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut, Zu<sub>2</sub>-ga-lum), Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, Ma-ga-ra-du, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, A-ba-da-du, A-NI-a-lu-du, GIBIL-KA-du [75.10153 = D<sub>1</sub>]
- 12) Kir-su-ut, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du [75.1321 = A I 11 = M 2 19 = K<sub>1</sub>]
- 13) Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, A-ba-da-du, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ma<sub>2</sub>-ga-ra-du, En-na-<sup>d</sup>Utu, Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-ud, Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud, Da-ba-a-du, I-du-NI-a, Dal-du-ud, I-šar-tum, Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>, Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra, Si-na-NI-ma-du, I-du-nu-na (dam en) A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du, Da-dub (PAP A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>), Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir (PAP ‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), Ma-za-a-du (PAP ‘A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>), Kir-su-ud (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>), Ĥi-su-ud (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>), Gi-ša-du [75.1274 = A I 13 = R<sub>3</sub>]
- 14) Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut, A-ba-da-du, Maš-ga-ša-du [...] [75.3002+ = A III 3 = D<sub>4</sub>]
- 15) Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum, Kir-su-ut, En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu, Maš-ga-ša-du, Ma-ga-ra-du, Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu, Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum-II [75.3015 = A III 11]
- 16) [...] Ma-ga-ra-du, (Dar-ib-da-mu, Ti-iš-te-da-mu), Da-ba-a-du, I-šar-tum, I-du-NI-a, Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du [...] Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub> (A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>), Kir-su-ut (A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>), Ĥi-su-ut (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>), Dal-du-ud

(*Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>*), *Ma-za-a-du* (*'A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*), *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*'A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*), [*Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>)*], *A-NI-a-lu-du* (*A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*), *Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du* (*Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>*), *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud* (*Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>*), *Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra* (*Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>*) [75.3051 = *A* III 140 = M<sub>5</sub>]

17) *Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *Da-bur-da-mu* (*Di-ne-ib-du-lum*, *Ar-za-du*, *Zu<sub>2</sub>-ga-lum*), *Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum*, *Kir-su-ut*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum*, [...] (blank) <dam en> [75.3524 = *A* III 469]

18) *Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum*, *A-ba-da-du*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Ma-ga-ra-tum* [75.1273 = *A* IV 5 = R<sub>4</sub>]

19) *MA-LIK-TUM*, *A-ma-ga*, *Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum*, *A-ba-da-du*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Gi-ša-du*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *Da-ba-a-du*, [*I*]-šar-dum, 'Maš-gu-ud', *Tal-du-ud*, *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>*, *Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du*, *I-du-NI-a*, (*Dar-ib-da-mu*, *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*), *A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Da-dub*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Ma-za-a-du*, [*Kir-s*]u-ud, [*Hi-s*]u-ud <dam en> [75.1868 = *A* IV 22 = M<sub>1</sub>]

20) [...] *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *I-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *Mi-li-ga-ti*, *Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du*, *Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Da-dub*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu* pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-ra, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>* 1, *Da-dub* 1, *A-NI-a-du* 1, *Maš-<sup>!</sup>gu<sub>2</sub>-ud* 1, *Kir-<sup>!</sup>su-ud* 1, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* 1, *Ma-za-a-du* 1, *Nu-<sup>!</sup>ru<sub>12</sub>-ud* 1, [*Da*]<sup>!</sup>-du-ud 1, [*Hi*]<sup>!</sup>-su-ud 1, [*Ma-z*]a-a-du [...] <dam en> [76.525 = *A* VIII 525 = M<sub>10</sub>]

21) *Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ud*, *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *I-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *Mi-li-ga-ti*, *Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du* [...] *Ma-NI-a*, *I-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na-<sup>II</sup>*, *Sal-li*, *Da-a-šum* (dam-dam en) (*Ar-za-du*) [76.525 = *A* VIII 525]

22) *Hi-su-ud*, *Da-bu<sub>3</sub>-DU*, *Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum*, *EN-zu<sub>2</sub>-mu*, *Da-lik-NI*, *Si-ḥa-mu* dam en [76.533 = *A* VIII 533]

23) *MA-LIK-TUM*, *A-ma-ga*, *Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ud*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *Mi-li-ga-ti*, *I-du-NI-a*, *Si-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du*, *Da-dub*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu* pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-ra, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>* (*A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*), *Da-dub (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>)*, *A-NI-a-u<sub>3</sub>-du (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Kir-su-ud (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Mi-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Ma-za-a-du ('A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir ('A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud ('A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Dal-du-ud (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Hi-su-ud (Lu-ub<sup>ki</sup>)*, *Na-da<sub>5</sub>-ba-du (Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>)* dam en [76.542 = *A* VIII 542 = M<sub>9</sub>]

24) *Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *I-du-nu-na*, *Da-dub-si-nu*, *Su-na-im-ma-du*, *Mi-li-gi-ti*, *Si-na-ma-lik*, *Zi-mi-na-nu*, *Šu-u<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Ma-li-NI-lu*, *Mi-da-še<sub>3</sub>*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>*, *A-zi-ga-za-u<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-a-ga-ba<sub>4</sub>-lu*, *Za-li*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Zu-ma-NE*, *Iš-lu-du*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-du-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Da-a-šum*, *Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *I-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Dam-mi-gi*, *Da-si-ḥu*, *Ḥa-na-ba-du*, *Ma-ga-na-a-du*, *Za-i-mu*, *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zu-mu*, *La-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum* 28 dam en tur [75.236 = *A* IX 37]

25) *I-du-u-na<sup>!</sup>*, *Da-dub<sup>!</sup>(UM)-si-nu*, *Mi-li-gi-du*, *Ma-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Su-na-im*, [*I-b*]u<sub>3</sub>-du, *Za-i-mu<sup>!</sup>(RI)*, *Ma-ga-na-a-du*, *Za-li*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Šu-u<sub>3</sub>-du*, *A-zi-ga-u<sub>3</sub>*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Ti-si-lum*, *Da-mi-gi*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>*, *Mi-da-še<sub>3</sub>*, *Da-a<sup>!</sup>-ga-a-ba*, *Zi-mi-na-nu*, *Ma-li-NI-lu*, *Da-a-šum*, *Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *Ḥa-na-ba-du* <dam en tur> [75.241 = *A* IX 38]

26) *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Am<sub>6</sub>-ma-ga*, *A-a-du*, *Zi-la-ma-NE*, *Dal-du-du*, *Ni-da-ba-du*, *Ma-za-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>-du*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, *Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du*, *I-šar-dum*, *Da-ba<sub>4</sub>-a-du*, *Da-a-ga-ba-lu*, [*B*]u<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>:ku<sub>3</sub>, [*En*]-na-<sup>[d]</sup>utu, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>bad<sub>3</sub><sup>r</sup>*, *Lu-d[u-u<sub>3</sub>]-na*, *Si-na-ma-lik*, (*Nu-lu-du* dam *Zu-ḥu-a-nu*), *Na-da<sub>5</sub>-ba-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>r</sup>*, 'Hi-su-du', [...] '<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>' '<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>' *Zu-ma-NE*, *En-nu-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Ni-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-du* <dam en tur> [75.452 = *A* IX 40]

27) *Zi-mi-na-nu*, *Šu-u<sub>3</sub>-du*, [*M*]a-li-[*NI*]-<sup>r</sup>lu', [*A-zi*]-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>r</sup>, *Da-a-ga-ba-lu*, *Za-li*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Zu-ma-NE*, *Iš-lu-du*, *Bu<sub>3</sub>-du-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Da-šum*, *Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *I-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*, *Dam-mi-gi*, *Da-si-ḥu*, *Ḥa-na-ba-du*, *Ma-ga-na-a-du*, [*Za<sup>r</sup>*]-i-mu <dam en tur> [75.537 = *A* IX 44]

28) '<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-[...] *Da-dub*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu* šeš:pa<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-ra, *A-NI-a-du*, *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*, *Dal-du-ud*, *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *Da-a-ga-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*, *Zu-ma-NE*, *Iš-lu-ud*, *Ma-ba-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*, *A-zu-ga-za*, *Mi-da-še<sub>3</sub>-li* [...] [75.5372 = *A* XII 912]

29) *Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>*, *MA-LIK-TUM*, *Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum*, *A-ba-da-du*, *Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*, *Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum*, *En-na-<sup>d</sup>utu*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-du*, *Kir-su-ud*, *Hi-su-ud*, *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *Nu-lu-ud*, *I-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na*, *I-du-NI-*

la dam-en; [75.1731 = A XX 7 = M 7 35 = D<sub>8</sub>]

30) *Du-si-gu*<sub>2</sub>, *MA-LIK-TUM*, (*Di-ne-ib-du-lum*), *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*, *A-ba-da-du*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, *Gi-ša-du*, *Maš-ga-ša-du*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *Kir-su-ut*, *Maš-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ud*, *Hi-su-ut*, *Dal-du-ud*, *Nu-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ud*, *I-du*-*NI-a*, *Si-na-i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-du* (dam dam en <lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>>) *I-da-du* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *A-NI-a-lu-du* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *Da-dub* (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>), *Da-a-zi-kir* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>), *Ma-za-a-du* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>) [75.1770 = A XX 6 = D<sub>7</sub>]

31) *MA-LIK-TUM*, *A-ma-ga*, *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *I-šar-tum*, *I-du*-*NI-a*, *Si-na-i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-du*, (*Gi-li-du*, *Ar-za-du*,) *Ma-za-a-du* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>), *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-kir* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>) [75.2443 = A XX 15 = M<sub>6</sub>]

32) *MA-LIK-TUM*, *A-ma-ga*, *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, (*Dar-ib-da-mu*, *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*), *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *I-du*-*NI-a*, *Si-na-i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-du*, *Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*du*, *Da-dub*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu šeš:pa<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*, *A-NI-a-u*<sub>3</sub>-*du* (<*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>>), *Da-dub* (<*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>>), *Bu*<sub>3</sub>-*bar*<sub>6</sub>:*ku*<sub>3</sub> (*A-da-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>), *Ma-za-a-du* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>), *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-kir* (<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*za-an*<sup>ki</sup>), *Nu-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ud* [75.2328 = A XX 17 = M<sub>8</sub>]

33) *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu dam maḥ en [75.2331 = A XX 19 = R<sub>5</sub>]

34) *Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*, *Kir-su-ut*, *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>utu, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*, *Maš-ga-ša-du*, *Ma-ga-ra-du*, *Daš-ma*<sub>2</sub>-*da-mu*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*-II [75.1730 = M 7 34 = R<sub>1</sub>]

35) *Maš-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*du*, *Kir-su-ud*, *I-šar-tum*, *Da-ba-a-du*, *Nu-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ud* dam-dam en [75.1860 = M 10 20]

36) *Sar-du-ud*, *Za-li*, *Ar-dum*, *NE-ti-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ud*, *I-da-d*[*u*]-[...], *Kir-su-ud*, *Ti-ḥa-bu*<sub>3</sub>, *Ḥu-za-u*<sub>3</sub>, *Ma-a-du*, *Mi-da-a-nu*, *Sag*-[*g*]*i*-[*d*]*u-ud*, *En-nu*-*NI*, *Gu-zi-du*, *Da-du-bu*<sub>3</sub>, [...]-<sup>'</sup>*x*-*tum*, <sup>'</sup>*Za*-*na-ma-al*<sub>6</sub>, *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*li-ša-du*, *Ḥe*<sub>2</sub>-<sup>'</sup>*si-bu*-*ud*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*, *Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*<-II>, *Ra-su-ud*, *Li-mu-ud*, *Da-a-šar*, *Da-ti*-[...]-*x-su* [...] [...] <dam en> [75.2168 = M 12 20]

**Discussion:** the term dam can be translated as “(adult) woman” (see sub → dam, §4.5 Producers, p.186): when followed by a proper name, however, it can also be translated as “wife.” As already mentioned,<sup>722</sup> the term dam means “spouse” (of both genders) in Sumerian: the cuneiform sign was probably perceived by the scribes of the Archives as denoting a feminine noun since is partially composed by the sign SAL. The term dam, however, is connoted from a social perspective when it refers to women belonging to the Palace élite. The ladies of the king(s) of Ebla have been studied in detail, especially by Biga, Tonietti, and Archi: numerous studies have been dedicated to the chronological distribution, prosopography, and specific events related to these women.<sup>723</sup> The women belonging to this social group are generally mentioned together as the recipients of textiles and other precious artifacts: it has been clear from the beginning that the dam en lists are characterized by an internal hierarchy, which helped the reconstruction of the chronological distribution of the texts as well as the identification and characterization of this group of women. These lists have been classified by Tonietti according to the first lady mentioned at the beginning:<sup>724</sup> particularly relevant is the fact that, after Yiṭgar-Damu became king, Dusigu is always mentioned at the beginning, immediately followed by queen Tabūr-Damu. Thus, from a hierarchical point of view, the order is:

- 1) Dusigu, mother of the king (until her death);

<sup>722</sup> See the discussion sub → guruš (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

<sup>723</sup> On chronology see: Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987); Mander, *OA* 27 (1988); Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); Biga and Pomponio, *JCS* 42 (1990); Tonietti, *NABU* 1990/55 (1990); Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993); Archi, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996). On specific ladies of the court see: Archi, *Eblaitica* 1 (1987); Archi, in *AOAT* 250 (1998); Biga, in *Subartu* IV/2 (1998); Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002); Matthiae, *ZA* 99 (2009); Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010); Tonietti, in *Gs Bottéro* (2009); Biga and Capomacchia, *RA* 106 (2012); Biga, in *Fs Lanfranchi* (2014); Pasquali, *NABU* 2014/36 (2014); Pinnock, in *AAAS* 57-58 (2014-2015); Biga, in *Henoch* 38 (2016); Biga, in *SANER* 13 (2016); Bonechi, *RA* 110 (2016); Pinnock, in *Henoch* 38 (2016); Bonechi, in *CMAO* 18 (2018); Pinnock, *Studia Eblaitica* 4 (2018).

<sup>724</sup> Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989); these ladies of the court are K(irsut), R(autum), D(usigu), DA(gmul-damu), and M(*A-LIK-TUM*) (= Tabūr-Damu).

- 2) the queen; she is mentioned by name (*Da-bur-da-mu*) only in the texts which, according to Biga, should be dated to the year of her wedding with king Yitgar-Damu;<sup>725</sup>  
 3) divine ladies (DAM.DINGIR);<sup>726</sup>  
 4) ladies of the court and other women.

See for example the following dam en list:

Name		
<i>Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub></i>	1)	Mother of the king
<i>MA-LIK-TUM</i>	2)	Queen
<i>Di-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-du-lum</i>	3)	DAM.DINGIR
<i>Ra-u<sub>3</sub>-tum</i>	4)	dam en maḥ
<i>A-ba-da-du</i>		
<i>En-na-<sup>a</sup>utu</i>		
<i>Gi-ša-du</i>		(wet-nurse)
<i>Maš-ga-ša-du</i>		
<i>Ma-ga-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>r</sup>-du</i>		dam en maḥ
<i>Ra-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum</i>		
<i>Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-d[a]-mu</i>		dam en maḥ
<i>Da-ba-a-du</i>		dam en tur
<i>I-šar-tum</i>		dam en tur
<i>Kir-su-ut</i>		
<i>Maš-gu<sub>2</sub>-ut</i>		dam en tur
<i>Ḫi-su-ut</i>		dam en tur
<i>Tal-du-ut</i>		dam en tur
<i>Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut</i>		(wet-nurse? dam en tur?)
<i>I-du-ni-a</i>		
<i>Si-na-ni-ma-du</i>		dam en tur
dam en		
<i>I-da-du A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup></i>		
<i>A-ni-a-lu-du A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup></i>		
<i>Da-dub A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup></i>		
<i>Da-a-zi-kir<sup>r</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup></i>		
<i>Ma-ra-a-du<sup>r</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup></i>		

Table 30 - The dam en list of [75.1770 = A XX 6] o.X:1-XI:9

Other women mentioned in these list whose position can vary are the daughters of the king and the wet-nurses (see also sub → *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*, §4.5 Producers, p.186). It should be emphasized, however, that due to the nature of the documentation, the socio-historical characterization of this group is still problematic under many aspects and arises first of all a terminological problem. A distinction must be made between the king's wives and the ladies of the court. The group of the dam en was most probably characterized by the presence numerous women: among them were not only the wives of the king, but also his daughters, his sons' wives, and other women. The translation of dam

<sup>725</sup> The queen is mentioned as *Da-bur-da-mu* in: DA<sub>1</sub> ([75.1885], see also sub Group: 5); D<sub>6</sub> ([75.2527+], see also sub Group: 8); D<sub>5</sub> ([75.10150], see also sub Group: 10); D<sub>1</sub> ([75.10153], see also sub Group: 11) [75.3524] (see also sub Group: 17).

<sup>726</sup> The DAM.DINGIR probably stayed together with the women of the court until their investiture as divine women: since they usually appear in the lists immediately after the queen, they were probably chosen to become DAM.DINGIR when still young. They disappear from the lists probably after leaving the court to go to the temple where they performed their services. See also sub → DAM.DINGIR (§4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153)

en as “wife of the king” is thus problematic:<sup>727</sup> on the contrary, it seems that dam PN indicates in most cases “PN’s wife.”

Ziegler adopts, in her study on Zimirî-Lîm’s women, the word *harem* to describe an “espace habité par les femmes dans le palais royal et plus largement l’ensemble des femmes appartenant à la famille ou au service du roi, qu’elles fussent mère, filles ou épouses du roi ou bien musiciennes, servants ou gardiennes de portes.”<sup>728</sup> The usage of this term for the description of Mesopotamian society has already been questioned:<sup>729</sup> as for Ebla, the word *harem* has been sporadically used to describe Eblaite women’s social environment.<sup>730</sup> In 1988 Mander described this group as the “palatine gynaeceum:” data, however, do not suggest that the ladies of the court were secluded, and evidence on a section of the Palace inhabited only by women is scanty.<sup>731</sup> In light of the available information, it seems preferable to avoid the use of the words such as *harem* or *gynaeceum*: the women of the king will thus be here defined simply as ‘ladies of the court.’ There is in fact no explicit mention in the documents of an area where only (or mainly) women were allowed to enter.<sup>732</sup> Another problem concerns the members of this group: according to Ziegler’s reconstruction, Zimirî-Lîm’s *harem* was composed by the female members of the royal family, the musicians, the personnel (maids, cooks, etc.), and three groups of guardians. Among the female relatives of the king were his wives, unmarried sisters and daughters. Three roles are instead difficult to identify: the mother of the king, the ‘princes’ (male children), and the eunuchs. While at Ebla the mother of the king is well attested as the first among the ladies of the court until her death (see also sub → ama-gal), nothing can be said about the presence of eunuchs. On the presence of male children, see sub → dumu-nita (PN/en [GN]). Zimirî-Lîm’s wives were all daughters of kings, *i.e.*, of royal blood:<sup>733</sup> no information is provided in the Archives on the provenance of the ladies of the court. It can be safely assumed, however, that at least the dam maḥ en probably came from important families. In her analysis of Zimirî-Lîm’s “harem,” Ziegler identified four elements on the basis of which it is possible to state that the wives had not an equal treatment:

- they received different monthly rations;
- their mentions in the texts demonstrate that they had not equal positions;
- only few of them maintained a correspondence with the king;
- two women in particular had a relevant position, since their servants were maintained by the Palace.

With the exception of point 3 (no correspondence between the king and his wives has been found at Ebla), all other elements can be found also in the documents of the Archives. Deliveries of rations to the ladies of the king are registered in the texts of the Small Archive L.2712 and demonstrate the presence of an internal hierarchy, made clear also by the presence of at least two groups of ladies: the senior ladies (dam maḥ en) and the junior ladies of the king (dam en tur). The dichotomy maḥ / tur applies not only to the present context, but also to other terms of kinship (dumu-nita, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>) and professions (nar): it is difficult, however, to establish whether maḥ and tur refer to age, rank, or other social factors. The translation maḥ/tur as “senior/junior” is therefore provisional,

<sup>727</sup> See also Milano, *ARET IX* (1990), p.336.

<sup>728</sup> Ziegler, *FM 4* (1999), p.8.

<sup>729</sup> Van De Mierop, *Cuneiform Texts* (1999), pp.146ff.; Goodnick Westenholz, *JAOS* 110 (1990), pp.513–16.

<sup>730</sup> See Archi, in *RAI* 47 (2002), p.4: “To label these women as the harem of the king is a permissible simplification: a specific term which defines a phenomenon entirely alien to our culture may be applied, in an approximate sense, to another phenomenon equally strange to us but similar in some ways to the first.” Biga, in *CRAI* 33 (1987), p.42, used the term harem as “maison des femmes.” See also Biga, *Or* 72 (2003), p.349.

<sup>731</sup> Mander, *OA* 27 (1988).

<sup>732</sup> Regarding the presence of “upper apartments” (e<sub>2</sub> maḥ), see Bonechi, *Studia Eblaitica* 2 (2016). Note, however, that the valets of the queen could also be men (see prosopography sub → pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153); the chief steward of the Palace (see sub → BAD(-mi<sub>2</sub>)e<sub>2</sub>, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101) was also a man, and there is no proof of the existence of eunuchs at Ebla.

<sup>733</sup> Ziegler, *FM 4* (1999), p.44

and refers to a difference in rank probably based on age and/or prestige.<sup>734</sup> Regarding the presence of personal servants of these women in the Palace, note that the names of valets of the mother of the king, the queen, and few other women are mentioned in the texts: it must be stressed, however, that only valets of the queen are mentioned in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712.

The ladies of the court are further subdivided into two groups: the *dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>* and the ladies associated with a GN.<sup>735</sup> These GNs which sometimes follow the names of some ladies of the king might indicate their place of origin: each lady is generally associated with the same toponym, and most among these GNs are important cultic centers.<sup>736</sup>

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**dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (PN/en [GN])** (292): 1) «daughter of PN» (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> PN); 2) [denoting also social status, as a title] «daughter of the king» (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en); «daughter of the king [of GN]» (dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en GN). For dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> as a generic term for «girl» or «(female) apprentice», see sub → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

**Previous translation(s):** «figlia»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AXIII, AXVI, M2, M5, M7</sup>; «daughter, and simply girl»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «figlia, ragazza»<sup>AIX</sup>; «figlia, ragazza; dipendente»<sup>AXII</sup>; «daughter, girl»<sup>AXX</sup>; «daughter»<sup>M10</sup>

**Bibliography:** see sub → dam [PN/en (GN)]; Archi et al., *ARES I* (1988), pp.238–41

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:31	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub>
[β] EBK-A	MEE 4, 115	r.III:32	tur

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1086)	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:36
[δ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 1+ r.XIX:37
[ε] VE (1086)	dumu-mi <sub>2</sub> / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:9
[ζ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	MEE 4, 65+ r.XI:10

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** a-am-am, ga-du<sub>8</sub>, *MA-LIK-TUM*, NE.DI, pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag

**Prosopography** (when referring to a title): see Plate I The kings' family, p.95

**Discussion:** the term dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> is used in the texts with two meanings: as a generic term for “girl” or “(female) apprentice” (see sub → dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>, §4.5 Producers, p.186), and as a kinship term with the meaning “daughter.” In both cases, the term is probably age-related and indicates a young woman. Like dumu-nita, also dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> can be thus used as *socio-* or *egocentric*: as a kinship term, dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> indicates the female descendant of an ego (the “father”) and is the most common kinship

<sup>734</sup> See also Stieglitz, in *Eblaitica* 4 (2002), p.216. In Akkadian the adjective pair “old-young” with reference to kinship terms is rendered through the adjectives *rabû* and *šihru*: see for example *aḫu rabû* and *aḫu šihru* (“oldest” and “younger” brother), *CAD A/1* (1964), s.v. *aḫu* A, pp.195ff. In Sumerian the same terms are *šeš-gal* and *šeš-ban<sub>3</sub>-da* respectively. However, note that Sum. *ban<sub>3</sub>-da*, as Akk. *šihru*, also means small, junior, and secondary: *dam ban<sub>3</sub>-da* can be translated as “secondary wife; concubine.” See *PSD B* (1984), s.v. *ban<sub>3</sub>-da* D, pp.83ff. See also Landsberger, *MSL* 5 (1957), pp.16–17.

<sup>735</sup> See sub section prosopography; for a list of the GNs associated with the *dam en* see sub contextual associations. See also Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), pp.85–87.

<sup>736</sup> For a list of the ladies associated with more than one GN, see Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.87, fn.44. See also recently Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), pp.28 and 33, who suggests that the ladies were “residing” in the Palace or in the king’s residencies in different localities.



term used to describe the parent-daughter relationship (see also sub → *dumu-nita*).<sup>737</sup> When used as a kinship term referred to the king, however, *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>* takes on a particular meaning: the king's daughters enjoyed a different social status, clearly related to their role as descendants of the royal kin. Some of them are mentioned among the ladies of the king (see sub → *dam* [PN/en (GN)]), a sign that until they reached a certain age they lived together with other women linked to the royal family. Generally speaking, the king's daughters could become high-priestesses (see sub → *DAM.DINGIR*, §4.3 Cultic Personnel, p.153) or be married to foreign sovereigns. In the latter case they are referred to in the documents as <sup>f</sup>PN *MA-LIK-TUM* GN (see also sub → *MA-LIK-TUM*, §4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101): the daughters who became queen of foreign kingdoms were probably principal wives of foreign kings, since there is, in fact, no explicit mention of a daughter of the king who became *dam en GN*, “lady of the king of GN.” Not all daughters of the king are mentioned in the group of the *dam en*, although they probably lived among the ladies of the court. The appearance (and disappearance) of some of the king's daughters from the *dam en* lists can be explained by the fact that they have become *DAM.DINGIR* and left Ebla, or married a foreign sovereign. These two factors (appointment as a priestess, or marriage to a foreign sovereign) explain why some of the king's daughters enter and then leave the *dam en* group: in some cases, however, there are no elements to establish why a daughter of the king entered the group, but never left. This is the case, for example, of 'Arzatu: she is often mentioned with her sister *Zugalum* among the ladies of the court, but she remains in the group of the after her sister marries the king of Ḫarran and leaves Ebla.<sup>738</sup>

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**dumu-nita (PN/en [GN])** (1251): 1) «son of PN» (*dumu-nita PN*); 2) [denoting also social status, as a title] «son of the king» (*dumu-nita en*); «son of the king [of GN]» (*dumu-nita en GN*). For *dumu-nita* as a generic term for «boy» or «(male) apprentice», see sub → *dumu-nita* (§4.5 Producers, p.186).

**Previous translation(s):** «figlio»<sup>AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXIII, AXVI, M2, M5, M7</sup>; «son, perhaps more precisely heir, and adolescent (if not grown-up) boy»<sup>AVIII</sup>; «figlio, ragazzo»<sup>AIX</sup>; «figlio, ragazzo; dipendente»<sup>AXII</sup>; «son; boy»<sup>AXX</sup>;

**Bibliography:** **Archi**, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); **Archi et al.** (1988); **ARES I**, pp.222–32; **Biga**, in *CRAI* 33 (1987); **Biga**, in *Amurru* 1 (1996); **Biga and Pomponio**, *JCS* 42 (1990); **Biga and Pomponio**, *MARI* 7 (1993).

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.III:30	<i>dumu-nita</i>
[β] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.III:32	tur

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1085)	<i>dumu-nita</i> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+ r.XIX:35
[δ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+ r.XIX:37
[ε] VE (1085)	<i>dumu-nita</i> / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+ r.XI:8
[ζ] VE (1087)	tur / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+ r.XI:10

### Contextual association(s):

**Social position(s)/role(s):** → *abba<sub>2</sub>* (4.1 Administrators and Supervisors, p.101), *ga-du<sub>8</sub>*, *pa<sub>4</sub>*-

<sup>737</sup> The terms “father” and “mother” are rare compared to “son” and “daughter.” See also sub → *a-mu* and → *ama-gal*.

<sup>738</sup> See also Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 (1989), p.81.

**Prosopography** (when referring to a title): see Plate I The kings' family, p.95

**Discussion:** the term *dumu-nita* is used in the texts with two meanings: as a generic term for “boy” or “(male) apprentice” (see sub → *dumu-nita*, §4.5 Producers, p.186), and as a kinship term with the meaning “son.” In both cases, the term is probably age-related and indicates a young man. Like *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>*, *dumu-nita* can be used as a kinship term indicating the male descendant of an ego (the “father”) and is the most common kinship term used to describe the parent-son relationship (see also sub → *dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>*). When referred to the king, however, *dumu-nita* takes on a particular meaning: prosopographic data demonstrate that the title of “son of the king” did not only indicate a kinship relationship, but also a social status. The sons of the king kept their title also after their father's death: the term thus denotes a status connected with their role as descendants of the royal kin. Although the presence of the king's sons at court is demonstrated by their frequent mention in the texts, it is difficult to determine whether they resided permanently in the Palace and what their duties were: the documents clearly show the difference in rank between *Yirḥaq-Damu* and the other sons of the king. Unlike his brothers, *Yirḥaq-Damu* is often mentioned alone, and clearly enjoys a different status: for these reasons, he can be referred to as “crown prince,” *i.e.* the designated heir to the throne. As already stated,<sup>739</sup> among the female relatives of the king were his wives, unmarried sisters and daughters: male children are, however, difficult to identify before they become adults and start participating to the administrative life. In fact, not only male children are absent from the documents, but all individuals whose stage in life is between infancy and childhood, regardless their gender, are never mentioned in the documents before they reach adult age. All children, both male and female, probably lived with the ladies of the court until they reach sexual maturity: during this period they do not appear in the administrative record, the only exception being their death or the mention of the women they were taken care of by. Female children leave the group only if they marry or become priestesses: unmarried daughters (and female relatives of the king in general) can, however, stay within this group for long periods of time. On the contrary, male children seem to leave the group after becoming adults.

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NIN.NI (36): «sister»

**Previous translation(s):** «sorella»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, AXII, AXIII, AXVI</sup>; «sister»<sup>AXX</sup>

**Bibliography:** **Brugnatelli**, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottogico Milanese* 29 (1987-1988); **Catagnoti**, *MisEb* 1 (1988); **Krecher**, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	r.XVI:15 nin-ni
[β] EBK	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	r.VII:27 nin-ni

Ebla bilingual

[γ] <i>VE</i> (1183)	nin-ni / <i>a-ḥa-tum</i>	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63 o.VI:12
[δ] <i>VE</i> (1183)	nin-ni / [no gloss]	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+ r.XIV:5'

**Discussion:** the term for “sister” used by the scribes of the Archives is Sum. NIN.NI, attested in the lexical texts and glossed *a-ḥa-tum* in the *VE* (1183).<sup>740</sup> Like the terms for father (*a-MU*), “mother”

<sup>739</sup> See the discussion sub → *dam* [PN/en (GN)].

<sup>740</sup> See Akk. *aḥātu*, *CAD* A/1 (1964), s.v., pp.171ff.

(ama-MU), and “brother” (šeš-MU), NIN seems to retain a possessive particle (-a)-ni: this particle is ignored not only in the Semitic translation of the term attested in the bilingual lexical lists (*a-ḥa-tum*), but also in the administrative documents, where the form NIN.NI-SU<sub>3</sub> is attested.<sup>741</sup> Furthermore, nin (SAL.TUG<sub>2</sub>) means “lady” in Sumerian, while the proper spelling for “sister” is nin<sub>9</sub> (SAL.KU): however, the Sumerian spelling for “lady” at Ebla is nin-ki.<sup>742</sup> The Semitic spelling *a-ḥa-tum* is known exclusively as an onomastic element:<sup>743</sup> most kinship terms are in fact attested in Sumerian in the administrative documents, while the correspondent Semitic spellings are more commonly attested as onomastic elements. The term NIN.NI is in most cases referred to the sisters of Lady Dusigu or to the sisters of the king: a *sociocentric* use of the term sister, however, is not attested (see also sub → šeš(-MU)).

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šeš(-MU) (361): «brother»

**Previous translation(s):** «fratello»<sup>AI, AIII, AIV, AVII, AIX, AXII, AXV</sup>; «Bruder»<sup>AII</sup>; «brother»<sup>AVIII, AXX</sup>; «fratello, alleato»<sup>AXIII, AXVI</sup>;

**Bibliography:** Brugnatelli, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottogico Milanese* 29 (1987-1988); Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988); Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47

### Lexical

Ebla unilingual

[α] EBK-A      MEE 4, 115      r.XII:28    šeš-MU(ġu<sub>10</sub>?)  
 [β] EBK      MEE 15, 27      r.VII:24    šeš-MU(ġu<sub>10</sub>?)

Ebla bilingual

[γ] VE (1043)      šeš-MU(ġu<sub>10</sub>?) / a-ḥu-um      MEE 4, 65+ r.IX:34

**Discussion:** the scribes of the Archives used Sum. šeš(-MU) as the kinship term for “brother.” The term is glossed *a-ḥu-um* in the VE (1043), and like the terms for father (a-MU) and “mother” (ama-MU), it probably retains a possessive particle -ġu<sub>10</sub> (see the discussion sub → a-MU).<sup>744</sup> The term šeš is attested in the administrative documents also followed by the sign -MU, although in a limited number of cases (only twenty-three occurrences): as other kinship terms which retain the possessive particle also in administrative documents, šeš-MU is attested with the Semitic possessive particle (šeš-MU-SU<sub>3</sub>). The Semitic spelling *a-ḥu-* is attested only as onomastic element, as is the case for all kinship terms, both primary and secondary.<sup>745</sup> Contrary to NIN.NI, šeš has both a *socio-* and an *egocentric* use: as a *sociocentric* term, šeš can be used to describe an alliance relationship between two individuals not linked by kin, but who are representatives of two distinct social groups.

The kinship terms “brother” and “sister” are rarely used with reference to the king: the individuals belonging to the group of the king’s descendants bear in most cases the title of “son/daughter of the king,” even when the reigning king is their brother. This *sociocentric* use of the kinship term “son/daughter” is not restricted to the members of the royal family: the brothers of Yibbi-Dikir (sons of

<sup>741</sup> See Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47; Brugnatelli, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottogico Milanese* 29 (1987-1988), pp.51–52. Note however, that in Sum. -a-ni follows a noun ending with a consonant, while -ni follows a noun ending with a vowel. The proper writing of nin with the possessive particle is thus nin-a-ni. See Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (2003), pp.29–30.

<sup>742</sup> On nin-ki, see Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003), p.106.

<sup>743</sup> See Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.187–89. On the occurrences of *aḥu-/aḥat-* as onomastic elements, see the data collected in Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.206–24.

<sup>744</sup> See Krecher, in *Bilinguismo* (1984), pp.145–47.

<sup>745</sup> On the occurrences of *aḥu-* as onomastic element, see the data collected in Catagnoti, *MisEb* 1 (1988), pp.206–24.

Yibrium), are always referred to as *dumu-nita Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um* and never as *šeš I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*. In the case of viziers and other individuals, however, the boundary between *socio-* and *egocentric* use of kinship terms is more difficult to identify: on the contrary, in the case of the royal family, the scribal habit of never indicating the king by name makes the distinction between the two more explicit.

# Appendixes

## Chronological data

**Yigriš-Ḥalab**

**Yirkab-Damu 1**

**Yirkab-Damu 2**

**Yirkab-Damu 3 / Arrulum 1**

**Yirkab-Damu 4 / Arrulum 2**

**Yirkab-Damu 5 / Arrulum 3**

**Yirkab-Damu 6 / Arrulum 4**

**Yirkab-Damu 7 / Arrulum 5**

[75.1358 = *A* XV 10]; [75.1705+]; [76.672+]; [75.1324]; [75.1336]<sup>746</sup>

- Death of Arrulum

**Yitgar-Damu 1 / Yibriyum 1**

[75.1321 = *A* I 11]; [75.1705+]; [76.672+]; [75.1324]; [75.1336]

- Death of 'Adatta, Dusigu's mother,<sup>747</sup>
- Death of Na'am, dam en<sup>748</sup>
- Marriage of Taḥīr-malik, Yibriyum's daughter, with Ṭūbī-'ab, son of Dībbat

**Yitgar-Damu 2 / Yibriyum 2**

[75.10077+]; [75.2862+]

**Yitgar-Damu 3 / Yibriyum 3**

[75.2464]; [75.2333]

**Yitgar-Damu 4 / Yibriyum 4**

[75.1771 = *M* 7 47]

**Yitgar-Damu 5 / Yibriyum 5**

[75.3052+]

**Yitgar-Damu 6 / Yibriyum 6**

[75.3481+]

**Yitgar-Damu 7 / Yibriyum 7**

[75.1904+]

**Yitgar-Damu 8 / Yibriyum 8**

[75.10148+]

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<sup>746</sup> The list of the annual accounts associated with each king/vizier has been published in Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), p.8–9; for correspondences between AAMs and MATs see Biga and Pomponio, *JCS* 42 (1990); Biga and Pomponio, *MARI* 7 (1993).

<sup>747</sup> Tonietti, *NABU* 2009/4 (2009), p.82.

<sup>748</sup> [75.1336 = *M* 2 25], o.IV:10-V:1.

**Yitgar-Damu 9 / Yibriyum 9**

[75.2359]

**Yitgar-Damu 10 / Yibriyum 10**

[75.10143+]

- Simin-kaspi is queen of Burman.<sup>749</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 11 / Yibriyum 11**

[75.10144]

**Yitgar-Damu 12 / Yibriyum 12**

[75.1464+]; [75.1704]

- Birth of Simin-kaspi's daughter<sup>750</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 13 / Yibriyum 13**

[75.2365+]

**Yitgar-Damu 14 / Yibriyum 14**

[75.1730(+)=M 7 34]; [75.2417]

- Wedding Yitgar-Damu / Tabūr-Damu<sup>751</sup>
- Purification of the Mausoleum at Binaš<sup>752</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 15 / Yibriyum 15**

[75.2502]; [75.1688]

- Death of Yibriyum's mother<sup>753</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 16 / Yibriyum 16**

[75.2465], [75.2374]

- Death of Hin-Hadda, son of the king<sup>754</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 17 / Yibriyum 17**

[75.10210]

**Yitgar-Damu 18 / Yibriyum 18**

[75.1923+]

- Death of Yibriyum<sup>755</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 19 / Yibbi' -Dikir 1**

[75.1860 = M 10 20]; [75.1330]; [75.2358]; [75.1681 = A IV 19]

- Death of Gimilī-'adu, Tabūr-Damu's sister<sup>756</sup>
- Marriage of Zugalum to the king of Ḫarran<sup>757</sup>
- Tinīb-dūrum is chosen as DAM.DINGIR ([76.288]; [75.1860])<sup>758</sup>
- [75.1731 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] probably dates between Y.-D. 1 and Y.-D. 4<sup>759</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 20 / Yibbi' -Dikir 2**

<sup>749</sup> Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010), p.78 fn.105.

<sup>750</sup> Tonietti, *ZA* 100 (2010), p.78 fn.105

<sup>751</sup> Biga, in *Henoah* 38 (2016)

<sup>752</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.257

<sup>753</sup> Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), p.48.

<sup>754</sup> Archi, in *QS S1* (2012), p.23.

<sup>755</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.260.

<sup>756</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.187.

<sup>757</sup> Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002), pp.166–70.

<sup>758</sup> Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002), pp.162.

<sup>759</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.45.

[75.2462]

- Death of Tirīn-Damu, DAM.DINGIR<sup>760</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 21 / Yibbi'-Dikir 3**

[75.10201]

**Yitgar-Damu 22 / Yibbi'-Dikir 4**

[75.10088+]; [75.10201]; [75.1962+]

- Death of Dusigu<sup>761</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 23 / Yibbi'-Dikir 5**

[ = A I 6]; [ = A I 10]; [ = A I 15]; [ = A I 16]; [ = A III 458]; [ = A IV 4]; [ = A IV 5]; [ = A IV 6]; [75.1276 = A IV 7]; [ = A IV 8]; [ = A IV 9]; [75.1525 = A IV 18]; [ = A IV 25]; [75.1743 = A XX 9]; [75.1918 = M 10 29]

**Yitgar-Damu 24 / Yibbi'-Dikir 6**

[75.10074+]; [75.1264 = A I 15]; [75.1276 = A IV 7]; [75.1525A IV 18]; [75.1832]

**Yitgar-Damu 25 / Yibbi'-Dikir 7**

[75.1899 = A XX 11]; [75.2622+]

**Yitgar-Damu 26 / Yibbi'-Dikir 8**

[75.1780 = A XX 18]; [75.2428 = M 12 35]; [75.2428];

- Death of Tašma<sup>6</sup>-šamaš, dam Yibbi'-Dikir<sup>762</sup>
- Marriage of Tište-Damu
- Gifts for the purification of the royal couple<sup>763</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 27 / Yibbi'-Dikir 9**

[75.1443 = A I 3]; [75.1903 = A XX 12]; [75.2508 = M 12 37]; [75.2073]

- Marriage of Tištī-Damu, daughter of the king, with one of Yibbi'-Dikir's sons<sup>764</sup>

**Yitgar-Damu 28 / Yibbi'-Dikir 10**

[75.2429 = M 12 36];<sup>765</sup> [75.1829]; [75.1775]; [75.1763]; [75.1829]; [75.1830]; [75.1944]

- Birth of Tište-Damu's daughter<sup>766</sup>
- Death of Tešma-Damu, dam of Yīdki-paršu<sup>767</sup>
- Death of Tīša<sup>6</sup>-Līm<sup>768</sup>
- Death of the king of Burman<sup>769</sup>
- Crown prince Yirḥaq-Damu falls ill

**Yitgar-Damu 29 / Yibbi'-Dikir 11**

[75.2507]

- Marriage of Tihwā-yišar (Yitgar-Damu's daughter) to one son of Ir<sub>3</sub>-NE<sup>770</sup>

<sup>760</sup> Archi, in *AOAT* 250 (1998), p.45

<sup>761</sup> According to Archi, *ZA* 92 (2002), p.162, [75.1962+] and [75.10088+] are the texts mentioning the death of Lady Dusigu. Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.33, identifies Y.-D. 3 as “the year preceding Dusigu's death”: Archi and Biga, *JCS* 55 (2003), p.9, however, date [75.10088+] to year Y.-D. 3. See also Biga, in *Isimu* 11-12 (2015), p.112.

<sup>762</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.77.

<sup>763</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.131.

<sup>764</sup> Archi, in *Gs Black* (2010), p.5.

<sup>765</sup> Parallels with [75.2429 = M 12 36] are listed in Biga, in *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp.60–1.

<sup>766</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.141

<sup>767</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.264

<sup>768</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.258 fn.44.

<sup>769</sup> Biga, *SciAnt* 14 (2007-2008), p.258 fn.44.

<sup>770</sup> Archi, *ARET* XX (2018), p.154.

**Yitğar-Damu 30 / Yibbi' -Dikir 12**

[75.10052 = A XX 22]; [76.534+ = A VIII 534]

- Marriage of crown prince Yırhaq-Damu with Za'aše, daughter of Yibbi' -Dikir (at the latest Y.-D.13)<sup>771</sup>

**Yitğar-Damu 31 / Yibbi' -Dikir 13**

[75.10202+]; [75.2426]

**Yitğar-Damu 32 / Yibbi' -Dikir 14**

[75.2273 = A XX 16]; [75.12450]; [A I 44?]

- Victory over Mari at Terqa by Yibbi' -Dikir<sup>772</sup>
- Marriage of Tagriš-Damu to the (crown prince or king) of Nagar<sup>773</sup>

**Yitğar-Damu 33 / Yibbi' -Dikir 15**

[75.12278+15772]; [75.12373]

**Yitğar-Damu 34 / Yibbi' -Dikir 16**

[75.12373]; [75.12278+15772]

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<sup>771</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.163

<sup>772</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.179

<sup>773</sup> Archi, *ARET XX* (2018), p.116



## Concordances and nomenclature of lexical compositions

### Unilingual (EBK-A) and Bilingual (VE)<sup>774</sup>

Bonechi	Archi/ Conti	Pettinato	Text editions	Cited as
EBK-A			<i>MEE</i> 4 115 = <i>MEE</i> 15 1-5	EBK-A <i>MEE</i> 4, 115
			<i>MEE</i> 15 22	
			<i>MEE</i> 15 25+	
-			<i>MEE</i> 15 27	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 27
eEBK-a <sub>1</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 15 30	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 30
eEBK-a <sub>2</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 15 31	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 31
-			<i>MEE</i> 15 32	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 32
-			<i>MEE</i> 15 39	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 39
			<i>MEE</i> 15 50+76	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 50+
eEBK-a <sub>3</sub>			<i>ARETV</i> 22	EBK <i>MEE</i> 15, 30
EBL <sub>1a</sub>	D <sub>1</sub>	C	<i>MEE</i> 4 12	<i>MEE</i> 4, 12
EBL <sub>1b</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	O	<i>MEE</i> 4 24	<i>MEE</i> 4, 24
EBL <sub>1c</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	V	<i>MEE</i> 4 32	<i>MEE</i> 4, 32
EBL <sub>1d</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	AD	<i>MEE</i> 4 40	<i>MEE</i> 4, 40
EBL <sub>1e</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	AK, ?, AP, AW	<i>MEE</i> 4 47+48+53+60	<i>MEE</i> 4, 47+
EBL <sub>2</sub>	A <sub>(1)</sub>	A, G, H, I	<i>MEE</i> 4 1-7+16-18	<i>MEE</i> 4, 1+
EBL <sub>3a</sub>	C	F, J, K, L, P, Q, U, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AE, AF, AG, AH, AL, AM, AN, AO, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AX, AY, BH	<i>MEE</i> 4 13-15+19-21+25+26+ 31+33+34-39+41-44+49+50- 52+54-59+61+62+72+106+ 107	<i>MEE</i> 4, 13+
EBL <sub>3b</sub>	A2	AZ, BG	<i>MEE</i> 4 63+64+71 + <i>ARET</i> III 683	<i>MEE</i> 4, 63+
EBL <sub>4</sub>	B	B, M, N, R, S, T, AI, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF	<i>MEE</i> 4 8-11+22+23+27-30+45 +46+65-70 + <i>MEE</i> 3 42	<i>MEE</i> 4, 65+
eEBL-a <sub>1</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 81, EV i	<i>MEE</i> 4, 81
eEBL-a <sub>2</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 75, EV c	<i>MEE</i> 4, 75
eEBL-b <sub>1</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 74, EV b	<i>MEE</i> 4, 74
eEBL-b <sub>2</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 73, EV a	<i>MEE</i> 4, 73
eEBL-c <sub>1</sub>			[lost tablet]	-
eEBL-c <sub>2</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 76, EV d	<i>MEE</i> 4, 76
eEBL-c <sub>3</sub>			[lost tablet]	-
eEBL-c <sub>4</sub>			<i>MEE</i> 4 79+110, EV g+ai	<i>MEE</i> 4, 79+
eEBL-f			<i>MEE</i> 4, 78 EV f	<i>MEE</i> 4, 78
eEBL-h			<i>MEE</i> 4 77, EV e	<i>MEE</i> 4, 77
eEBL-i			<i>MEE</i> 4 87, EV o	<i>MEE</i> 4, 87
eEBL-m			<i>MEE</i> 4 83, EV k	<i>MEE</i> 4, 83
EWLA			<i>MEE</i> 3 53 = <i>MEE</i> 15 80	Word Lis A <i>MEE</i> 3 53
-			<i>MEE</i> 3 43 + unp. fragment	ED Name and Professions <i>MEE</i> 3, 43+
			<i>MEE</i> 3 59	List of PNs <i>MEE</i> 3, 59

<sup>774</sup> See Peust, *ZA* 104 (2014), pp.135–36, and fn.3; Bonechi, *QdL* 17 (2007), pp.208–9; Bonechi, *NABU* 2008/26 (2008), p.36.

-			<i>MEE</i> 3 6	ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E <i>MEE</i> 3, 6
-			<i>MEE</i> 3 7-11	ED Lu <sub>2</sub> E <i>MEE</i> 3, 8+
ELPB			<i>MEE</i> 3 68, 71, 70	Body Parts <i>MEE</i> 3, 68/71/70

### Unilingual eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub>

Picchioni	MEE	Excavation no.	Bonechi	DCCLT
EBK.A+	<i>MEE</i> 4, 115 = <i>MEE</i> 15, 1+	75.2422+	EBK-A	P241972 Acrographic List A
EBK.A1+	<i>MEE</i> 15, 2+	75.4535+		
EBK.A2+	<i>MEE</i> 15, 3+	75.4548+		
EBK.A3+	<i>MEE</i> 15, 4+	75.3175+		
EBK.A4+	<i>MEE</i> 15, 5+	75.3400+		
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 19			P245653 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 19+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 22			P242220 ( <i>MEE</i> 3, 22+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 23			P242220 ( <i>MEE</i> 3, 22+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 24			P245653 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 19+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 25			P245653 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 19+)
-	<i>MEE</i> 3, 27	75.4553		P243553
-	<i>MEE</i> 3, 41	75.5807		P244520
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 45			P241395 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 45+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 46			P241395 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 45+)
	<i>MEE</i> 3, 75			P245653 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 19+)
-	<i>MEE</i> 4, 111	75.11294		P245216 (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 7	75.5640		X000201 (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 8	75.4510		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 9	75.5646		P244403 (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 10	75.4543		P243547 (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 11	75.4558		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B6	<i>MEE</i> 15, 12	75.4524		P243524 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 12+) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B7	<i>MEE</i> 15, 13	75.4560		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B8	<i>MEE</i> 15, 14	75.4509		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B9	<i>MEE</i> 15, 15	75.4552		X000202 (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B10	<i>MEE</i> 15, 16	75.4505		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B11	<i>MEE</i> 15, 17	75.20233		P245607 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 17) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B12	<i>MEE</i> 15, 18	75.5636		X000203 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 18) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B13	<i>MEE</i> 15, 19	75.3050		P242224 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 19) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B14	<i>MEE</i> 15, 20	75.3280		P241572 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 25+)
EBK.B15	<i>MEE</i> 15, 21	75.4398		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+)
EBK.B16	<i>MEE</i> 15, 22	75.5629		P244391 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 22) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.B17	<i>MEE</i> 15, 23	75.6012		P244704 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 23) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.C1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 24	75.3043		P242218 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 24+) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.C2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 25	75.2002		P241572 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 25+) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.C3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 26	75.1926		P241497 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 27) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.C4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 27	75.3040 + 75.3046		P241497 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 27) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.D1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 28	75.1304		P240877( <i>MEE</i> 15 28) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.D2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 29	75.2414		P241966 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 29) (EBK Acrographic)

EBK.D3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 30	75.2049	eEBK-a1	P241962 (Acrographic List A, excerpt)
EBK.D4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 31	75.2348	eEBK-a2	P241905 (Acrographic List A, excerpt)
EBK.E1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 32	75.5324		P244156 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 32) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 33	75.3442		X000204 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 33) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 34	75.3047		P242222 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 34) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 35	75.5326		P244158 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 35) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 36	75.3409		P242549 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 36) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E6	<i>MEE</i> 15, 37	75.5287		P244122 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 37) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.E7	<i>MEE</i> 15, 38	75.3130		P242298 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 38) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.F1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 39	75.3212		P242298 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 39) (EBK Acrographic)
EBK.F2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 40	75.5276		P244111 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 40)
EBK.F3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 41	75.3440		P242578 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 41+)
EBK.F4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 42	75.5315		P242578 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 41+)
EBK.F5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 43	75.4512		P241306 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 43)
EBK.F6	<i>MEE</i> 15, 44	75.10012		P244737 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 44)
EBK.F7	<i>MEE</i> 15, 45	75.3044		P242220 ( <i>MEE</i> 3, 22+)
EBK.F8	<i>MEE</i> 15, 46	75.3430		P241395 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 45+)
EBK.F9	<i>MEE</i> 15, 47	75.4296		P242549
EBK.G1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 48	75.5311		P244145 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 48)
EBK.G2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 49	75.5327		P244159 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 49)
EBK.G3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 50	75.3120		P242288 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 50+)
EBK.G4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 51	75.4315 + 75.4314		P243345 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 51)
EBK.G5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 52	75.5330		P244161 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 52)
EBK.G6	<i>MEE</i> 15, 53	75.5313		P244146
EBK.G7	<i>MEE</i> 15, 54	75.5280		P244115 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 54)
EBK.G8	<i>MEE</i> 15, 55	75.5323		P244155 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 55)
EBK.G9	<i>MEE</i> 15, 56	75.5262		P244097 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 56)
EBK.H1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 57	75.5194+ 75.5200		P245653 ( <i>MEE</i> 3 19+)
EBK.I1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 58	75.5794		P242335 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 58)
EBK.I2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 59	75.3176a		P242341 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 59)
EBK.I3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 60	75.3438		P241572 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 25+)
EBK.J1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 61	75.20375		P245749 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 61)
EBK.J2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 62	75.6037		X000205 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 62)
EBK.J3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 63	75.20576		P245950 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 63)
EBK.J4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 64	75.20226		P242298 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 64)
EBK.J5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 65	75.20133		P245507 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 65)
EBK.J6	<i>MEE</i> 15, 66	75.4521		P241572 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 25+)
EBK.J7	<i>MEE</i> 15, 67	75.20230		P245604 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 67)
EBK.J8	<i>MEE</i> 15, 68	75.20276		P245650 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 68) +15 38???
EBK.J9	<i>MEE</i> 15, 69	75.4559		X000206 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 69) + <i>MEE</i> 4 1+???
EBK.K1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 70	75.5222		-
EBK.K2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 71	75.5197		P244051 (no translit.)
EBK.K3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 72	75.5198		-
EBK.K4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 73	75.20307		-
EBK.K5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 74	75.20124		-
EBK.L1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 75	75.20566		P245940 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 75)
EBK.L2	<i>MEE</i> 15, 76	75.4545		P242288 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 50+)
EBK.L3	<i>MEE</i> 15, 77	75.20123		P245497 ( <i>MEE</i> 15 77)
EBK.L4	<i>MEE</i> 15, 78	75.20284		-

EBK.L5	<i>MEE</i> 15, 79	75.11256		P245180
EKK.M1	<i>MEE</i> 15, 80	75.2260		P241823 = <i>MEE</i> 3 53

### Sources of the bilingual lexical lists (VE)

- Source A<sub>1</sub> (= *MEE* 4 Source A)
- Source A<sub>2</sub> (= *MEE* 4 Source AZ, previously Source C)
- Source B (= *MEE* 4 Source B) contains all the lemmas
- Source C (not present in *MEE* 4)
- Source D (not present in *MEE* 4), published in Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990):
  - D<sub>1</sub> = *MEE* 4, 12 = 75.2284 (*VE* 2-204) = 1a
  - D<sub>2</sub> = *MEE* 4, 24 (*VE* 210-229) = 1b
  - D<sub>3</sub> = *MEE* 4, 32 (*VE* 340-423) = 1c
  - D<sub>4</sub> = *MEE* 4, 40 (*VE* 458-575) = 1d
  - D<sub>5</sub> = *MEE* 4, 47-48 (*VE* 577-875) = 1e

<b>MEE 4</b>	<b>Excavation number</b>	<b>Archi/Conti</b>	<b>Pettinato</b>	<b>Bonechi</b>	
<i>MEE</i> 4, 115	75.2422 (see tab)		*	EBK-A	Acrographic List A
<i>MEE</i> 4, 1	75.3528	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>1</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 2	75.4526	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>2</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 3	75.4504	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 4	75.2000	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>4</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 5	75.2005	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>5</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 6	75.2006	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>6</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 7	75.3433	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	A <sub>7</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 8	75.2007	Part of B	B <sub>8</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 9	75.2004	Part of B	B <sub>9</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 10	75.2001	Part of B	B <sub>10</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 11	75.2003	Part of B	B <sub>11</sub>	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 12	75.2284	Conti D <sub>1</sub>	C	Part of EBL <sub>1a</sub>	P241847 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 13	75.11252	C? <sup>†</sup>	D	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245176 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 14	75.20278	C? <sup>†</sup>	E	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245652 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 15	75.11304	C	F	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245225 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 16	75.4551	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	G	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 17	75.4534	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	H	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 18	75.11144	Part of A <sub>(1)</sub>	I	Part of EBL <sub>2</sub>	P241570 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 19	75.10014	Part of C	J	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244739 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 20	75.10027	Part of C	K	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244748 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 21	75.11327	Part of C	L	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245248 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 22	75.11307	Part of B	M	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 23	75.20580	Part of B	N	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 24	75.1774	Conti D <sub>2</sub>	O	Part of EBL <sub>1b</sub>	P241347 (Bilingual List)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 25	75.11306	Part of C	P	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245227 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 26	75.11311	Part of C	Q	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245232 (no translit.)
<i>MEE</i> 4, 27	75.5305	Part of B	R	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 28 +	75.3434+	Part of B	S	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
<i>MEE</i> 4, 29	75.3432	Part of B	(S)	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571

MEE 4, 30	75.4520	Part of B	T	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
MEE 4, 31	75.5798	Part of C	U	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244518 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 32	75.1448	Archi C, Conti D <sub>3</sub>	V	Part of EBL <sub>1c</sub>	P241019 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 33	75.5652	Part of C	W	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244408 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 34	75.11308	Part of C	X	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245229 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 35	75.11262	Part of C	Y	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245186 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 36	75.5653	Part of C	Z	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244409 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 37	75.5655	Part of C	AA	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244411 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 38	75.11254	Part of C	AB	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245178 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 39	75.3271	Part of C	AC	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P241571
MEE 4, 40	75.1426	Conti D <sub>4</sub>	AD	Part of EBL <sub>1d</sub>	P240997 (+75.4562) (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 41	75.11269	Part of C	AE	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245191 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 42	75.11274	Part of C	AF	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245196 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 43	75.11300	Part of C	AG	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245222 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 44	75.5656	Part of C	AH	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P244412 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 45	75.5314	Part of B	AI	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571
MEE 4, 46	75.15301	Part of C <sup>7††</sup>	AJ	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P245332 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 47 +	75.1825 +	Part of Conti D <sub>5</sub>	AK	Part of EBL <sub>1e</sub>	P241398 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 48	75.3131	Part of Conti D <sub>5</sub>	(AK)	Part of EBL <sub>1e</sub>	P241398
MEE 4, 49	75.11319	Part of C	AL	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245240 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 50	75.11312	Part of C	AM	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245233 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 51	75.11255	Part of C	AN	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245179 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 52	75.20102	Part of C	AO	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245476 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 53	75.20093	Part of Conti D <sub>5</sub>	AP	Part of EBL <sub>1e</sub>	P245467 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 54	75.11324	Part of C	AQ	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245245 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 55	75.15311	Part of C	AR	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245342 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 56	75.3412	Part of C	AS	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P242552 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 57	75.3171	Part of C	AT	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	-
MEE 4, 58	75.4295	Part of C	AU	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	-
MEE 4, 59	75.11244	Part of C	AV	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245169 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 60	75.5661	Part of Conti D <sub>5</sub>	AW	Part of EBL <sub>1e</sub>	P244416 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 61	75.4539	Part of C	AX	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P241570
MEE 4, 62	75.4538	Part of C	AY	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P243542 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 63+	75.10023	Part of A <sub>2</sub>	AZ	Part of EBL <sub>3b</sub>	P244746 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 64	75.11301	Part of A <sub>2</sub>	(AZ)	Part of EBL <sub>3b</sub>	P244746 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 65	75.4525	Part of B	BA	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 66	75.5266	Part of B	BB	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 67	75.4518	Part of B	BC	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 68	75.4541	Part of B	BD	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 69	75.4554	Part of B	BE	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 70	75.5073	Part of B	BF	Part of EBL <sub>4</sub>	P241571 (Bilingual List)
MEE 4, 71	75.11317	Part of A <sub>2</sub>	BG	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245238 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 72	75.11289	Part of C	BH	Part of EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245211 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 73	75.1301		excerpt a	EV a, putative a	P240874 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 74	75.1302		excerpt b	putative b	P240875 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 75	75.1404		excerpt c		P240975 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 76	75.1445		excerpt d		P241016 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 77	75.1676		excerpt e	EV e, eEBL-h	P241249 (Bilingual Exercise)

MEE 4, 78	75.1678		excerpt f		P241251 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 79	75.1734		excerpt g		P241307 (+MEE 4 110) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 80	75.1965		excerpt h		P241535 (+75.3220) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 81	75.2008		excerpt i		P241575 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 82	75.2199		excerpt j		P241763 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 83	75.2201		excerpt k		P241765 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 84	75.2202		excerpt l	EV l, eEBL-n	P241766 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 85	75.2300		excerpt m	EV m, eEBL-j	P241863 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 86	75.2318		excerpt n	EV n, eEBL-k	P241878 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 87	75.2354		excerpt o	EV o, eEBL-i	P241911 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 88	75.2540		excerpt p		P242081 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 89+	75.3162		excerpt q		P242328 (+MEE 4 90) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 90	75.3163		excerpt q		P242328 (+MEE 4 89) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 91+	75.3408		excerpt r		P241571 (+MEE 4 92) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 92	75.3397		excerpt r		P241571 (+MEE 4 91) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 93	75.3635		excerpt s		P242762 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 94	75.4546		excerpt t		P243548 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 95	75.4556		excerpt u		P243556 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 96	75.10018		excerpt v		P243537 (+75.4530) (Bilingual List of Animals)
MEE 4, 97	75.11006		excerpt w		P244948 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 98	75.11089		excerpt y		P245024 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 99	75.11222		excerpt x		P245147 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 100	75.11261		excerpt z		P245185 (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 101	75.11265		excerpt aa		P243537 (+75.4530)
MEE 4, 102	75.11267		excerpt ab		P245189
MEE 4, 103	75.11270		excerpt ac		P245192
MEE 4, 104	75.11271		excerpt ad		P245193 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 105	75.11276		excerpt ae		P245198 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 106+	75.11277	C	excerpt af	EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245199 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 107	75.11295	C	excerpt af	EBL <sub>3a</sub>	P245199 (no translit.)
MEE 4, 108	75.11286		excerpt ag		P245208
MEE 4, 109	75.11288		excerpt ah		P245210
MEE 4, 110	75.11290		excerpt ai		P241307 (+MEE 4 79) (Bilingual Exercise)
MEE 4, 111					P245216 (EBK Acrographic)
MEE 4, 112	75.11303		excerpt ak		P243537 (+75.4530)
MEE 4, 113	75.11323		excerpt al		P245244
MEE 4, 114	75.15299		excerpt am		P245330
MEE 4, 116	75.2395				P241948 (Akkadian List of Animals)
MEE 3, 42	75.20595	C?			-

‡: See Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.64 fn.7

‡‡: See Conti *MisEb* 3 (1990), p.46: “[...] MEE 4.46 (fonte AI di MEE 4), che attesta due glosse, 558 e 559, per il quale è possibile dire con certezza soltanto che non appartiene né ad A né a D. Solo dubitativamente il carattere di frammento minuto, e la più ampia lacuna in B, possono suggerire un’attribuzione alla fonte C.”

## Nomenclature of other lexical compositions

### Acrographic List A:

- **MEE 4, 115+** (= P241972, mainly Pettinato \*, Picchioni EBK.A): = *MEE* 15, 1+2+3+4+5;
- *ARET* V 22 (excerpt);
- *MEE* 15, 30 (excerpt);
- *MEE* 15, 31 (excerpt);

### Akkadian List of Animals

- *MEE* 4, 116

### Bilingual Exercises

- *MEE* 4, 73
- *MEE* 4, 74
- *MEE* 4, 75
- *MEE* 4, 76
- *MEE* 4, 77
- *MEE* 4, 78
- *MEE* 4, 79 + *MEE* 04, 110
- *MEE* 4, 80
- *MEE* 4, 81
- *MEE* 4, 82
- *MEE* 4, 83
- *MEE* 4, 84
- *MEE* 4, 85
- *MEE* 4, 86
- *MEE* 4, 87
- *MEE* 4, 88
- *MEE* 4, 89 + *MEE* 4, 90
- *MEE* 4, 91 + *MEE* 4, 92
- *MEE* 4, 93
- *MEE* 4, 94
- *MEE* 4, 95
- *MEE* 4, 97
- *MEE* 4, 98
- *MEE* 4, 99
- *MEE* 4, 100

### Bilingual List of Animals

- *MEE* 4, 96

### Bird List

- *MEE* 3, 40

### ED Animals A

- *MEE* 3, 12-17
- *MEE* 3, 62

### ED Animals B

- *MEE* 3, 18
- *MEE* 3, 19+
- *MEE* 3, 20
- *MEE* 3, 21
- *MEE* 3, 22

### ED Birds

- *MEE* 3, 39

ED Fish

- *MEE* 3, 27
- *MEE* 3, 29
- *MEE* 3, 30
- *MEE* 3, 64

ED Food

- *ARET* V, 23
- *MEE* 3, 48+49+unp.
- *MEE* 3, 63

ED Geographic A

- *MEE* 3, 56

ED Lu A

- *MEE* 3, 1
- *MEE* 3, 2+5
- *MEE* 3, 3+4

ED Lu E (Professions)

- *MEE* 3, 6
- *MEE* 3, 7-11

ED Metals (Professions)

- *MEE* 3, 26+76+unp.

ED Names and Professions

- *MEE* 3, 43+unpublished fragment (P242176).

ED Officials

- *MEE* 3, 50

ED Practical Vocabulary

- *MEE* 3, 44

ED Practical Vocabulary A

- *MEE* 3, 45+46
- *MEE* 3, 61
- TM.75.G.10011+

ED Word List C

- *MEE* 3, 47

Ebla Sign List

- Archi, in *Eblaitica* 1 (1987), 91-113
- *MEE* 3, 51

List of Numbers

- *MEE* 3, 54

List of PNs

- *ARET* V, 24
- *ARET* V, 25
- *ARET* V, 26
- *MEE* 3, 59
- *MEE* 3, 67

List of Body Parts

- *MEE* 3, 68
- *MEE* 3, 70
- *MEE* 3, 71

Word List A



- *MEE* 3, 53



## Indexes

### List of PNs

#### A

- A-mu*<sup>?</sup> *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>: *ma-za-lum*, p.218  
(<sup>6</sup>)*A-a-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*A-a-na*: ašgab, p.193  
*A-ag*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-ba-an*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
(<sup>6</sup>)*A-ba-da-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*A-ba-ga*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, p.164; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*A-ba-la*<sub>2</sub>: NE.DI, p.181  
*A-ba-tum*: azu, p.192  
*A-ba-u*<sub>3</sub> *Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*A-ba*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*A-ba*<sub>4</sub>/*bu-il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*A-ba*<sub>4</sub>-*li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-ba*<sub>4</sub>/*bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*: NE.DI, p.181  
*A-BAD*: lugal, p.116  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>: nar, p.177  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*nam* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ti*-<sup>d</sup>*Aš-dar*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*šum*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*u*<sub>9</sub>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*A-bi*<sub>2</sub>-<sup>a</sup><sub>3</sub>/*u*<sub>9</sub>: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*A-bu*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub>: muḫaldim, p.223; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, p.164  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub> [*Dul*<sub>3</sub>/*Ti-wa-ga-ba-al*<sub>6</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>*KU-ra*: dub-sar, p.196; ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; muḫaldim, p.223  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ḫa*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik* *Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162; dub-sar, p.196; nar, p.177; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ra*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-*lum*: lugal, p.116  
*A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-*ma*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-NE: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-X maškim *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-kir*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*A-bur-da-ši-in*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*A-da-a-du*: ib, p.213  
*A-da-ar*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-da-gi-na* *Du-še*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p. 181  
*A-da-mu*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-da*<sub>(5)</sub>: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*A-dab*<sub>6</sub>-*il*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-dam-ma-lik*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ib-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*um*, p.164; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*A-du* (*Du-u*<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>): engar, p.204  
*A-du-ba*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-du-lu/ul*: <sup>a</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*li-lu*; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*KU-ra*, p.164  
*A-du-mu*: NE.DI, p.181  
*A-du-nu*: balag-di, p.172  
*A-du-ra*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-du-su*: simug, p.226  
*A-du-šum*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-du-uš-ga-mu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-ga*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-ga-dum*: muḫaldim, p.223  
*A-ga-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*su*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*A-ga-iš*: ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*A-ga-li-im*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-ga-me-nu*: see sub <sup>a</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*za-ru*<sub>12</sub>, p.190  
*A-gi* (*A-da-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>): engar, p.204  
*A-gi-lu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*A-gi-NI*: lugal, p.116  
*A-gi-ra*: šitim, p.228  
*A-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*šum*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*A-ku*-<sup>den</sup>-*ki*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>den</sup>-*ki* (*A-mi-sa-du*<sup>ki</sup>), p.164  
*A-ku*-<sup>dutu</sup>: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-lik-NI*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
<sup>f</sup>*A-lu-ḫa-gu*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*A-lum*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*A-si-da-mu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*A-ma-il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-ma-lik* [lugal NE-*zi-gi-NI*<sup>ki</sup>]: lugal, p.116  
*A-ma-za*(-*u*<sub>3</sub>): lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161  
*A-me/mi-i*<sub>3</sub>: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*A-mi-du*: lugal, p.116  
*A-mu-da/du/tum*: ugula GN, p.130  
*A-mu-ra*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

- A-mu-ri<sub>2</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- A-mu-ti* [lugal *A-ra-’a<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>* / lugal Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup> / lugal *Bi<sub>2</sub>-na-aš<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-mur-da-mu*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>; lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- A-na-aḥ/hu*: ugula GN, p.130
- A-na-ma*: lugal, p.116
- A-na*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-NE-’a<sub>3</sub>*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A-ni-a(-lu/u<sub>3</sub>)-du*: dam en, p. 251
- A-ni-za-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130
- A-nu-ul Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181
- A-ra-da*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-sa/ša-ra*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-si-ma-lik*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>
- A-šu-ma-lik*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- A-šu-ur-i<sub>3</sub>/A-šur<sub>x</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, p.164; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- A-šu-ur<sub>2</sub>-il*: ugula GN, p.130
- A-šú<-ur>-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-na-bu<sub>3</sub>*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p. 158
- A-šum*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-šur<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik*: NE.DI, p. 181
- A-ti*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- A-ti-Aš-dar*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162
- A-wa-i-šar*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- A-za-ḥa-bar-bi<sub>2</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>Utu *Ba-ti-in/nu<sup>ki</sup>*, p.164
- A-za<sub>x</sub>-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A-zi-ga(-za)-u<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251
- A-zi-gi-ru<sub>12</sub>*: NE.DI, p. 181
- A-zi-kir*: NE.DI, p. 181
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A-zi-za*: ga-du<sub>8</sub>, p. 205; NE.DI, p. 181
- A-zi*: dub-sar, p.196; gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p. 158
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A-zu-ga-za*: dam en, p. 251
- A-zu-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, p.164; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; muḥaldim, p.223; ugula GN, p.130
- A-zu<sub>2</sub>-ma/mu*: lugal, p.116
- A-zu<sub>2</sub>*: simug, p.226
- A-’a<sub>3</sub>-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; simug, p.226
- A-’a<sub>3</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116
- A-’a<sub>3</sub>-wa*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A(m<sub>6</sub>)-ma-ga*: dam en, p. 251
- <sup>(f)</sup>*A’ A<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-mu*: dam en, p. 251
- A-šum*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- A-ud*: balag-di, p.172
- A<sub>2</sub><sup>II</sup>-da-mi-gu<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177
- A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša* lu<sub>2</sub> *Zi-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- Ab-[N]E*: dub-sar, p.196
- Ab-ma-du*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189
- Ab-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥu*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218; NE.DI, p. 181
- Ad-da*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- Aḥ-ra-ma-lik*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130
- AN-maḥ*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- <sup>(f)</sup>*An-NE*: NE.DI, p. 181
- An-ti*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>4</sup>KU-*ra*, p.164
- <sup>(f)</sup>*Ar-dum*: dam en, p. 251
- Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM* [*Lu-da-u<sub>9</sub><sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ar-si/še<sub>3</sub>-a-ḥa*: nagar, p.224; nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177; šu-i, p.228
- Ar-si-a-ḥa*: lugal, p.116; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ar-si-aḥ*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ar-si*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218; NE.DI, p. 181
- Ar-si/še<sub>3</sub>-a-ḥa*: šu-i, p.228
- Ar-wa*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- Ar-zi-kir*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Aš<sub>2</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213
- Aš<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114
- <sup>’</sup>*A-bi<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-gu<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>); maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p. 181; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ugula GN, p.130
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ti*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša* lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-dur-i-šar*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ša U<sub>3</sub>-kul<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub>/mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-še<sub>3</sub> NI-za-ar<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-da-ti*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- <sup>’</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-daš-še<sub>3</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

- 'A<sub>3</sub>-du-uš-ma-lik*: ugula GN, p.130  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-ga-lu*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
<sup>f</sup>*'A<sub>3</sub>-ga-ša-du*: ga-du<sub>8</sub>, p. 205; NE.DI, p. 181  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-gar<sub>3</sub>*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-gi* [ur<sub>4</sub>]: lugal, p.116; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-gu-LUM*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-gu-lum*: ugula SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.130  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*: lugal, p.116  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-lum*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-lum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-šum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>(11)</sub>-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-mi-zu<sub>2</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-mu-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>* (*Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*): HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-ša-šum*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-teš<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-ti-da*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218; nagar, p.224  
<sup>'</sup> *A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra* [dumu-nita *I-gi*]: lugal, p.116  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-zi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-zi* (lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-lum*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*'A<sub>3</sub>-na*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- B**
- <sup>f</sup>*Ba-a-ga*: see sub *'a<sub>3</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>*, p.190  
*Ba-a-ḥu* *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Ba-du-lum/rum<sub>2</sub>*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; ugula engar, p.130; nagar, p.224; nar, p.177  
*Ba-du-nu*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ba-ga-ma*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ba-ḥa/ḥi-ga*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ba-li*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Ba-lu-zu<sub>2</sub>* (*I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>*): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ba-ne-u<sub>3</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ba-ra-a*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ba-u<sub>9</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>* *A-da-aš<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Ba-wa-rum<sub>2</sub>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Ba-za-a*: dub-sar, p.196; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ba-zi-da*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Ba-zi*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177  
*Ba<sup>!!</sup>-du-la-ti*: muḥaldim, p.223  
*Ba<sup>!!</sup>-ša-ša<sup>!!</sup>-su*: nar, p.177  
*Ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Ba<sub>4</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Bad-da-mu*: lugal, p.116  
*BAD-ḥi*: nar, p.177  
*BAD/BE-E<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Baḥar-il*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Bar-i*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Bar-za-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*Bar-zi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nagar, p.224; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Bar-zi* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-bu<sub>14</sub>-lum*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*BE-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*BE-du-lum*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*BE-ni-ḤAR*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*BE-su<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*BE-su<sub>3</sub>-kur<sup>ki</sup>* (*Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*BE-zu<sub>3</sub>-NE-ḤAR*: ib, p.213  
*Bi<sub>2</sub>-na* *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Bu-am*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Bu-da-na-im* (*U<sub>3</sub>-ti-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*): HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Bu<sub>14</sub>-du*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Bu<sub>3</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-BAD*: dub-sar, p.196  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-i<sub>3</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; muḥaldim, p.223; nar, p.177; ugula *še*, p.130  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-iš-lu*: nar, p.177  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*: ib, p.213; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; muḥaldim, p.223; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-di<sup>d</sup>-en-ki*: nar, p.177  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Bu<sub>3</sub>-du<sup>d</sup>-KU-ra*: dam en, p. 251  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-du-du*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Bu<sub>3</sub>-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>*: muḥaldim, p.223  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-lum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-nu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-ga-num<sub>2</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-gi-su*: lugal, p.116  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-la-<sup>lu</sup>*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-u<sub>3</sub>*: NE.DI, p. 181

*Bu<sub>3</sub>-sum*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-ma*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-zi*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Bu<sub>3</sub>-zu-kun<sub>3</sub>-NE*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš dumu-nita en, p.164  
*Bur-ḥaš/-ḥa-aš<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Bu<sub>x</sub>(munu<sub>4</sub>)-ma-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> 'A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ra*: simug, p.226  
*Bu<sub>x</sub>(munu<sub>4</sub>)-ma-i<sub>3</sub> Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-ra-bal<sup>ki</sup>*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p. 158

## D

*Da-ḡar<sub>3</sub> 'du*: lugal, p.116  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-a-ga-ba<sub>(4)</sub>-al<sub>6</sub>/lu*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-a-šar*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-a-zi-kir*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-ba<sub>(4)</sub>-a-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum*: muḥaldim, p.223  
*Da-bi<sub>2</sub>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-bur-da-mu*: dam en, p. 251; *MA-LIK-TUM*, p. 122; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Da-da*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177  
*Da-da-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, p.164  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-du-bu<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251  
*Da-du-i<sub>3</sub>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-dub*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-dub-si-nu*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-gi-iš-ka<sub>2</sub>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-ḥu-šum*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-li-tum*: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-lik-NE*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-mi-gi*: dam en, p. 251  
*Da-mi-gi-i<sub>3</sub> Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Da-mur-da-še<sub>3</sub>-in*: *ma-lik-tum*  
*Da-na*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Da-ne-lu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Da-ni*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Da-ni-ga*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*, p.164  
*Da-nu-LUM*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-lu 'A<sub>3</sub>-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-su*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Da-ri<sub>2</sub>-šum Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Da-ša-ša-su*: nar, p.177  
*Da-še<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-si-ḥu(m)*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da-šum*: dam en, p. 251  
*Da-te<sup>d</sup>utu*: NE.DI, p. 181

*Da-ti<sup>d</sup>tu*: *MA-LIK-TUM*  
*Da-u<sub>3</sub>-ud Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Da-zi-ma-ad/du*: lugal, p.116; šu-i, p.228; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš, p.164; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da(-a)-šum*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Da(m)-mi-gi*: dam en, p. 251  
*Da/Dab<sub>6</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Da/Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>/šu*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Dab<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* (lu<sub>2</sub> *GABA-da-mu*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Dab<sub>6</sub>-ki<sup>d</sup>utu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Dab<sub>6</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-da*: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Dag-mul-da-mu*: dam en, p. 251; *MA-LIK-TUM*  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Dag-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš-da-mu*: *MA-LIK-TUM*  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Dal-du-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Dam-da-il*: azlag<sub>x</sub>, p. 191; dub-sar, p.196; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Dam-da-il* lugal 'A<sub>3</sub>-nu-ga-ad<sup>ki</sup>: lugal, p.116  
*Dar-mi-a/lu*: lugal, p.116  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(6)</sup>*Daš-ma<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: dam en, p. 251  
*Daš-na*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Daš-NE*: nagar, p.224  
*Daš-še<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu / De<sub>3</sub>:i<sub>3</sub>-ne-ki-mu / I-de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Di-li-ma Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*DIRI-um*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Du-AN*: nar, p.177  
*Du-ba-NE-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>[z]-i-kir*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130; ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>), p.130  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-ḥa-li/li<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-a*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>* [ugula *A-ba-tum<sup>ki</sup> / A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab Du-si-du<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ab* lu<sub>2</sub>-kar: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu*: ib, p.213; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ir<sub>3</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*, p.164; ugula nagar, p.130; ugula GN,

p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-ḫu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I<sub>3</sub>-a-be*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189; azu, p.192; lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> *A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>* *'A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad/du<sup>ki</sup>*, p.164; ugula GN, p.130; ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>3</sub>*, p.130; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Ru<sub>12</sub>-bu<sub>14</sub>-ma/mu*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* [lu<sub>2</sub> EN-ŠID / ur<sub>4</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: NE.DI, p. 181; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> *A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>* *'A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad/du<sup>ki</sup>*, p.164  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* (*Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*): ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* dumu-nita *I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*: muḫaldim, p.223  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-da-gar<sub>3</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*: nagar, p.224  
*Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*(*-šum?*): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Du-bil<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik* *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Du-bu-ḫu-d<sup>d</sup> A<sub>3</sub>-da*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149 ; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫu-ma-lik*: ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ni-a-BAD/BE*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḫu-NI*: KID<sub>2</sub>-SAG, p.114  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-il*: ašgab, p. 193  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-ma-lik*: ugula ma<sub>2</sub>-NE-ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup>, p.130  
*Du-bu<sub>3</sub>-uš-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Du-da-sa*: ugula *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*, p.130  
*Du-dum*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Du-ḫa-lum*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Du-ḫu-na-še<sub>3</sub>*: muḫaldim, p.223  
*Du-na-sa-gi* [ur<sub>4</sub>]: lugal, p.116; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Du-nu-si-ki*: lugal, p.116  
*Du-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>Ⓣ</sup>*Du-si-gu<sub>2</sub>*: dam en, p. 251  
*Du-si*: lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di); maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Du-tum*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p. 158;  
*Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>*: balag-di, p.172; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-ur-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-du-u<sub>6</sub>-a*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Du-zi-kir* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Su-ba-ti*]: lugal, p.116  
*Du<sup>!!</sup>-ḫal<sup>!!</sup>*: nar, p.177

*Dub-bi<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Dub-da-ar* : lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Dur-BAD/BE*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Dur-du-lum*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Dur-i<sub>3</sub>-lum*: nagar, p.224  
*Dur-<sup>a</sup>bi<sub>2</sub>-zu*: ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
**E**  
*E-nu-ut*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*En-a-mar*: lugal, p.116  
*En-ar-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*En-ar-ma*: lugal, p.116  
*En-ar<sub>3</sub>-ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
EN-be: KID<sub>2</sub>-SAG, p.114; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
EN-bu<sub>14</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*En-bu<sub>3</sub>-i-šar*: muḫaldim, p.223  
*En-bu<sub>3</sub>-il*: ašgab, p. 193; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*En-da-ar*: šu-i, p.228; di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p. 107; azu, p.192; nar, p.177  
*En-da-za/zi*: lugal, p.116  
*En-da-za Maš-bar-du<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-dub-il*: ugula GN, p.130  
*En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>* [lugal DAM.DINGIR]: lugal, p.116  
*En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*En-gi-iš*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*En-gi-iš* *'A<sub>3</sub>-wa-ad<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116  
*En-gi-iš-ar*: lugal, p.116  
*En-gi-iš-šum*: ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*En-gi-lum*: ugula IGI-NITA, p.130  
*En-gi-šum*: ugula ir<sub>11</sub>, p.130  
*En-ma-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *U<sub>3</sub>-sa*: lugal, p.116  
*En-ma-lik*: azu, p.192; lugal, p.116  
*En-mar*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*En-mar Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>*: nagar, p.224  
*En-mar-ru<sub>12</sub>*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*En-na-a-gu<sub>2</sub> Ir-i-NE-du<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*En-na-a-ḫu*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*En-na-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*: KID<sub>2</sub>-SAG, p.114; *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*En-na-ba-al<sub>6</sub>* ([lu<sub>2</sub>] e<sub>2</sub> dingir-dingir-dingir, lu<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*En-na-BAD/BE*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149 ; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*En-na-BAD* [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu-si*]: lugal, p.116

*En-na*-BE: BAD e<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; ib, p.213; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nar, p.177; NE.DI, p. 181; ugula edin, p.130; ugula GN, p.130; ugula simug, p.130  
*En-na-da-mu* [lu<sub>2</sub> / lugal lal<sub>3</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*En-na-d**Da-gan*: nar, p.177  
*En-na-d**Ra-sa-ap* : nar, p.177; lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*En-na-d**Ra-sa-ap Du-še<sub>3</sub>-du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>①</sup>*En-na-d*utu: dam en, p. 251; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*, p.164  
<sup>†</sup>*En-na-d*utu *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p. 181  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213; muḥaldim, p.223; nagar, p.224; nar, p.177; NE.DI, p.181; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-*da-bal<sub>x</sub>*, p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-*da-bal<sub>x</sub>* <sup>ʾ</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-*ma-ad/du*<sup>ki</sup>, p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ʾa<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*, p.164; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ugula nagar, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>): ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub> Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub> Du-lu*<sup>ki</sup>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> am: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-ga-u<sub>9</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-mar*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Gu-na-u<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*: ib, p.213  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub> (I-šar)*: ugula engar, p.130  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ti-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-I*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ir<sub>3</sub>-ʾa<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*, p.164  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-II*: ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; nar, p.177  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-III*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Zi-ba-da* / ugula *Dag-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*<sup>ki</sup> / *A-wa-du*<sup>ki</sup> / lu<sub>2</sub> TAR.ḪUR / lu<sub>2</sub> <sup>ʾ</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-*za-du* / lugal IGI.NITA-IGI.NITA]: lugal, p.116  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il* [lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ma-za(-u<sub>3</sub>)*]: lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*, p.164; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*En-na-il*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>; lugal, p.116; simug, p.226; ugula GN, p.130; dub-sar, p.196  
*En-na-il (Ar-mi)*<sup>ki</sup>: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*En-na-il* (šeš-pa<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*): <sup>ʾ</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-*li-lu*, p. 153  
*En-na-ma-gu<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*En-na-ma-lik*: ašgab, p. 193; *ma-za-lum*, p. 218; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p. 181; ugula GN, p.130  
*En-na-ma-lik* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ri<sub>2</sub>* / lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*En-na-ma-lik-II*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*En-na-ma*: lugal, p.116  
*En-na-ni-il*: lugal, p.116; di-ku<sub>5</sub>; muḥaldim, p.223; nar, p.177; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ut* dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> MA-LIK-TUM, p.164  
*En-na*: ib, p.213  
*En-NI/NE*: ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*En-nu-an-ga Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p. 181  
<sup>①</sup>*En-nu-d*KU-*ra*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>①</sup>*En-nu-NI*: dam en, p. 251  
*En-nu-ut Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p. 181  
EN-ŠID *lu<sub>2</sub> Ma-na-ma-ne-su*: nagar, p.224  
EN-šum: lugal, p.116  
*En-ti* dumu-nita/lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*En-um-il*: ugula GN, p.130  
*En-zu-il*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*En-zu-ma*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*En-zu-mu*: lugal, p.116  
*En-ʾa<sub>3</sub>-da-mu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*En-ʾa<sub>3</sub>-um*: engar, p.204  
*En-na-i<sub>3</sub> zah<sub>3</sub>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
ENGAR-IDIM: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
ENGAR-URI(4): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

## G

*Ga-bar-gi-su*: lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di), p. 177  
*Ga-da-ba-an* [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-ne-gi-mu*]: lugal, p.116  
*Ga-da-mu*: lugal, p.116, maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220, ugula GN, p.130  
*Ga-da-na*: ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI)  
*Ga-da-ne*: ib, p.213; tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag, p. 231  
*Ga-du-ri<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ga-du-um*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ga-du-um Zu-ša-ga-bu<sub>3</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>: simug, p.226  
*Ga-li-bu<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-na-bu<sub>3</sub>*: gu<sub>3</sub>-*di*  
*Ga-li-gu<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Ga-li-iš-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*: ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ga-lu-mu*: simug, p.226  
*Ga-ma-da-mu* [dumu-nita *Iš-u<sub>3</sub>-ra*]: lugal, p.116



*Ga-mu-lum*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ga-nu-lum* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>]: lugal, p.116; di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107  
*Ga-si-du*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ga-ti*: ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>), p.130  
*Ga- 'a<sub>3</sub>-du* ugula geme<sub>2</sub>-gi, p.130  
*GABA-da-mu*: abba<sub>2</sub>; lugal, p.116; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*GABA-tug<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
<sup>f</sup>*Gal-tum*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Gar<sub>3</sub>-da-um*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Gi-a-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula edin, p.130  
*Gi-a-ša-ḥa-ru<sub>12</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Gi-dum*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Gi-gi*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Gi-i<sub>3</sub>-šar*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Gi-la/ra-ma-lik*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149 ; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Gi-ma-lik*: ašgab, p. 193  
*Gi-ra-dam/dum*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Gi-ri<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>①</sup>*Gi-sa/ša-du*: dam en, p. 251; ga-du<sub>8</sub>, p. 205  
*Gi/Ki-ti-ir*: lugal, p.116  
*Gi/Ki-li-im*: lugal, p.116  
*GIBIL dumu-nita I-gi*: lugal, p.116  
<sup>①</sup>*GIBIL-KA-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*GIBIL-ma-lik*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*GIBIL-za-i<sub>3</sub>*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*GIBIL-za/zi-il*: lugal, p.116  
*GIBIL: ma-za-lum*, p. 218; šeš.II.IB, p.167  
*Gu-la-bu*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Gu-la-u<sub>9</sub>*: nagar, p.224  
*Gu-ne-lum*: simug, p.226  
*Gu-wa-nu*: nar, p.177  
<sup>①</sup>*Gu-zi-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>): HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba* lu<sub>2</sub> *Maḥ-ra-da-mu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-il*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>be *Sa-a-ad/Sa-ad*, p.164  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum* lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-ba*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
<sup>f</sup>*Gu<sub>2</sub>-da-da-aḥ*: see sub 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, p.190  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-gi-(w)a-an/nu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-gi-wa-an* [dumu-nita / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-gi*]: lugal, p.116

*Gu<sub>2</sub>-gi*: šu-i, p.228  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-li*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub>*<sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-lu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; nar, p.177  
<sup>①</sup>*Gu<sub>2</sub>-li-ša-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-li*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-lu-ga*: nar, p.177  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-na-lu*: nar, p.177  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-nu-ga-aš-dar / Kun<sub>3</sub>-na-aš-dar*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-šu* (*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-za-ba* (*Gar<sub>3</sub>*[-mu<sup>ki</sup>]): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-za*: igi-sig  
*Gu<sub>2</sub>-zi* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, p.164  
*Gul-la*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Gul-la-II*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Gul-li-sum*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Gur-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Sa-mu-um*: lugal, p.116  
*Gur-da-mu*: ugula engar, p.130  
*Gur-NI-ba*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

**H**

*Ḥa-a*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ḥa-ba*: abba<sub>2</sub>  
*Ḥa-ba-da*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Ḥa-ba-ra-ar*: NE.DI, p. 181  
*Ḥa-bi<sub>2</sub>-du*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
<sup>①</sup>*Ḥa-gi-a-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Ḥa-ḥa-ma-lum*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Ḥa-la*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ḥa-la-lu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ḥa-lu-du*: see sub 'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>, p.190  
*Ḥa-mar-aš<sub>2</sub>-da*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ḥa-mu*: ugula GN, p.130  
<sup>①</sup>*Ḥa-na-ba-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: ib, p.213; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; šeš.II.IB, p.167  
*Ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>* [lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-su*]: lugal, p.116  
*Ḥa-zi-ir*: azu, p.192  
*Ḥa-zi-ir*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164  
*Ḥa-zi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ḥa-zu-um*: lugal, p.116  
*Ḥa-zu/su-um*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, p.164  
*Ḥa-zu<sub>2</sub>*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ḥa-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

*Hab<sub>2</sub>-ra-ar*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220;  
ugula GN, p.130; ugula *ir<sub>3</sub>-a-num<sub>3</sub>*, p.130;  
ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Hab<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ra-ar* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ga-iš-lu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Hab<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ra-ar*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164

*Hal-da-um*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164

*Hal-za-um*: ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Hal/Har-bi<sub>2</sub>-a*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

<sup>(6)</sup>*He<sub>2</sub>-si-bu-ud*: dam en, p. 251

*Hi-bi<sub>2</sub>-a*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114

*Hi-da-ar*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Hi-la-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ma-za*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

<sup>(6)</sup>*Hi-su/zu-du*: dam en, p. 251

*Hu-ba-an/nu* (en): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Hu-ba-ri<sub>2</sub>-ga/gu<sub>2</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*A-gu<sub>2</sub>/gum<sub>2</sub>* (SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>),  
p.164

*Hu-ma/mi-<sup>2</sup>zu<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ra-i-zu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

*Hu-ma-ra*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Hu-mi-lu*: lugal, p.116

*Hu-mi-zu<sub>2</sub>* *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p. 181

<sup>(6)</sup>*Hu-za-u<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251

## I

*I-a-da-mu*: ib, p.213

*I-am-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*I-az-i<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177

*I-az<sub>x</sub>*(LUL.ZA<sub>x</sub>)-*ma-lik*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*I-ba-zi-mi-nu* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-da*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p. 158

*I-ba/ba<sub>4</sub>/ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: lugal, p.116

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* lugal NE-*ba-ra-at<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-da-si-in*: lugal, p.116

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN,  
p.130

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-šum* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-lu-šum* / lugal <sup>3</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ma-ad<sup>ki</sup>* lu<sub>2</sub>  
*Za-lu-ud<sup>ki</sup>* / *Ša-da-dub<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* [ugula]: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
p.220; muḫaldim, p.223; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167;  
ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ri<sub>2</sub>-ḫu-ba-ga*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

*I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-nu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*I-bi<sub>3</sub>-šum*: NE.DI, p.181

<sup>(6)</sup>*I-bu<sub>3</sub>-du*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>(6)</sup>*I-da-du*: dam en, p. 251

*I-da-i<sub>3</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*I-da-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213; muḫaldim, p.223; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*Aš-*  
*dar Ha-a-bi<sub>(2)</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>*, p.164

*I-da-il*: lugal, p.116; NE.DI, p.181

*I-da-lum*: nagar, p.224

*I-da-ma-lik*: ugula GN, p.130

*I-da-NE*: lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]},  
p.161; lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162

*I-da-NE-u<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*I-da-ni-ki-mu*: engar, p.204; llu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-din-  
gir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161; lmaškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
p.220; lugula engar, p.130; lugula GN,  
p.130

*I-da-ne/ni-gi/ki-mu* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ḫar<sup>2</sup>-il*]: lugal,  
p.116

*I-da-ni-ki-mu* (lu<sub>2</sub> *A-zi<sup>2</sup>*): gu<sub>3</sub>-di

see also → *De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu*

*I-da/de<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *GIBIL-ma-lik*: ŠEŠ.II.IB,  
p.167

see also → *De<sub>3</sub>-ni-ki-mu*

*I-du-ba* lugal <sup>3</sup>*A<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-gu<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116

<sup>(6)</sup>*I-du-NI-(I)a*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>(6)</sup>*I-du-nu/u<sub>3</sub>-na*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>(6)</sup>*I-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na-II*: dam en, p. 251

*I-dub-il*: ugula GN, p.130

*I-ga-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN,  
p.130

*I-gi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*I-gi* (*Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*I-gi-lum*: ugula GN, p.130; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*I-gi-lum* ugula *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*I-gu-uš* [dumu-nita *Na-a-ma*]: lugal, p.116

*I-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116

*I-i-bu<sub>16/3</sub>*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114

*I-ib-ma-lik* [lugal *Ti-ga-mi*]: lugal, p.116; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš  
ama-gal en, p.164; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220;  
muḫaldim, p.223

*I-in-i<sub>3</sub>*: nagar, p.224; ugula GN, p.130

*I-in-i<sub>3</sub>* *A-ša-lu-gu<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*I-ku-NI*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*I-ku-<sup>3</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177

*I-lu<sub>(5)</sub>-za<sub>x</sub>-ma-lik*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114;  
maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130

*I-ma-ru<sub>12</sub>* *A-da-aš<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181

*I-mu-da-mu* [dumu-nita en / lugal *I-ti-ni<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal,  
p.116

*I-mu-ud-da-mu*: lugal, p.116

*I-mur-li-im*: lugal, p.116

- I-ni-ḥi-li-im*: ugula GN, p.130
- I-ni-lum Mu-si-lu<sup>ki</sup>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-nu-ub-il*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-nu-ud-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130
- I-nu-ud-Ḥa-lab<sub>x</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162
- I-ra-mu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> 'A<sub>3</sub>-da, p.164
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu*: lugal, p.116; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu* lu<sub>2</sub> Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šum: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu-u<sub>2</sub>/um*: lugal, p.116
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ib-il*: ugula GN, p.130
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-da-mu*: abba<sub>2</sub>, p.101; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-i<sub>3</sub>*: lugal, p.116; ugula GN, p.130; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ma-lik*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> Ib-dur<sup>!!</sup>-ma-lik: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-ze<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-in-na-ba*: lugal, p.116
- I-ri<sub>2</sub>-su Zi-da-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116
- I-šar*: ib, p.213; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-šar (Ḥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>)*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- I-šar (I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir)*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- I-šar A-bar-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-šar dumu-nita I-gi*: lugal, p.116
- I-šar Ir-i-NE-du<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-šar Su-ti-ig<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-šar-ma-lik*: nar, p.177
- <sup>(6)</sup>*I-šar-tum*: dam en, p. 251; NE.DI, p.181
- I-še<sub>3</sub>-mu*: ugula GN, p.130
- I-tag<sub>4</sub>-ni*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-ti-[d]Ga-mi-iš* [ugula]: lugal, p.116
- I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*: šu-i, p.228; *I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164
- I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> dumu-nita A-ḥa-zu<sub>2</sub>-il*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-ti-a-gu<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> En-bu<sub>3</sub>-il*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-ti-ba-li-im*: lugal, p.116
- I-ti-dAš-dar* maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-ti-den-ki*: nar, p.177
- I-ti-dEš<sub>4</sub>-dar*: NE.DI, p.181
- I-ti-dEš<sub>4</sub>-dar* lu<sub>2</sub> En-na(-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>/-ni-il): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-ti-dGa-mi-iš Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*: ma-za-lum, p. 218 (*Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>*); ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- I-ti-d<sub>3</sub>-lam*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- I-ti-dRa-sa-ap*: ma-za-lum, p. 218
- I-ti-d'A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161
- I-ti-ga-ma-lik*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> 'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>, p.164
- I-ti-gi-li-im*: lugal, p.116; ugula GN, p.130
- I-ti-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213; ugula engar, p.130; ugula GN, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- I-ti-ib*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189
- I-ti-il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nagar, p.224
- I-ti-in-NI-lam*: lugal, p.116
- I-ti-ki-da-mu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> 'A<sub>3</sub>-da, p.164
- I-ti-lum*: nar, p.177; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I-ti-ma-il*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- I-ti-na-im*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189
- I-ti-NE*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- I-ti-NE* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dingir-dingir-dingir; pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš en, p.164; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- I-ti-NE* lugal Ab<sub>2</sub>-sa-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig<sup>ki</sup>: lugal, p.116
- I-ti-um*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216
- I-ti-um (Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>)*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- I-za-iš-lu*: ib, p.213
- I-zi-ma-lik*: ma-za-lum, p. 218; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- I-zu<sub>2</sub>-kum-i<sub>3</sub> (A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>)*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107
- I/I<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> 'A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> 'Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>, p.164
- I<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: ugula kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>), p.130
- I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- I<sub>3</sub>-ba-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-ba-il*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-bu-ul-i<sub>3</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181
- I<sub>3</sub>-da-NE* lu<sub>2</sub> Ga-ba-nu: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-du*: nagar, p.224
- I<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>/šum*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- I<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ba*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum Gu<sub>2</sub>-ra-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-ak*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),

- p.220; nar, p.177; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; šu-i, p.228
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal* lu<sub>2</sub> *A-bu*<sub>14</sub>-*gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ra*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*a*-KEŠDA: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ma*<sub>2</sub>-*lum*: en-nun-ak, p.112
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*-II: muḥaldim, p.223
- I<sub>3</sub>-lum-bal*<sub>x</sub>: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- I<sub>3</sub>-sa-dum*: simug, p.226
- I<sub>3</sub>-za-li*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174
- Ib-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*um*: ugula e<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-da-a-bu*<sub>14</sub>: ugula GN, p.130
- Ib-da-ra-ak*: lugal, p.116
- Ib-du*-<sup>d</sup>*Aš-dar*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164
- Ib-du*-<sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-du-i*<sub>3</sub>: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-du-i*<sub>3</sub> (*A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*ga-du*<sup>ki</sup>): KA.DIB, p.160
- Ib-du-i*<sub>3</sub> *A*<sub>2</sub>-*lu*<sup>ki</sup>: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-du-il*: nagar, p.224
- Ib-du-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ib-du-lum*: nar, p.177
- Ib-du-ma-lik*: ib, p.213; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-du-ra*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-du-ra* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-NE-la*: lugal, p.116
- Ib-du-ru*<sub>12</sub>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218
- Ib-dur-a-ru*<sub>12</sub> šeš *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*kab-ar*: lugal, p.116
- Ib-dur-da-ar*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-dur*-<sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*: nar, p.177
- Ib-dur*-<sup>d</sup>*KU-ra*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-dur-i-šar*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>; dub-sar, p.196; lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216 maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nagar, p.224; nar, p.177; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; šu-i, p.228; ugula engar, p.130; ugula simug uru-bar, p.130
- Ib-dur-i-šar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Me*<sup>2</sup>-*la-lu*<sub>x</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *Za-gi-ti-ma* / maškim *I-dub-da-mu*]: lugal, p.116
- Ib-dur-i-šar* *Gub-lu*<sup>ki</sup>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218
- Ib-dur-i*<sub>3</sub>: ib, p.213; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; lu<sub>2</sub> *gi(-di)*; nar, p.177; NE.DI, p.181; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-dur-il*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; engar, p.204; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ib-dur-ma-lik* *Ir-i-NE-du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181
- Ib-dur-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ga-ga*: NE.DI, p.181
- Ib-ga-i*<sub>3</sub> (*en*): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-ga-il*: ašgab, p. 193
- Ib-gi-da-mu*: lugal, p.116; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-gi-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> *Ki-ti-ir*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-gi-tum*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216
- Ib-gi*: NE.DI, p.181
- Ib-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*i-šar* lugal *Iš-du-mu-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: lugal, p.116
- Ib-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu* SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-ḥur*-<sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Ib-ḥur-i*<sub>3</sub>: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; dub-sar, p.196; ib, p. 213; lu<sub>2</sub> *gi(-di)*, p. 177; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ib-ḥur-ma-lik* (*Da-na-aš*<sup>ki</sup>): ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Ib-ḥur-ur*<sub>2</sub>: NE.DI, p.181
- Ib-NE-um*: lugal, p.116
- Ib-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*en-nu*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189
- Ib-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*um* : lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ib-su-ul-da-mu* [lugal *Ša-da-du*<sup>ki</sup>]: lugal, p.116
- Ib-u*<sub>9</sub>-*da-mu* [lugal *Ni-gi-mu*<sup>ki</sup>]: lugal, p.116
- Ib-u*<sub>9</sub>-*mu-ud* [ugula]: lugal, p.116
- Ib-u*<sub>9</sub>-*mu-ud* šeš PN: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-bal*<sub>x</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>
- Ig-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ul-ma-lik*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di, p.158; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p.181
- Ig-na-da-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Gi-gi* / ugula *A-ba-su*<sup>ki</sup> / ugula *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>]: lugal, p.116
- Ig-na-da-ar*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130
- Ig-na-da-im*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114
- Ig-na-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- Ig-na-da-mu* [UL.KI / ur<sub>4</sub>]: lugal, p.116
- Ig-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*iš*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Ig-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*sa/su*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; lugal, p.116; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Iḫ-su-ub-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220
- Il-a/e-i-šar*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p. 107
- Il-da-ga-aš*<sub>2</sub>: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216
- Il-ti*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149
- Il-ti* (*U*<sub>3</sub>-*na-gu*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*a-da-mu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*a-ma-lik*: nar, p.177
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*a/e-i-šar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>]: lugal, p.116
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Mu-gu*<sub>2</sub>): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-ma-lik* : pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap* *gu*<sub>2</sub>-*nu*, p.164; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-šu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167
- Il*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-um*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

- Il<sub>2</sub>-da-ma-ḫu*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-e-i-šar* lu<sub>2</sub> *A(g)-ga*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-uš*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-gu-uš-ti*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš<sup>ki</sup>*: lugal, p.116  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*: BAD e<sub>2</sub> en, p. 106; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula GN, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-zi*-BAD: dub-sar, p.196  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-da-mu*: lugal, p.116  
*Il<sub>2</sub>-zi-li-im*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Il<sub>3</sub>-ba-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Il<sub>3</sub>-ba-um*: lugal, p.116  
*Il<sub>x</sub>-zi-ma*-NI: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*In-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*In-gar<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>), p.130; ugula e<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*In-gar<sub>3</sub>* *Ḫa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*In-gar<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*In-gar<sub>3</sub>-du*: lugal, p.116  
*In-ma-lik*: abba<sub>2</sub>; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nagar, p.224; NE.DI, p.181; ugula GN, p.130  
*In-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Zu<sub>(2)</sub>-ma-na-an*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*In-na-a-ḫu*: NE.DI, p.181  
*In-na-tum*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*In-na-zu-ra*: lugal, p.116  
*In-ni*-PAP: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*In-ti*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*In-ze<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
*In-zi-bu<sub>3</sub>*: šu-i, p.228  
*Ir*-NE: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula engar, p.130  
*Ir-ra*: ugula u<sub>2</sub>-a, p.130  
*Ir-ti*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ir-ti* (*Ar-u<sub>9</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ir-ti* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-ba<sub>4</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-mu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-a-nu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-a-lik*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p.181  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>]: lugal, p.116; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: abba<sub>2</sub>, p.101; di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>); ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu* [di-ku<sub>5</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig-gu<sub>2</sub>-nu*]: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik* : ib, p.213; lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> be, p.164; simug, p.226; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ugula GN, p.130; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-i<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-il*: dub-sar, p.196  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-az<sup>!</sup>-il*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup> *A<sub>3</sub>-da*, p.164  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-az-za-i<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ba-šu* (*A<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-iš-lu*: simug, p.226  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik* [dumu-nita *I-gi* / ka<sub>2</sub> *A<sub>3</sub>-da-ra-tim<sup>ki</sup>* / lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-ḫa-ga*]: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ga-bu<sub>3</sub>* (*Uš-du-lum<sup>ki</sup>*): di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107; lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba*: abba<sub>2</sub>; dub-sar, p.196; ib, p.213; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* *Ni-da-dum<sup>ki</sup>*: azu, p.192  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba* [*A-lu<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ib-ga-ar*: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar*: azu, p.192; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Su-ba-ti* / ugula]: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-NE*: lugal, p.116  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-peš<sub>2</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-peš<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; nar, p.177; ugula GN, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-peš<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>* (lu<sub>2</sub> *U<sub>9</sub>-[za-za]-nu*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ra-gal-lu*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-sa-u<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ir<sub>3</sub>-<sup>!</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ag-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Iš-a-il*: ugula e<sub>2</sub> × PAP, p.130  
*Iš-bi<sub>2</sub>-da/du*: NE.DI, p.181

*Iš-bu<sub>3</sub>-du: ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Iš-da-la<sub>2</sub>*: ašgab, p. 193  
*Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p.181;  
 ugula GN, p.130; ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Iš-da-ma<sub>2</sub>* [lugal 'A<sub>3</sub>-na-ga-ne/nu<sup>ki</sup>]: lugal,  
 p.116  
*Iš-da-mah<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš-da-PA-ma<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš-gi-bu<sub>3</sub>-du: ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Iš-la-da-du*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>*: balag-di, p.172; nar, p.177; NE.DI,  
 p.181; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Iš-la-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-i<sub>3</sub>* dam-gar<sub>3</sub>: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
<sup>①</sup>*Iš-lu/ru<sub>12</sub>-du/ud*: dam en, p. 251  
*Iš-lu/ru<sub>12</sub>-NI-a*: ga-du<sub>8</sub>, p.205  
*Iš-ma-NI*: dub-sar, p.196  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-a-ḥa*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an* lu<sub>2</sub> *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB,  
 p.167  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-ba-an* Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>: ŠEŠ.II.IB  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB,  
 p.167  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-da-mu* [lugal *Du-ub<sup>ki</sup>* / lugal *Na-na-ab<sup>ki</sup>*]:  
 lugal, p.116  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-ga-lu* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Mu-gar<sub>3</sub>*): NE.DI, p.181  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-gar-du*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>3</sub>-du* *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*: nagar, p.224  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-il*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš-ma<sub>2</sub>-šum*: ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Iš-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Iš-ra-il*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; lugal,  
 p.116  
*Iš-ša-mu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Iš<sub>(11)</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* [ugula *A-da-aš<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>* / ugula *Hu-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*]:  
 lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-da-mu*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*: ib, p.213; lugal, p.116; maškim  
 (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-NE-ḤAR*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
 p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *An-na-i<sub>3</sub>*, p.164  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-rum<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ti-lu*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* [di-ku<sub>5</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *La<sub>2</sub>-a-lum*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-<ba->ir<sub>3</sub>*: abba<sub>2</sub>, p.101  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga-um*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ga/gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
 p.220; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula GN, p.130  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-da-ar*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-da-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ša-u<sub>3</sub>-um*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-zu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ma*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gur-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-NE-da*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru-ut*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN,  
 p.130  
<sup>①</sup>*Iš<sub>11</sub>-x-bad<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-a-il*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-a-ma-lik*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-da-mu* [dumu-nita *Ir<sub>3</sub>-kab-ar* / lu<sub>2</sub> *BAD-E<sub>2</sub>* / lu<sub>2</sub>  
*Zi-ba-lum*]: di-ku<sub>5</sub>; lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-ga-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-gi*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-gi-ba-ir<sub>3</sub>*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-gi-da-ar* [lu<sub>2</sub> *Ba-lu-šum*]: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-gi-da-mu* [lugal *Sa-ra-ab<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-zi*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-ar*: lugal, p.116  
*Iš<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-mu*: lugal, p.116

## K

*Ka-NI*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ka-zu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Kam<sub>4</sub>-a<sub>3</sub>-lum*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ugula e<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*KASKAL.DAB-u<sub>3</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Keš<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>①</sup>*Keš<sub>2</sub>-du-ud*: dam en, p. 251  
*Keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da-bal<sub>x</sub> *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*,  
 p.164; ugula GN, p.130  
*Keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik* (*Kak-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*): ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ki-da-na-im*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Ki-da-NI*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ki-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*Ki-nam-ki-iš/su* *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>*: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Ki-ti-ir* [dumu-nita *I-gi*]: lugal, p.116

*Ki-ti-ir* (see also → *Gi-ti-ir*): maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
p.220; ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Ki-ti-ir* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-da-ni-ki-mu*: šEŠ.II.IB, p.167

<sup>①</sup>*Kir-su-ut/du*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Kir-su-ut-II*: dam en, p. 251

*Kir-zu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174

*KU-ra-gar<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Ku-šar* ur<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> *Dam-na-ud*: lugal, p.116

*KU-TU*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; ugula GN, p.130

*KU-TU* [*Da-gar<sub>3</sub>-za-ab<sup>ki</sup>*]: lugal, p.116

*Ku- 'a<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>16</sub>/bu<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177

*Kum-ze<sub>2</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181

*Kum/Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Kum/Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Du-bi<sub>2</sub>*): šEŠ.II.IB,  
p.167

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-a-bi<sub>2</sub>*: simug, p.226

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-a-NE-NAM*: lugal, p.116

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ar*: lugal, p.116

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-da-ba-an*: lugal, p.116

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-nu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116

*Kun<sub>3</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Da-du-lu*: lugal, p.116

## L

*La-a*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>

<sup>①</sup>*La-ba<sub>x</sub>-tum*: dam en, p. 251

*La-da-ad*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107; lugal, p.116

*La-ga-ab*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*La-ga-ma-al<sub>6</sub>*: simug, p.226

*La-ti-a-at*: lugal, p.116

*La- 'a<sub>3</sub>-lu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*La-da-i<sub>3</sub>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

*La<sub>2</sub>-du-gu<sub>2</sub>*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*Lam-da-mu*: lugal, p.116

*Li-ba-du*: lugal, p.116

*Li-ba-at* šeš *I-gi*: lugal, p.116

*Li-ba-kam<sub>4</sub>*: lugal, p.116

*Li-kam<sub>4</sub>*: lugal, p.116

<sup>①</sup>*Li-mu-ud*: dam en, p. 251

*Lu-a-i<sub>3</sub>*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-IGI.NITA, p.130

<sup>①</sup>*Lu-du-du-na*: dam en, p. 251

*Lu-du-na-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213

<sup>①</sup>*Lu-du-u<sub>3</sub>-na(-i/-II)*: dam en, p. 251

*Lu-KASKAL-du*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177

*Lu-la-NI*: azu, p.192

*Lu-maš*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177

*Lu<sub>2</sub>-gi-na*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177

## M

*Ma-a-bar-zu<sub>2</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162

*Ma-a-da-mu*: NE.DI, p.181

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-a-du*: dam en, p. 251

*Ma-amar<sup>!</sup>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-ba-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*: dam en, p. 251

*Ma-bu<sub>14</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>* dumu-nita *Ib-dur-ma-lik*: nagar,  
p.224

*Ma-da-na*: simug, p.226

*Ma-da-si-in*: NE.DI, p.181

*Ma-ga-da*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

*Ma-ga-du*: nar, p.177

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-ga-na-a-du*: dam en, p. 251

*Ma-gal Mi-tum<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-kum-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-kun<sub>3</sub>-NI-a*: ša<sub>3</sub>-zu

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-li-NI-lu*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-NI-a*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-sa-gi-iš-ba-um*: NE.DI, p.181

*Ma-sar*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

*Ma-wa-gi-lu*: ugula GN, p.130

<sup>①</sup>*Ma-za-a-du*: dam en, p. 251

*Ma-za-lu*: nar *Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*, p.177

*Ma-zu-lu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*Ma- 'a<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>*: ib, p.213

*Ma- 'a<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

<sup>①</sup>*Ma<sub>(2)</sub>-ga-ra-du/tum*: dam en, p. 251

*Ma<sub>2</sub>-za-gu<sub>2</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Bu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>* *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: šEŠ.II.IB,  
p.167

*Maḥ-ra-da-mu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

*Maḥ-ri<sub>2</sub>*: šEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Maš-bar*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216

<sup>①</sup>*Maš-ga-ša-du*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Maš-gu<sub>(2)</sub>-du/ud*: dam en, p. 251

MAŠ-KASKAL: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

*Maš-NI-ba*: ugula GN, p.130

<sup>①</sup>*Mi-da-a-nu*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Mi-da-še<sub>3</sub>*: dam en, p. 251

<sup>①</sup>*Mi-da-še<sub>3</sub>-li*: dam en, p. 251

*Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; NE.DI, p.181; ugula  
IGI-NITA, p.130

*Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Hu-nu-ba-am<sub>6</sub>*: nagar, p.224

*Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>* lu<sub>2</sub> *Zu-zu-ba-u<sub>9</sub>*: nagar, p.224

*Mi-ga-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: ugula GN, p.130

*Mi-ga-il*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Mi-gi-il*: ašgab, p. 193  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Mi-kum-d*KU-*ra*: muḥaldim, p.223; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš MA-LIK-TUM, p.164  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Mi-kum-d*KU-*ra* (Ma-du<sup>ki</sup>): dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Mi-li-ga/gi-du/ti*: dam en, p. 251  
*Mi-mi*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Mi-na-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213; nar, p.177  
*Mi-na-il*: ma-za-lum, p. 218  
*Mi-nu-d*KU-*ra*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Mu-du-gi* Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Mu-du-ri<sub>2</sub>/ru<sub>12</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Mu-ga-NE*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Mu-gar<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Mu-lu*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Mu-ma-il*: simug, p.226  
*Mu-mu*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Mu-ne-a-du*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Mu-ri<sub>2</sub>* (Ar-mi[-um]<sup>ki</sup>): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Munu<sub>4</sub>-ma-il*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

N

*Na-a-ma* lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>: lugal, p.116  
*Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ḥa-lu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Na-bi<sub>2</sub>*: ensi<sub>x</sub>, p.158  
*Na-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Na-bu<sub>14</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Na-da-zu*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Na-da<sub>3</sub>-ba-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Na-in-du* Ab-ti-mu<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Na-ma-da-mu*: lugal, p.116; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Na-mi*: dub-sar, p.196  
*Na-ri<sub>2</sub>*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Na-su-um*: lugal, p.116  
*Na-za*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Na-za-an*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Na-zi*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Na-zu-mu*: abba<sub>2</sub>; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Na-zu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*Nab-ḥa-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: lugal, p.116; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Nab-ḥa-il* lu<sub>2</sub> Ḥu-nu Da-bi<sub>2</sub>-na-du<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI,

p.181  
*Nam-ba-lum*: ugula IGI-NITA, p.130  
*Nam-mi-su*: ḤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ne-da-ru<sub>12</sub>*: ib, p.213  
*Ne-dar* (Da-da-ne<sup>ki</sup>): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*NE-gi-sa-ti*: NE.DI, p.181  
*NE-lum*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*NE-na*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*NE-ni-ḤAR / I-NE-ni-ḤAR*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ne-ni-ki-mu* lu<sub>2</sub> GIBIL-ma-lik: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Ne-ti-bu<sub>3</sub>-ud*: dam en, p. 251  
*Ne-za-il*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Ne-zi-il*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ne-zi-ma-a-ḥa*: lugal, p.116  
*Ne-zi-ma-a-ḥu*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*Ne-zi-ma-lik*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; ugula e<sub>2</sub>, p.130; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; muḥaldim, p.223; NE.DI, p.181  
*Ne-zi-ma-ni* lu<sub>2</sub> A-zu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-ra: simug, p.226  
*Ni-a-lu*: ugula IGI-NITA, p.130; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ni-a-su*: lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di), p.177  
*Ni-ba-i<sub>3</sub>*: balag-di, p.172; nagar, p.224; aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*Ni-ba-i<sub>3</sub>* dumu-nita Ir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-ba: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149  
*NI-BE-si-lu*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ni-bu<sub>3</sub>-ul-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ni-da-ba-du*: dam en, p. 251; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ni-da-nu* (Gi-ir-da-mu): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ni-da-u<sub>3</sub>*: ugula bad<sub>3</sub>, p.130  
*Ni-la*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ni-ri<sub>2</sub>-NE-ud*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Ni-sa-nu* Du-si-du<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ni-za-ba<sub>4</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Ni-zi*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ni-zi* (Na-gar<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ni-zi-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177; NE.DI, p.181  
*NI.NUN*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Nu-du*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Nu-gal-i<sub>3</sub>-zi*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Nu-lu/ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(f)</sup>*Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>NIN.ERIM.A, p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš-mi<sub>2</sub> ama-gal en, p.164



*Nu-za-ar/ru*<sub>12</sub>: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

NU.GAL-*mu-da-kaš*<sub>2</sub>: nar *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177

NU.GAL-*zi-ga*: nar *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177

## P

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*(ra-)*<sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*: dam en, p. 251

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*(ra-)*ḥa-*al*<sub>6</sub>: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*be*: ašgab, p. 193

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ḥa-al*<sub>6</sub>: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-a-gu*<sub>2</sub>: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ba* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ti-a-gu*<sub>2</sub>: šu-i, p.228

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-be* (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> *Du-bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ḥu-d*<sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-dutu* *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: simug, p.226

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ḥa-al*<sub>6</sub>: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107; lugal, p.116; simug, p.226

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-il*: ugula GN, p.130

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114; muḥaldim, p.223; nagar, p.224; simug, p.226; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik* (lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*da-mu*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik* [lu<sub>2</sub> *A-ni-um*]: lugal, p.116

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik* dumu-nita *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-*am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-ar*: NE.DI, p.181

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ti-d*<sub>3</sub>-*lam*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ra-ni*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-*ri*<sub>2</sub>: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

## R

*Ra-ba*: lu<sub>2</sub> gi(-di), p.177; NE.DI, p.181

*Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*: dam en, p. 251; BAD-mi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> en, p.106

*Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum* *A-da-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ra-ba*<sub>x</sub>-*tum*-II: dam en, p. 251

*Ra-i-zu*<sub>2</sub>: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161

*Ra-i*<sub>3</sub>-*zu*<sub>2</sub> *Gu*<sub>2</sub>-*ra-bal*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ra-su-ud*: dam en, p. 251

*Ra-u*<sub>3</sub>-*tum*: dam en, p. 251

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-du*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ba-il*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*dam-ma-lik*: ugula GN, p.130

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*du*: dam en, p. 251

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik* [ugula *A-da-aš*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> / ugula kunga<sub>2</sub> /

ugula *Ig-du-ra*<sup>ki</sup>]: lugal, p.116

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš

<sup>d</sup>GA<sub>2</sub>×SIG<sub>7</sub> *Zi-wa-da-ra*<sup>ki</sup>: p.164; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap* SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.164; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167; ugula GN, p.130; ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>), p.130

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*i*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *En-na-i*<sub>3</sub>: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*Ra-sa-ap* <sup>'</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da-ni*<sup>ki</sup>, p.164

*Ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ti*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130; ugula *ir*<sub>3</sub>-*a-num*<sub>3</sub>, p.130

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>14</sub>-*ma*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>3</sub>-*ma-lik*: lugal, p.116; ugula GN, p.130; ugula ma<sub>2</sub>-NE-ma<sub>2</sub>-NE<sup>ki</sup>, p.130

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*bu*<sub>3</sub>-*uš-li-im*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gi-iš-ar*: azu, p.192

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi* *A-du-ur*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-a-aḥ* *Du-še*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-a-aḥ*-II *Du-še*<sub>3</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-ar*: lugal, p.116

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-da-mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-d*<sub>3</sub>-*lam*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-gu*<sub>2</sub>-*lu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *Ir*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>'</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*ag-da-mu*, p.164

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-iš-lu* (*Ir*<sub>3</sub>-<sup>'</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>-*ag-da-mu*): ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-li-im* (Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-li-im* (*U*<sub>9</sub>-*ga-ru*<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-li-im* *A-ti-in*<sup>ki</sup>: lugal, p.116

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-li-im* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-ri*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-ma-lik*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; NE.DI, p.181; ugula GN, p.130

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-ma-lik* *Ar-ḥa-du*<sup>ki</sup>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *I-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*zi-kir* (*Ba-nuki*): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Ra-i-zu*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-na-im* (*A-zi*): ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130

<sup>f</sup>*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zu-mu*: dam en, p. 251

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zu-mu* *A-da-bi*<sub>2</sub>-*ig*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zu-we-rum*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>*A*<sub>3</sub>-*da*, p.164; lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}, p.161

*Ru*<sub>12</sub>-<sup>'</sup>*a*<sub>3</sub>: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189

## S/Š

*Sa-gi-na*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Sa-ḥa-a*: ugula GN, p.130

*Sa-ḥu* *Ma*<sub>2</sub>-*bar-ra*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181

*Ša-li* (*Ša-bar-tum*<sup>ki</sup> / *Ša-bir*<sub>5</sub>-*ti-du*<sup>ki</sup>): nar, p.177  
*Ša-ma-ħu*: nar, p.177  
*Ša-ma-ru*<sub>12</sub>: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Sa-mi-um*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ša-mu-um*: lugal, p.116  
*Ša-na-ħa-an* (*Na-gar*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>): ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ša-ti-lu* (lu<sub>2</sub> ka<sub>2</sub> *Bar-za-ma-u*<sub>3</sub>): ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ša-u*<sub>3</sub>-*um*: lugal, p.116  
*Ša-wa-ra*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ša-za-iš*: nar, p.177  
*Sa-za-iš-lu*: nar, p.177  
*Sa/Ša-ma*: simug, p.226  
*Sa<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-su/si/šum* pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; lugal, p.116;  
 maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Sa<sub>2</sub>-ma*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*SAG-da-kam*<sub>4</sub>: lugal, p.116  
*SAG-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*SAG-gi-du-ud*: dam en, p. 251  
*Sagi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>†</sup>*Sal-li*: dam en, p. 251; NE.DI, p.181  
<sup>†</sup>*Sal-li-II*: NE.DI, p.181  
<sup>†</sup>*Šar-du-du*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*, p.164; dam en, p.  
 251  
*Še-numun*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Še<sub>3</sub>-ba-lum*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Še<sub>3</sub>-ma*-<sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Si-a-ħum*: ib, p.213  
*Si-da* GUL.A: lugal, p.116  
*Si-da-ti*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216  
*Si-dib*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Si-ħa-am* *Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Si-ħa-mu*: dam en, p. 251  
*Si-i-ab*: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Si-ir-da-mu*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Si-la-mu-ud*: nar *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Si-ma-da* *Sa-na-šu*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Si-ma*-<sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *I-bi<sub>2</sub>-zi-kir*, p.164  
*Si-na-ħa-mu*: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Si-na-ma-lik*: dam en, p. 251  
*Si-ti-ša-nu*: nagar, p.224  
<sup>①</sup>*Si(-na)-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du*: dam en, p. 251  
*Su-a-bu*<sub>3</sub>: *ma-za-lum*, p. 218  
*Su-a-gu*<sub>2</sub>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Šu-a-sar* *ħa-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup>: muħaldim, p.223

*Šu-ga-du*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Šu-ga-lum*: ašgab, p. 193; ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum*: muħaldim, p.223; KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114;  
 ugula, p.130  
<sup>①</sup>*Šu-i<sub>3</sub>-lum-II*: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Su-la-am*: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Su-lum*: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
<sup>①</sup>*Su-ma-bad*<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>: dam en, p. 251; ib, p.213  
*Šu-ma*-<sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Šu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>*: muħaldim, p.223  
*Su-ma-il*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Šu-ma-lik* (*Lum-na-an*<sup>ki</sup>): ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Šu-ma-lik* [dumu-nita *Ba-ti-iš-lu<sub>x</sub>*]: lugal, p.116  
*Šu-ma-lik* *Ir-i-NE-du*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Šu-ma-lik* lu<sub>2</sub> *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Šu-ma-lik*: ib, p.213; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220;  
 nagar, p.224; NE.DI, p.181; ugula gu<sub>4</sub>, p.130  
*Su-na-im*: šu-i, p.228  
<sup>①</sup>*Su-na-im/i<sub>3</sub>(-ma-du)*: dam en, p. 251  
*Šu-na*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216  
<sup>†</sup>*Šu-NE-ħAR*: nagar, p.224  
<sup>†</sup>*Šu-NE*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
<sup>†</sup>*Šu-NI/NE-ar*<sub>3</sub>: KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG, p.114  
*Šu-ra-da-mu*: abba<sub>2</sub>, p.101  
*Su-ri<sub>2</sub>-a*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Šu-še<sub>3</sub>* *Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Šu-ti-ir*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>①</sup>*Šu-u<sub>3</sub>-du*: dam en, p. 251; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš *ma-lik-tum*,  
 p.164  
*Su/Šum-ma-il*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Su/Zu-na-im* (šu-i): pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164; šu-i, p.228  
*Šubur*: lugal, p.116  
*Šum-a-ħu*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189  
*Šum-be-li*: nar *Ma-ri*<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Šum-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Sum-ir*<sub>3</sub>: ĤUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
<sup>†</sup>*Šum-ma-il*: lugal, p.116  
<sup>†</sup>*Šur<sub>x</sub>-zi*: NE.DI, p.181

## T

*Tar<sub>x</sub>-zi-na-u<sub>9</sub>*: muħaldim, p.223  
*Ti-ba-mu*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Ti-bu<sub>3</sub>-mu-ud* *A-te-na-ad*<sup>ki</sup>: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ti-ga-num*<sub>2</sub>: nar, p.177  
<sup>①</sup>*Ti-ħa-bu*<sub>3</sub>: dam en, p. 251  
*Ti-ir*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

*Ti-keš<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik U<sub>3</sub>-du-bu<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub>*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216; nagar, p.224  
*Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub> (Ib-du-ra)*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Ti-la-i<sub>3</sub> A-da-bi<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: gu<sub>3</sub>-di  
*Ti-li-su-gu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ti-ra-i<sub>3</sub>/il*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Ti-ra-il*: dub-sar, p.196; pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš dumu-nita en,  
p.164  
*Ti-ru<sub>12</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181  
<sup>①</sup>*Ti-ša-li-im*: MA-LIK-TUM, p.122  
<sup>①</sup>*Ti-ša/še<sub>3</sub>-li-im*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
<sup>①</sup>*Ti-si-lum*: dam en, p. 251  
*Ti-ti-na/nu* [lu<sub>2</sub> kunga<sub>2</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub> En-ga-da-ba-  
an / lu<sub>2</sub> In-sa-da / lu<sub>2</sub> Sa-da-lum / lugal kun-  
ga<sub>2</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>]: lugal, p.116  
*Ti-ti-nu*: ugula GN, p.130; ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>),  
p.130  
*Ti-ti-nu (Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um)*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130

Tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

## U

*U<sub>2</sub>-gu-ša-nu*: KID<sub>2</sub>,SAG, p.114  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ba-a-ba-u<sub>3</sub>*: ugula GN, p.130  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ba-an*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*U<sub>3</sub>-da-sa*: di-ku<sub>5</sub>, p.107  
*U<sub>3</sub>-du-a<sup>?</sup>*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-NE-NE*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-šu(m)*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*U<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*U<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>14</sub>-na-an*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*U<sub>3</sub>-la-ma-u<sub>9</sub>*: azu, p.192  
*U<sub>3</sub>-na-mi-NE*: NE.DI, p.181  
*U<sub>3</sub>-NE-NE*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*U<sub>3</sub>-nu-ne-ne*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub> (Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>)*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-ha-mu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ša (Du-lu<sup>ki</sup>)*: lu<sub>2</sub> kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>, p.216  
*U<sub>3</sub>-ti*: abba<sub>2</sub>, p.101; lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
p.220; šeš.II.IB, p.167; ugula GN, p.130  
*U<sub>3</sub>-wa-bi<sub>2</sub>-iš*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*U<sub>3</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*U<sub>3</sub>-zu (I<sub>3</sub>-mar<sup>ki</sup>)*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*U<sub>3/9</sub>-bu<sub>3/14/16</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*U<sub>9</sub>-a-NE-an*: ugula GN, p.130  
*U<sub>9</sub>-na-na Gu<sub>2</sub>-la-bal<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*U<sub>9</sub>-NE-num<sub>2</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174

*Ub-gu<sub>2</sub>-me-iš*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Ul-lu: ma-za-lum*, p. 218; NE.DI, p.181  
*Ur-na-i<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
*Ur-na-na*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Ur-na-zi-a<sup>!</sup>*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Ur-NE*: nar, p.177  
*Ur-ni lu<sub>2</sub>-kar*: šeš.II.IB, p.167  
*Ur-sa<sub>2</sub>-[utu<sup>?</sup>]*: nar Ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, p.177  
*Ur-še<sub>3</sub>*: nar, p.177  
<sup>①</sup>*Uš-du-<sup>d</sup>KU-ra*: dam en, p. 251  
*Uš-ra-gal-lu*: šu-i, p.228  
*Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*: aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>, p.149; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>),  
p.220  
*Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu / U<sub>3</sub>-aš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu (lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-din-  
gir-dingir-dingir)*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233

## W

*Wa-ad-ra-im*: muḥaldim, p.223  
*Wa-ad-ra-im*: a-ur<sub>4</sub>, p.189; nar, p.177  
*Wa-ba-lum/rum<sub>2</sub>*: ugula nagar, p.130; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula nagar,  
p.130; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Wa-ba-sum*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Wa-bar-tum*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>Utu Ba-ti-in/nu<sup>ki</sup>, p.164  
*Wa-da-<sup>!</sup>a<sub>3</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Wa-na*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>,  
p.130; ugula kunga<sub>2</sub>(-kunga<sub>2</sub>), p.130  
*Wa-ti-lu*: ib, p.213  
*Wa-ti-lu/ru<sub>12</sub>*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Wa-za-rum<sub>2</sub>*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220

## Z

*Za-a-mi*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Za-a-na*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš <sup>d</sup>A<sub>3</sub>-da, p.164  
*Za-a-ti dumu-nita I-gi*: lugal, p.116  
*Za-ba-rum<sub>2</sub>*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220;  
ugula ka<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Za-ga-du*: NE.DI, p.181  
<sup>①</sup>*Za-i-mu*: dam en, p. 251  
*Za-la-li*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
<sup>①</sup>*Za-li*: dam en, p. 251  
*Za-lu-li Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Za-ma-<sup>!</sup>a<sub>3</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Za-mi-ga-ḥu*: lu<sub>2</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>), p.162  
*Za-mi-lu*: ib, p.213  
<sup>①</sup>*Za-na-ma-al<sub>6</sub>*: dam en, p. 251

*Za-ni*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Za-ri<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>14</sub> Da-ra-um<sup>ki</sup>*: nagar, p.224  
*Za-wa-lum*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Za-za-lum*: lugal, p.116; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Za-za-mu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Za-zi lu<sub>2</sub> Ir<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Zar<sub>3</sub>-PEŠ<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub> Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Ze<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Ze<sub>2</sub>-kam<sub>4</sub>*: lugal, p.116; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Ze<sub>2</sub>-kam<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Ni-ga-ma-lik*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Ze<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula GN, p.130  
*Ze<sub>2</sub>-ma-lik (NE-ni-rum<sup>ki</sup>)*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Zi-ba-da*: lugal, p.116  
*Zi-ba-lum*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Zi-ba-lum šeš I-gi*: lugal, p.116  
*Zi-gi*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zi-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> Na-am<sub>6</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-giš*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Zi-i<sub>3</sub>-šar*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Zi-ib<sub>2</sub>-da-mu*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130; maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Zi-ir-a<sup>2</sup>-hu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Zi-ki-ar*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Zi-kir-da-mu*: ugula GN, p.130  
*Zi-kir-ra-ar*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Zi-kir-ra-i<sub>3</sub>*: ib, p.213  
*Zi-kir-ra(-a)-ba<sub>4</sub>*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Zi-la-be*: ib, p.213  
*Zi-la-be (lu<sub>2</sub> <sup>(1)</sup>Bu<sub>3</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>;bar<sub>6</sub>)*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Zi-la-da-mu*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ugula kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>), p.130  
*Zi-la-i<sub>3</sub>*: engar, p.204

*Zi-la-i<sub>3</sub>*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Zi-la-ma-NE*: dam en, p. 251  
*Zi-la-NI*: ugula engar, p.130  
*Zi-li*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Zi-lu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zi-mi-na-ah*: NE.DI, p.181  
*Zi-mi-na-ar*: ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Zi-mi-na-i<sub>3</sub>*: ir<sub>11</sub> ama-gal en, p.214  
*Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*: ugula GN, p.130  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Zi-mi-na-nu*: dam en, p. 251  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Zi-mi-ni-ku<sub>3</sub>;bar<sub>6</sub>*: MA-LIK-TUM, p.122  
*Zi-r*: ugula za<sub>x</sub>, p.130  
*Zi-ra-ma-lik*: lugal, p.116  
*Zi-ri<sub>2</sub>-ig*: nar, p.177  
*Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-dab<sub>6</sub>*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zi-ru<sub>12</sub>-šu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zi-si-u<sub>9</sub> (Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>)*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zi-ti*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220; ur<sub>4/x</sub>, p.233  
*Zu-a-bu<sub>3</sub>*: KID<sub>2</sub>-SAG, p.114  
*Zu-bu<sub>3</sub>-ne Ma<sub>2</sub>-bar-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: NE.DI, p.181  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Zu-ma-NE*: dam en, p. 251  
*Zu-NE-ib*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zu-NE*: ugula sur<sub>x</sub>-kunga<sub>2</sub>, p.130  
*Zu-ni*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Zu-za-um*: nagar, p.224  
*Zu-zu-ga-mu*: HUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI), p.174  
*Zu<sub>(2)</sub>-ba*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba-lum*: maškim (PN<sub>2</sub>), p.220  
*Zu<sub>2</sub>-ba*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš en, p.164  
*Zu<sub>2</sub>-du lu<sub>2</sub> A-a-ga-um*: ŠEŠ.II.IB, p.167  
*Zu<sub>2</sub>-ma-ra-bu<sub>3</sub>*: pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš dumu-nita *Ib-ri<sub>2</sub>-um*, p.164  
<sup>(1)</sup>*Zu<sub>2</sub>-na-i<sub>3</sub>-ma-du*: dam en, p. 251

## Index of Social Terminology Keywords

- A**
- a-bi<sub>2</sub>-(a-)tum*: p.186  
*a-(bu<sub>3</sub>/bi<sub>2</sub>) / ama dingir-dingir-dingir*: p.152  
*a-bu<sub>3</sub>-ḥa-an*: p.152  
 a-am : p.184  
 a-MU / *a-bu<sub>3</sub>*: p.247  
*a-si-ra-tum*: p.187  
 a-ur<sub>4/x</sub>»: p.187  
 \*a.tu<sub>5/22</sub>: p.153  
 abba<sub>2</sub>: p.99  
 aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>: p.147  
 agrig e<sub>2</sub> en: p.102  
 ama(-gal): p.248  
 ašgab: p.191  
 azlag<sub>4/x</sub>: p.189  
 (dam) azu(-mi<sub>2</sub>): p.190  
  
 'a<sub>3</sub>-li-u<sub>3</sub>: p.151  
 \*'a<sub>5</sub>-za-ru<sub>12</sub>: p.188
- B**
- ba-da-lum*: p.103  
*ba-lu-um*: p.153  
 BAD(-mi<sub>2</sub>) e<sub>2</sub>: p.104  
 balag-di: p.170
- D**
- dam: p.192  
 dam [PN/en (GN)] : p.249  
 DAM.DINGIR: p.153  
*da-mu*: p.171  
 di-ku<sub>5</sub>: p.105  
 dub-sar: «scribe»: p.194  
 dub-zu-zu: «expert»: p.198  
 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub>: p.198  
 dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> (PN/en [GN]): p.256  
 dumu-nita: p.200  
 dumu-nita (PN/en [GN]): p.257
- E**
- en: p.107  
 en-nu(n)-ak: p.110  
 \*enku: p.110
- engar: p.202  
 ensi<sub>x</sub> (EN.LI): p.156
- G**
- ga-du<sub>8</sub>: p.203  
 (dam) GA<sub>2</sub>×GI(-GA<sub>2</sub>×GI): p.205  
 geme<sub>2</sub> (12): p.207  
 (lu<sub>2</sub>) gi(-di): p.175  
 gu<sub>3</sub>-di: p.156  
*gum<sub>2</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-im*: p.158  
 (dam) gun<sub>3</sub>[(-gun<sub>3</sub>)-mi<sub>2</sub>]: p.207  
 guruš: p.208
- Ḫ**
- ḪUB<sub>2</sub>(.KI): p.172
- I**
- ib(-ib): p.211  
 igi[!(ME)]-sig: p.111  
 ir<sub>11</sub>: p.212
- K**
- KA.DIB: p.158  
 [lu<sub>2</sub>] kas<sub>4</sub>(-kas<sub>4</sub>) (138): p.214  
 KID<sub>2</sub>.SAG: p.112  
 KU-TU: p.113
- L**
- lu<sub>2</sub> dingir{-dingir[-dingir(-dingir)]}: p.159  
 lugal: p.114
- M**
- MA-LIK-TUM: p.120  
*ma-za-(l)um*: p.216  
 (lu<sub>2</sub>) maš<sub>2</sub>(-maš<sub>2</sub>) (19): p.160  
 maškim: p.218  
 muḫaldim: p.221
- N**
- nagar: p.222  
 (dam) nar(-mi<sub>2</sub>) : p.175  
 (dam) NE.DI(-mi<sub>2</sub>): p.179  
 NIN.NI: p.258
- P**
- (dam) pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš(-mi<sub>2</sub>): p.162
- S**
- simug: p.224

**Š**

ša<sub>3</sub>-zu: p.225  
šEŠ.II.IB: p.165  
šeš(-MU): p.259  
šitim: p.226  
šu-i: p.227

**T**

\*tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>: p.228  
tug<sub>2</sub>-nu-tag: p.229

**U**

(dam) u<sub>2</sub>-a: p.230  
ugula: p.128  
ur<sub>4/x</sub> (268): p.231

**Z**

zag-us<sub>2</sub>: p.149

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## Abbreviations

AAAS	<i>Annales Archéologiques de Syrie</i> (or <i>A. A. Arabes Syriennes</i> ). Damascus.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> . Wien.
AHw	von Soden, W. (1965–1981). <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.
Am. Behav. Sci.	<i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> . New York.
Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i> . Hoboken.
Am. J. Sociol.	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i> . Chicago.
Am. Sociol. Rev.	<i>American Sociological Review</i> . New York.
Amurru I	Durand, J.-M. (éd.) (1996). <i>Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de travaux, Première Partie. Actes du colloque international (Paris, mai 1993)</i> . Paris.
Annu. Rev. Anthropol.	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> . Palo Alto.
Ann. Rev. Ecol. Syst.	<i>Annual Review of Ecology, Evolution and Systematics</i> . Palo Alto.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> . Neukirchen-Vluyn.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> . Berlin.
ARCANE III	Sallaberger, W.; Schrakamp, I. (eds.) (2015). <i>History &amp; Philology</i> . Turnhout. Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East III.
ARES	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla, Studi</i> . Roma.
ARET	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi</i> . Roma.
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> . Hiroshima.
Atti dei Convegna Lincei 304	Matthiae, P. (a cura di) (2016). <i>L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea, Lanuvio (Roma, 8-11 ottobre 2013). Ebla e la Siria dall'età del Bronzo all'età del Ferro</i> . Bari. Atti dei Convegna Lincei 304.
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i> . Barcelona.
BAR S.	<i>BAR International Series</i> . Oxford.
Bilinguismo	Cagni, L. (a cura di) (1984). <i>Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)</i> . Napoli.
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, 1956–2010.
CDG	Leslau, W. (1987). <i>Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)</i> . Wiesbaden.
CMAO	<i>Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale</i> . Roma.
CMAO 18	Vacca, A.; Pizzimenti, S.; Micale, M.G. (a cura di) (2018). <i>A Oriente del Delta. Scritti sull'Egitto ed il Vicino Oriente Antico in onore di Gabriella Scandone Matthiae</i> . Roma. CMAO 18.
DCCLT	Veldhuis, N. (2003–). <i>Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts</i> . URL <a href="http://oracc.org/dcclt">http://oracc.org/dcclt</a> (2019-07-02).
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, J.; Jongeling, K. (1995). <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> . Leiden.
DRS	Cohen, D. (1976–). <i>Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques</i> . La Haye.
DUL	del Olmo Lete, G.; Sanmartín, J. (2015). <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> . Leiden; Boston.

- Ebla 1975-1985* Cagni, L. (a cura di) (1987). *Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici: Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985)*. Napoli. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici Series Minor XXVII.
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- Eblaitica 2* Gordon, C.H.; Rendsburg, G.A. (eds.) (1990). *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language (Vol. II)*, Winona Lake.
- Eblaitica 3* Gordon, C.H.; Rendsburg, G.A. (eds.) (1992). *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language (Vol. III)*, Winona Lake.
- Eblaitica 4* Gordon, C.H.; Rendsburg, G.A. (eds.) (2002). *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language (Vol. IV)*, Winona Lake.
- Fs Finet* Lebeau, M.; Talon, Ph. (éds.) (1989). *Reflets des deux fleuves: volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*. Leuven. Akkadica Supplementum 6.
- Fs Fronzaroli* Marrassini, P. (ed.) (2003). *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pelio Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*. Wiesbaden.
- Fs Kienast* Selz, G.J. (Hg.) (2003). *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*. Münster. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 274.
- Fs Lipiński* Van Lerberghe, K.; Schoors, A. (eds.) (1995). *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*. Leuven. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 65.
- Fs Milano* Corò, P.; Devecchi, E.; De Zorzi, N.; Maiocchi M. (eds.) (2016). *Libiamo ne' lieti calici. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Lucio Milano on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*. Münster. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 436.
- Fs Pettinato* Waetzoldt, H. (Hg.) (2004). *Von Sumer nach Ebla und zurück. Festschrift Giovanni Pettinato zum 27. September 1999 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. Heidelberg. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 9.
- GAG* von Soden, W. (1995). *Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik*. Roma.
- Gs Marrassini* Bausi, A.; Gori, A.; Lusini, G. (eds.) (2014). *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini*. Wiesbaden.
- HANEM* *History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs*. Padova.
- HANES* *History of the Ancient Near East, Studies*. Padova.
- HSAO 2* Hauptmann, H.; Waetzoldt, H. (Hrsg.) (1988). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*. Heidelberg. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2.
- JAH* *Journal of Arts and Humanities*. Beaverton.
- J. Anthropol. Sc. Ox.* *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*. Oxford.
- JAOS* *Journal of the America Oriental Society*. New Haven.
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*. New York; New Haven; Philadelphia.
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. Cambridge.
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*. Leiden.

<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago.
<i>J. Polynesian Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i> . Auckland.
<i>LdE</i>	Cagni, L. (a cura di) (1981). <i>La Lingua di Ebla: Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 21-23 aprile 1980)</i> . Napoli.
<i>LLLE</i>	Fronzaroli, P. (ed.) (1992). <i>Literature and Literary Language at Ebla</i> . Firenze. Quaderni di Semitistica 18.
<i>MARI</i>	<i>Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i> . Paris.
<i>MEE</i>	<i>Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla</i> . Napoli.
<i>Merriam-Webster</i>	<i>Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary</i> (10 <sup>th</sup> ed.). (1999). Springfield.
<i>MisEb 1</i>	Fronzaroli, Pelio (a cura di) (1988a). <i>Miscellanea eblaitica</i> , 1. Firenze. Quaderni di Semitistica 15.
<i>MisEb 2</i>	Fronzaroli, Pelio (a cura di) (1989a). <i>Miscellanea eblaitica</i> , 2. Firenze. Quaderni di Semitistica 16.
<i>MisEb 3</i>	Fronzaroli, Pelio (a cura di) (1990a). <i>Miscellanea eblaitica</i> , 3. Firenze. Quaderni di Semitistica 17.
<i>MisEb 4</i>	Fronzaroli, Pelio (a cura di) (1997a). <i>Miscellanea eblaitica</i> , 4. Firenze. Quaderni di Semitistica 19.
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i> . Paris.
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i> . Fribourg; Schweiz.
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> . Leuven.
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> . Roma.
<i>OA</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i> . Roma.
<i>Pac. Sociol. Rev.</i>	<i>Pacific Sociological Review</i> . Oakland.
<i>PSD</i>	<i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i> . Philadelphia, 1984–.
<i>QdL</i>	<i>Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica</i> . Firenze.
<i>QdS</i>	<i>Quaderni di Semitistica</i> . Firenze.
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> . Paris.
<i>RA 106</i>	Biga, M.G.; Charpin, D.; Durand, J.-M. (éds.) (2012). <i>Recueil d'études historiques, philologiques et épigraphiques en l'honneur de Paolo Matthiae. Première Partie</i> . Paris. <i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> 106.
<i>RA 107</i>	Biga, M.G.; Charpin, D.; Durand, J.-M. (éds.) (2013). <i>Recueil d'études historiques, philologiques et épigraphiques en l'honneur de Paolo Matthiae. Seconde Partie</i> . Paris. <i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> 107.
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin.
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i> . Roma.
<i>SANER</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records</i> . Berlin; Boston.
<i>SciAnt</i>	<i>Scienze dell'Antichità</i> . Roma.
<i>SEb</i>	<i>Studi Eblaiti</i> . Roma.
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico</i> . Verona.
<i>SMEA N.S.</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici. Nuova Serie</i> . Roma.
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<i>Soc. Forces</i>	<i>Social Forces</i> . Oxford.

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- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen*. Neukirchen-Vluyn; Münster.
- VO* Vicino Oriente. Roma.
- WO* *Die Welt des Oriens*. Göttingen; Tübingen.
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- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. Berlin; München.