

## THE "LORDS", LUGAL-LUGAL, OF EBLA A PROSOPOGRAPHIC STUDY\*

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### 0. *The mu-DU texts*

There are three kinds of texts which, year after year and for roughly forty years, document the administrative activities of the palatial organisation of Ebla: 1) the monthly accounts of the distribution of cloth (RMT); 2) the annual accounts of the distribution of precious metals, normally in the form of objects (RAM); 3) texts relating to the deliveries, mu-DU, to the Palace of metals and cloth by the minister (or vizier) and the "lords", lugal-lugal.<sup>1</sup> The first category was created when Arrukum was minister. During the same period, also the RAMs began to be drawn up. Numerous mu-DU texts, some of which are annual accounts, date back to the period prior to Arrukum and these represent the earliest group of documents in the central archive, possibly having been transferred there from a previous archive. The RAM and mu-DU documents took on their definitive form under Ibrium, Arrukum's successor.

None of these documents is dated by year, with the very few exceptions drawn up on the occasion of particular events such as the death of the mother of the king or the death of the vizier Ibrium. Notwithstanding this, it has been possible to assign a fairly certain chronological order to the RAMs of the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-Zikir by taking into consideration the personalities mentioned therein and the occasions on which deliveries were made

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\* List of abbreviations. RMT (= Rendiconto Mensile di Tessuti): monthly account concerning distributions of clothings; RAM (= Rendiconto Annuale di Metalli): annual account concerning distributions of metals; kb.: kù-babbar; kg. = kù-gi; kb. / kg. objects: silver and gold used for objects.

<sup>1</sup> These two types of documents have been identified by the present writer in: *The Archives of Ebla*: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, pp. 79-81. A certain number of RMTs has been published in *ARET* I, IV, VIII.

(expeditions, marriages, births and deaths).<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the wealth of information they contain, the RAMs represent the basis for chronological ordering of the documentary material as it is possible to correlate, for example, certain RMTs with the RAMs.<sup>3</sup>

The mu-DU texts relate both to annual deliveries and goods delivered on particular occasions. The format of the annual document, beginning with Ibrium, consists of four sections: I) deliveries by the vizier: mu-DU *Ib-ri-um / I-bi-zi-kir*, which are by far the greatest; II) deliveries by the lords, mu-DU *lugal-lugal*;<sup>4</sup> III) deliveries by the city-states under Ebla's control; IV) totals of the goods consigned.<sup>5</sup> TM.75.G.1297 gives, for example:

I mu-DU *Ib-ri-um*: 636;00 minas of silver, 10;12 minas of gold, 820;00 minas of copper (a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub>), 2,840 clothings (túg-túg), 2,506 kilts (ib-TÚG)

II mu-DU *lugal-lugal*: 62;50 minas of silver

III mu-DU *nig-ki-za en* "deliveries pertaining to the king": 15;53 minas of silver, 6;47 minas of gold

IV Totals: 714;43 minas of silver, 17;00 minas of gold, 2,999 clothings, 2,700 kilts.

The presence or absence of certain lords enables us to determine a chronological sequence, albeit approximate.<sup>6</sup> We may thus follow the goods entering the Palace year after year. On the basis of this chronological order we may, moreover, approximately date documents of other administrative sectors in which these same "lords", *lugal-lugal*, appear.

For the final period, that of the minister Ibbi-Zikir, we have one text, TM.75.G.2271, which records a total of 287;33 minas of gold and a hundred of so minas of silver "the property (ZA<sub>x</sub>) of Ibbi-Zikir", to decorate objects in his

<sup>2</sup> A. Archi, *Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux (CAM): "Amurru"*, 1 (1996), pp. 73-99.

<sup>3</sup> See M.G. Biga - F. Pomponio: JCS, 42 (1990), pp. 183-188 and MARI, 7 (1993), pp. 118-127; M.G. Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), pp. 29-72.

<sup>4</sup> A. Archi, *Les titres de en et lugal à Ebla et des cadeaux pour le roi de Kish*: MARI, 5 (1987); pp. 37-52; cfr. G. Pettinato, *Ebla, un impero inciso nell'argilla*, Milano 1979, pp. 132-133.

<sup>5</sup> For the mu-DU texts see A. Archi, *Ebla. La formazione di uno stato del III millennio a.C.*: PP, 46 (1991), pp. 204-218; Id.: "Amuru", 1 (1996), pp. 18-23.

<sup>6</sup> This method has been applied by the present writer to the lists of the "sons (and) daughters of the king", *dumu-nita/mi en*; of the "women of the king", *dam en*; of the "musicians", *nar*, and some other officials, in *ARES I*, pp. 222-284. For the *dam en*, see also M.V. Tonietti, *Miscellanea Eblaitica 2*, Firenze 1989, pp. 79-115. A first list of the *lugal-lugal* has been presented by F. Pomponio: *AuOr*, 2 (1984), pp. 127-135.

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possession. The quantities are recorded year after year, for 17 years, clearly those during which Ibbi-Zikir was minister. For 5 of these 17 no deliveries were made: nu-mu-DU. In certain cases it is possible to identify these quantities of metals in the first section of the annual mu-DU texts; these deal, therefore, with a delivery by Ibbi-Zikir, mu-DU *I-bi-zi-kir*, listed among the deliveries for the Palace but destined for the minister's personal use. See *ARET VIII 528*, a mu-DU text which we can now date to the 13th year of the period in which Ibbi-Zikir was minister:

<p><i>ARET VIII 528</i></p> <p>I 11     5 ma-na</p> <p>II 1     53 kù-gi</p> <p>      2     6 bar<sub>6</sub>:kù</p> <p>      3     1 šir-za GIŠ-šudul</p> <p>      4     lú si</p>	<p>TM.75.G.2271 obv.</p> <p>VI 4     5 ma-na 53 kù-gi</p> <p>      5     6 bar<sub>6</sub>:kù</p> <p>      6     šir-za 1 GIŠ-šudul si-si</p> <p>      7     13 mu</p>
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### 1. *The lords of the earliest period: reign of Igriš-Ḫalab and beginning of Irkab-Damu's reign.*

There appear to be only four texts dated to the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab, the third from last king: TM.75.G.1237, TM.77.G.23+80.G.207, and probably also TM.76.G.882 with TM.75.G.11430+11931+11937. The central archive which has survived until today began, therefore, under Irkab-Damu. This king has to be attributed with having built the audience courtyard (L.2752) together with the archive room (L.2769) and the vestibule (L.2875). These were created by using a section of the portico on the eastern side, near the staircase leading to the interior of the royal Palace.

Text Ib 1 (TM.75.G.1237), an inventory of "lance heads", GIŠ-gu-kak-gid-šub, the colophon of which dates it to Igriš-Ḫalab (... *Ig-ri-iš-Ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub> en Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>7</sup> shows that Darmia, Tir, Gugiwan son of Igi and Dubišum ur<sub>4</sub> were "lords" already at the time of this king.

Ib 2 (TM.77.G.23+80.G.207) opens with quantities of gold and silver at the time of the fifth from last king, Kun-Damu; there then follows the silver consigned by the city of Abarsal and further silver attributed to Igriš-Ḫalab. This document shows how Gigi and Ibazinu (together with Dubišum, mentioned

<sup>7</sup> See also obv. II 3-8: *in ud na-rú Ig-ri-iš-Ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub> en Ib-la<sup>ki</sup>*.



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also in the preceding texts), held office as collectors of silver already during the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab.

Ib 3 (TM.76.G.882) mentions Kešdut, as well as Tir and Darmia, who was perhaps the *maliktum* of Igriš-Ḫalab.<sup>8</sup>

Ib 4 (TM.75.G.11430+11931+11937), mainly fragmentary, provides a certain synchronism between some "lords" and Irkab-Damu. Ibazinu, Ibbi-Zikir, Ibu-Damu and Tir deliver (mu-DU) objects in precious metals and clothes to Irkab-Damu, who is perhaps not yet king since he is mentioned by his personal name.

While various documents were drawn up on particular occasions, others are to be seen as annual accounts, given certain internal factors and the totals of the quantities of goods delivered.

Among the lugal-lugal of the earliest period, Darmilu (*Dar-mi-lu*, mostly in the hypocoristic form *Dar-mi-a*) and Tir stand out from the other lords thanks to the value of their deliveries. They both begin their careers under Igriš-Ḫalab (Ib 1, 3, 4). Tir delivers more silver than Darmia, but far fewer clothes and objects:

	Ia 10	Ia 6	Ia 4
Darmia:	100;00 kb.	50;00 kb.	67;10 kb., 5;50 kg.
Tir	110;00 kb.	110;00 kb.	131;53 kb.; 1;00 kg.
	Ia 1	Ia 12	Ia 22
Darmia	3,570 GIŠ-gu-kak.	1,000 túg 864 íb.	894 túg 665 íb.
Tir	211 GIŠ-gu-kak.	130 túg 110 íb.	120 túg 1 íb.

Darmia would seem to have died 6 or 7 years before Tir, since he appears in less than half the number of texts which include the name of his colleague. Tir, however, did not succeed in becoming the head of the administration, Arrukum being chosen instead. Arrukum already appears in some documents of Darmia and the other "lords" who were active during the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab, that is Dubišum ur<sub>4</sub>, Gigi, Gugiwan son of Igi, Ibazinu and Tir (Ib 1-3). Of these, Gugiwan probably remained in office, together with Tir, with Arrukum as minister. When Ibrium replaced Arrukum, Tir also disappeared.

A chronological ordering of these texts is difficult since, in this period, the "lords", lugal-lugal, did not yet represent a fixed group, thus the presence or absence of one of them cannot be used as a certain element in establishing dates (see Table 1). Nor is it possible to establish the period of time covered by

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 105.



	la1	la2	la3	la4	la5	la6	la7	la8	la9	la10	la11	la12	la13	la14	la15	la16	la17	la18	la19	la20	la21	la22	la23	II 1	II 2	II 3	II 4	
A'-à-lu								x										x								x	x	
A-bu		x						x		x					x?			x					x	x				
A-da-mu			x					x		x		x			x	x	x		x				x					
A-KA-LUM	x									x				x								x						
A-mi-l(/-du)								x										x					x		x		x	
Ar-ru <sub>2</sub> -gúm			x	x	x							x			x									x		x	x	x
Ar-si-a-ha								x	x			x						x						x		x	x	x
Ba-ha-ga						x	x		x		x					x												x
Dar-mi-a(/lu)			x	x		x					x		x									x						
EN-bù-uš-Il-irm	x		x					x	x		x	x		x	x	x						x						x
En-na-i di-kud				x	x			x	x							x								x	x	x	x	x
En-na-i(/-li)		x						x											x	x				x	x	x	x	x
En-na-ii Iugal IGI.N.				x			x															x			x			
Ga-(ma)-da-mu			x	x		x									x							x						
Gi-gi		x	x	x											x													
Gú-gi-wa-an		x						x														x			x	x	x	
Ha-ra-il																												
I-ba <sub>x</sub> (/ba)-zi-nu		x										x										x						
I-bi-zi-kir	x	x	x	x				x		x	x	x			x								x	x				
I-ri-gú-nu(/ú)/ri-ig			x	x				x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x				
I-ti-Ga-mi-iš	x	x	x	x						x	x			x	x							x						
Ib-dur-i-šar di-kud								x																x	(x)	x	x	
Ib-ri-um								x				x						x						x	x	x		
Ib-u <sub>2</sub> -mu-ud(/du)																												
Ig-na-da-mu (ul-ki)	x	x	x	x						x				x	x	x	x		x	x								
Ig-ri-iš(/su)								x										x									x	
II-zi		x	x	x								x		x	x								x					
II-zi-da-mu		x	x	x								x		x	x								x					
Ir-da-ma-lik								x			x							x						x	x			x
Ir-kab-ar	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x			x
Iš-da-má						x													x	x								
Iš <sub>x</sub> -da-mu	x									x			x															
Iš <sub>x</sub> -zi-da-mu	x									x	x							x		x								
La-da-at di-kud			x	x	x		x					x			x	x												
Sá-gu-si	x		x							x	x				x		x		x	x								
SUBUR									x			x			x	x												
Ti-ir	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x						x	x	x	x			x
Ti-ti-na ugula B.A.				x											x											x		

Table I. The lords, Iugal-lugal, of the oldest period

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the texts as they do not reflect a format that can be identified with any certainty as covering an entire year. The only criterion, therefore, is that of comparing the total of goods delivered with those of the earliest mu-DU texts of Ibrum's period. We must also bear in mind that while the annual documents of Ibrum and Ibbi-Zikir include both deliveries of metals and those of clothings, in the previous period two documents were sometimes drawn up, one for each kind of goods.

A very few tablets show the formula: x mu "xth year", a dating in use in the documents of Lagaš about of the same period of those from Ebla, where it refers to the year of the sovereign's reign. At Ebla, however, this is used in very few cases and in an apparently anomalous way since the documents cannot be ordered into series according to the number of the years. Text II 1, from the period in which Arrukum was minister and Ennai and Ibdur-išar the "judges", is dated: 3 mu. This should be followed by Ia 5 (relating only to clothing) since this is dated 4 mu. In this Arrukum holds a prominent position, but the "judges" are Ladat and Ennai, and we know that Ibdur-išar succeeded Ladat (see below). In Ia 4, dated 6 mu, Arrukum appears, but it is still Darmia who heads the administration and the "judges" are, in fact, Ladat and Ennai. The "judges" of Ia 7, dated 7 mu, are again Ladat and Ennai (the text is fragmentary). It is doubtful whether 7 mu in Ia 7 may refer to the period of the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab and 3 mu of II 1 to the 3rd year of Irkab-Damu (II 2, 3 and 4 are not dated).

There is no reason to doubt that these judges administered justice (there are, however, no precise references to this activity). The function of the other lords was that of "overseeing" certain important sections of the administration. The term ugula is occasionally used instead of lugal, as in IV 1 (Ibbi-Zikir), where the usual formula mu-DU lugal-lugal is replaced by mu-DU ugula-ugula. In Ia 10 the lords are called ugula because they are listed as collectors of cattle and sheep. The term lugal was a title reflecting the status of such officials. Ennai is called both lugal and ugula IGI.NITA (index 1). Enna-damu is lugal and lú lâl, "responsible for the honey"; Titinu is also lugal / lú BAR.AN. For Enna-malik and Na'a-malik, only the title of "lord of the serfs" is attested, lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>. 'Agi, Dubišum, Dunusagi, Igna-damu, IrNiba and Kušar were ur<sub>4</sub>.

According to Ia 12 (to be dated to the time of king Irkab-Damu), a good 7,000 "workers", guruš, came under the lords, while the Palace had 4,700. The lords, therefore, had the task of organising certain sectors of work outside the city of Ebla and of collecting the deliveries of goods to the Palace such as cattle and

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sheep.<sup>9</sup> Those lords who were overseers of villages, instead do not appear regularly in the mu-DU lists. For PN lugal GN, see *A-ma-lik*, *A-mu-ti*, *Dam-da-il*, *I-bí-šum*, *I-du-ba*, *I-gú-uš-li-im*, *I-ib-ma-lik*, *I-mu-da-mu*, *I-ti-NE*, *Ib-gú-i-šar*, *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-da-mu*, *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*, *Ib-su-ul-da-mu*, *Íl-uš-li-im*, *Iš-má-da-mu*, *Iš<sub>x</sub>-gi-da-mu*, *Ki-li-im* (index 1); PN ugula GN: *Du-bí*, *En-na-i*, *Ig-na-da-ar*, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*, *Ri-i-ma-lik* (indices 2-3).

Until the 2nd year of Ibrium (III 2), the lugal-lugal who directed the deliveries towards the palatial administration were not a closed group. Numerous documents recording goods delivered on particular occasions (the Ib texts) belong to this earlier phase where, alongside the more frequently mentioned lugal-lugal, others appear, some not mentioned anywhere else (see in particular Ib 8 and 17). It was Ibrium who, at the time that Ebla was imposing itself as a regional state, gave a more solid structure to the administration.

### 1.1. Documents which seem to concern annual deliveries of the Darmia and Tir's period: group Ia<sup>10</sup>

Ia 1) TM.75.G.1219 (*Eblaitica* I, n. 3, p. 78). (1) LAM-*da-mu*: 14;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 8;00 kb.; (3) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 9;00 kb.; (4) *I-ti-ga-mi-iš*: 2;00 kb.; (5) *I-ri-gu-um*: 1;00 kb.; (6) A-KA-LUM: 8;00 kb.; (7) *Sá-gu-si*: 12;00 kb.; (8) *Ír-[ka]b-[ar]*: 6;00 b.; (9) LAM-*zi-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 9;00 kb.; (11) LAM-*zi*: 5;00 kb.; (12) *Za-[x-x]-mu*: 4;00 kb.; (13) EN-*bù-uš-li-im*: 4;00 kb.; (14) *Ti-ir*: 80;00 kb.; (15) *Dar-mi-lu*: 93;00 kb. AN.ŠE.GÛ: 257;00(l) (260;00) kb.

Ia 2) MEE II 15 (TM.75.G.1296). (1) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 14;00 kb.; (2) *Íl-zi*: 6;00; (3) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-ki*: 6;00; (4) *Ír-kab-ar*: 3;10; (5) *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*: 1;54; (6) *A-bu*: 6;00; (7) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 11;00; (8) *Gi-gi*: 14;00 kb.; (9) *En-na-il*: 1;00 kb.; (10) *Ti-ti-na*: 2;00 kb.; (11) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 5;00; (12) *Ti-ir*: 120;00 kb. 2;00 kg. 60 [ ] 20;00 zabar 30;00 urudu 78 objects; (13) *Du-bí-šum*: 9;00; (14) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 4;00 kb.; (15) *Gú-gi-wa-an*: 4;00(l). AN.ŠE.GÛ: 203;00(l) (203;04) kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal 2+4 mu

<sup>9</sup> See Ia 13 and nos. 17-21 in SEb, 7 (1984), pp. 68-72.

<sup>10</sup> These texts are listed according to the inventory number, because a preciser datation remains too uncertain. When the total of the goods does not agree with that given in the tablet, this is noted in brackets. The amounts of metals are expressed in minas (1 mina = 470 gr), and shekels (1 shekel = 7;83 gr).



Ia 3) MEE II 34 (TM.75.G.1350). (1) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 530 tóg 840 ib-TÚG; (2) *En-na*-BAD lú *Sá-gu-si*: 10 tóg 4 ib-TÚG; (3) *Dar-mi-a*: 1,810 tóg 1,550 ib-TÚG; (4) *Ti-ir*: 500 tóg 230 ib-TÚG; (5) *La-da-at*: 460 tóg 300 ib-TÚG; (6) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 7 tóg; (7) *Íl-zi*: 90 tóg 110 ib-TÚG; (8) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 70 tóg 70 ib-TÚG; (9) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 100 tóg 100 ib-TÚG; (10) *A-da-mu*: 30 tóg 10 ib-TÚG; (11) *Sá-gu-si*: 10 tóg 2 ib-TÚG; (12) *Ga-da-mu*: 20 tóg; (13) *Ír-kab-ar*: 102 tóg 13 ib-TÚG; (14) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 40 tóg 20 ib-TÚG; (15) EN-*bù-uš-li-im*: 34 tóg 4 ib-TÚG; (16) *Gi-gi*: 70 tóg 110 ib-TÚG; (17) *I-ri-gú-nu*: 15 tóg 10 ib-TÚG; (18) *I-ti*<sup>d</sup>*Ga-mi-iš*: 12 tóg 9 ib-TÚG; (19) <sup>2</sup>*Á-gi*ur<sub>4</sub>: 142 tóg 81 ib-TÚG; (20) *Gi-li-im*: 10 tóg 1 ib-TÚG; (21) *A-na-ma*: 15 tóg 10 ib-TÚG. dub lugal-lugal na-rú. AN.ŠĒ.GŪ 4,078(l) (4,077) tóg 3,500(l) (3,479) ib-TÚG

Ia 4) MEE II 36 (TM.75.G.1357). (1) *Ti-ir*: 131;53 kb. 1;00 kg.; (2) *Íl-zi*: 10;00 kb.; (3) *Dar-mi-a*: 67;10 kb. 5;50 kg.; (4) *La-da-at* 23;50 kb. 2;00 kg.; (5) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub> 23;50 kb. 2;00 kg.; (6) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-ki*: 5;23 kb.; (7) *I-ri-gú-nu*: 4;55; (8) *Ti-ti-na* lugal BAR.AN-BAR.AN: 2;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-kab-ar*: 3;55 kb.; (10) *I-ti*<sup>d</sup>*Ga-mi-iš*: 4;30 kb.; (11) *Gi-gi*: 11;40 kb.; (12) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 4;50 kb.; (13) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 24;00 kb.; (14) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 10;30 kb.; (15) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 2;30 kg.; (GNs); (16) *En-na-il* lugal IGI.NITA-IGI.NITA); (17) *Ga-da-mu*: 7;20 kb. AN.ŠĒ.GŪ: 315;56(l) (311;66) kb. 11;20 kg. mu-DU lugal-lugal; 5;18 mu-DU en. 6 mu

Ia 5) MEE II 44 (TM.75.G.1370). (1) *La-da-at* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 294 tóg 40 ib-TÚG; (2) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 59 tóg 20 ib-TÚG; (3) *Ír-kab-ar*: 19 tóg; (4) *Ti-ir*: 358 tóg 160 ib-TÚG; (5) *Ki-li-im*: 10 tóg 10 ib-TÚG; (mu-DU *A-bar-sal*<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *Ma-ri*<sup>ki</sup>); (6) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 345 ib-TÚG; (7) <sup>2</sup>*Á-gi*"ur<sub>4</sub>": 19 tóg. 4 mu

Ia 6) MEE II 47 (TM.75.G.1373). (1) *Ti-ir*: 110;00 kb.; (2) *Dar-mi-a*: 50;00 kb.; (*A-bar-sal*<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>, AMBAR<sup>ki</sup>); (3) *Ga-da-ba-an* lú *I-bi-ne-gi-mu*: 0;10;2 kb.; (4) *Íl-uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš*<sup>ki</sup>: 0;19;5 kb.; (5) *Ga-ma-da-mu*: 0;20 kb.; (6) *Iš-da-má* lugal <sup>2</sup>*Á-na-ga-nu*<sup>ki</sup>: 0;14 kb.; (7) *A-mu-ti* lugal *A-ra-à-du*<sup>ki</sup>: 0;15; (8) *I-mu-da-mu* dumu-nita en: 0;19 kb.; (9) *Ba-ħa-ga*: 2;33 kb.; (10) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-da-mu* lugal NI-*gi-mu*<sup>ki</sup>: 1;34 kb. objects; (*Ga-ra-mu*<sup>ki</sup>) mu-DU lugal-lugal ... 2(?) mu

Ia 7) TM.75.G.1374. (1) *La-da-at* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 10;05 kb.; (2) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 6;00 kb.; [...]; (3') *Ti-ti-na* [ ]; (4') *Ír-kab-ar*; (5') *Li-ba-kam*<sub>4</sub> [ ]; (6') *Ba-ħa-ga*: 6;50 kb.; 1;00 kg.; (7') *En-na-il* lugal IGI.NITA-IGI.NITA: 0;57; (17 GNs). 7 mu

Ia 8) TM.75.G.1461. (1) *Ti-ir*: 90;00 kb. 80;00 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 60 tóg ib-TÚG; (2) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 15;00 kb. an object in gold; (3) [*I-ri-i*g-*da-mu*]: 13 tóg 35 ib-TÚG [X]; (4) A-

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*bu*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *En-na-i* (6) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 220[+x] tóg 150[+x] *ib-TÚG* objects; (7) *En-na-BAD*: 11;00 kb.; (8) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 7;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-kab-ar*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 4;00 kb.; (12) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 4;00 kb.; (13) *Ti-ti-na*: 2;00 kb.; (14) *En-na-il*: 1 object; (15) *Kùn-zé*: 10 tóg. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ: 197;00 kb.; 324 tóg mu-DU lugal-lugal 2 mu

Ia 9) TM.75.G.1491. (1) *Ig-rí-iš*: 270 tóg; (2) *Na-ma-da-mu*: 250 tóg; (3) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 210 tóg; (4) *Ib-rí-um*: 300 tóg; (5) *Dub-da-ar*: 300 tóg; (6) *A-da-mu*: 200 tóg; (7) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 190 tóg; (8) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 150 tóg; (9) *A-ʾà-lu<sub>5</sub>*: 60 tóg; (10) *A-mi-i*: 80 tóg; (11) *Is<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-a-il* (12) *Ti-ir* (13) *Gú-gi-wa-an* (14) ŠUBUR (15) *Ba-ḥa-ga*: 100 tóg. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ: 2,010 tóg lugal-lugal

Ia 10) ARET II 25 (TM.75.G.1549). (1) *Sá-gu-si* ugula: 1,000[+x] gud ù IGI.NITA 60 BAR.AN 9,400 udu; (2) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 3,700 udu 800 gud; (3) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud* ugula: 1,500[+x] gud 3,400 udu; (4) *I-ti-Ga-mi-iš* ugula: 1,430[+x] gud ù IGI.NITA 28 BAR.AN 2,000 udu; (5) *Ír-kab-ar* ugula: 800 gud ù IGI.NITA 9,800 udu; (6) *I-bí-zi-kir* ugula: 2,600 gud 1,000 IGI.SAL 570 BAR.AN 7,700 udu. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 11,788 gud ù IGI.NITA 36,100 udu in-na-sum lugal-lugal

Ia 11) TM.75.G.1553. (1) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 11;00 kb.; (2) *I-rí-gu-ú*: 3;00 kb.; (3) *I-ti-Ga-mi-iš*: 2;00 kb.; (4) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 7;00 kb.; (5) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 4;00 kb.; (6) *Ír-kab-ar*: 1;23 kb.; (7) *Sá-gu-si*(MÁ): 10;30 kb.; (8) *A-KA-LUM*: 4;10 kb.; (9) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-zi*: 2;00 kb.; (10) *Ba-ḥi-ga*: 5;30 kb. 0;19 kg.; (11) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-mu*: 5;00; (12) *Du-nu-si-ki*: 14;00 kb.; (13) *Dar-mi-a*: 100;00 kb.; (14) *Ti-ir*: 110;00 kb.; (15) é *I-gi*: 40;00; (16) é *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu*: 40;00 kb.; (17) *In-na-zu-ra*: 106;00. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 69;00 lugal-lugal. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ: 69;00 kb. lugal-lugal (the total referred to the lugal-lugal includes the deliveries until Dunusiki)

Ia 12) TM.75.G.1655. (1) *Ti-ir*: 800 guruš; (2) *A-bu*: 600 guruš; (3) *Ib-rí-um*: 600 guruš; (4) *A-da-mu*: 600 guruš; (5) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 400 guruš; (6) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 400 guruš; (7) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 500 guruš; (8) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 600 guruš; (9) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 500 guruš; (10) *Za-za-LUM*: 600 guruš; (11) *Ír-kab-ar*: 400 guruš; (12) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-zi-da-mu*: 500 guruš; (13) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 400 guruš; (14) ŠUBUR: 100 guruš; 4,700 guruš SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ '11,700' guruš (7,000 workers of the lords + 4,700 workers of the Palace)

Ia 13) TM.75.G.1686. (1) *La-da-at* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 125 tóg 66 *ib-TÚG*; (2) *Dar-mi-a* 1,000 tóg 864 *ib-TÚG*; (3) *Íl-zi*: 51 tóg 41 *ib-TÚG*; (4) *Ti-ir*: 130 tóg 110 *ib-TÚG*; (5) *Ír-kab-ar*: 53 tóg 30 *ib-TÚG*; (6) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 10 tóg; (7) *Du-na-sa-gi*: 16 tóg 4 *ib-*

TÚG; (8) *ʔÁ-gi*: 10 túg; (9) *Gi-li-im*: 10 túg 10 íb-TÚG; (10) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 9 túg 4 íb-TÚG; AN.ŠĚ.GŪ: 1,445(!) túg 1,115(!) íb-TÚG

Ia 14) ARET I 29 (TM.5.G.1702). (1) *Iš*<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-*da-mu*: 14;00 kb. 0;14 kg. 300 túg 310 íb-TÚG; (2) *Ti-ir*: 80;00 kb. 2;05 kg. 170 túg 100 íb-TÚG; (3) *Hu-mi-lu*: 93;00 kb. 1;16 kg. objects 522 túg 430 íb-TÚG; (4) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 8;00 kb. 0;52 kg. object 108 túg 22 íb-TÚG; (5) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 9;00 kb. 9 túg 5 íb-TÚG; (6) *I-ti-Ga-mi-iš*: 1;51 kb.; (7) EN-*bù-uš-li-im*: 4;00 kb.; (8) *I-rí-gu-ú*: 1;00 kb.; (9) A-KA-LUM: 8;00 kb. 341 túg 290 íb-TÚG. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 216;50 kb.(!) (218;51) 7;10 kg. (4;27) 1,450 túg 1,135(!) (1,147) íb-TÚG

Ia 15) TM.75.G.1733+4511+4514. (1) *Dar-mi-a*: 191;00 kb. [x+]<sub>1</sub>: [x] kg.; (2) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 50;00 kb. 1;10 kg.; (3) *Ti-ir*: 1;15 kb.; (4) *Gi-gi*: [x] kb. [x] kg.; (5) *Íl-zi*: 13;00 kb. 1; 20 kg.; (6) *Ír-kab-ar*: 7;00 kb. 2;00 kg.; (7) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 20;00 kb. 2;00 kg.; (8) *La-da-at di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 34;00 kb.; (9) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 47;00 kb.; (10) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 5;00 kb. 1;00 kg.; (11) *A-da-mu*: 5;00 kb. 1;00 kg.; (12) *I-ti-Ga-mi-iš*: 4;30 kb.; (13) *Ba-ħa-ga*: 3;50 kb. 0;16 kg.; (14) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 1;30 kg.; (15) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-kí*: 10;00 kb. 1;10 kg.; (16) EN-*bù-uš-li-im*: 5;00 kb. 1;00 kg.; (17) *En-na-da-mu lugal lál*: 6;00; (18) ŠUBUR: 3;00 kb.; (19) *Ti-ti-na lugal BAR.AN*: 5;00 kb.; (20) *Ga-da-mu*: 19;00 kb.; (21) *Sá-gu-si*: 2;30 kb. [ ]; (22) *ʔÁ-gi ur<sub>4</sub>*: 6;00 kb.; (23) *Ír-NI-ba ur<sub>4</sub>*: 5;20 kb.; [

Ia 16) TM.75.G.1762. (1) *La-da-at di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 84[+x] túg 20 íb-TÚG; (2) *En-na-i di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 73[+x] túg; (3) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-kí*: 47 túg 28[+x] íb-TÚG; (4) *A-bu Ti-wa-ga-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*: 5 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (5) EN-*bù-uš-li-im*: 71[+x] túg; (6) GIBIL-*zi-í*: 20 túg; (7) ŠUBUR: 8 túg 5 íb-TÚG; (8) *Ti-ir*: 309 túg 120 íb-TÚG; (9) *Íl-zi*: 92[+x] túg 99[+x] íb-TÚG; (10) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 56 túg; (11) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 82[+x] túg 30 íb-TÚG; (12) *A-da-mu*: 75 túg; [

Ia 17) TM.75.G.1968. (1) *Sá-gu-si*: 370 túg; (2) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 250 túg; (3) *Iš*<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-*zi*: 300 túg; (4) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 300 túg; (5) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 100 túg; (6) *Iš*<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-*zi-da-mu*: 150 túg; (7) *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*: 100 túg; (8) *Ír-kab-ar*: 200 túg; (9) *A-da-mu*: 200 túg; (10) *I-rí-gu-ú*: 50 túg.; AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 2,020 túg dub lugal lugal

Ia 18) ARET VII 21 (TM.75.G.2018). (1) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 2;28[+x] kb. *áš-du* 5 mu mu-DU é en; (2) *A-mi-du*: 7;16 kb.; (3) *Ig-rí-su*: 4;40 kb.; (4) *Ib-rí-um*: 1;02 kb.; (5) *A-ʔá-lu*: 5;18 kb.; (6) *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: 5;12 kb. 9 udu; (7) *Ír-kab-ar*: 6;34 kb.;



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(8) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 0;02 kb. 9 udu; (9) *Iš-má-da-mu*: 5;18 kb.; (10) *A-bu*: 2;00 kb. 3 udu

Ia 19) TM.75.G.2113, I. (1) *Iš-da-má*: 2;00 kb. 20 tóg; (2) *EN-da-zi*: 2;00 kb. 20 tóg; (3) *Sá-gu-si*: 2;00 kb.; (4) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 2;00 kb.; (5) *I-ri-ig*: 2;00 kb.; (6) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-zi-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (7) *En-na-i*: 1;00 kb.; (8) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (9) *A-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (10) *Ir-kab-ar*: 0;28 kb. 13;30(I) (14;28) 2 mu in-na-sum lugal-lugal

Ia 20) TM.75.G.2113, II. (1) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 4;00 kb.; (2) *Sá-gu-si*: 5;00 kb.; (3) *I-ri-ig*: 3;32 kb.; (4) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 2;00 kb.; (5) *Ir-kab-ar*: 2;00 kb.; (6) *En-na-i*: 2;00 kb.; (7) *I-ti-ga-mi-iš*: 1;00 kb.; (8) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-zi-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (9) *Iš-da-má*: 2;00 kb.; (10) *EN-da-zi*: 2;00 kb. šu-nigin 25;00(I) (24;32) kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal

Ia 21) TM.75.G.2349 (*SEb* 7 [1984], pp. 58-63). (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gú-ma*: 47(?) gud; (2) [ -i] [ ]ki: 33 gud; (3) *Gú-gi-wa-an*: 37[+x] gud; (4) [ ]: 317 gud; (5) *Ti-ir*: 7[+x] gud; (6) [ ]: 39 gud; (7) *Šu-ma-lik*: 374 gud; (8) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 445 gud; (9) *EN-mar-ru<sub>12</sub>*: 367 gud; (10) [ ]: 385[+x] gud; (11) *Ga-ma-da-mu*: 352 gud; (12) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*: 403 gud; (13) *Zé-kam<sub>4</sub>*: 341 gud; (14) [*I-ri*]-*gú-nu*: 354[+x] gud; (15) [ ]: 376 gud; (16) *I-da-iš*: 275[+x]; (17) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 2[+x] gud; (18) *En-na-il* ugula: 64 gud; ... (cfr. rev. V 2-4: 100 gud-áb šu-du<sub>8</sub> lugal-lugal)

Ia 22) TM.75.G.2576. (1) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu*: 430 tóg 315 ib-TÚG; (2) *Ir-kab-ar*: 20 tóg; (3) *Dar-mi-lu*: 894 tóg 665 ib-TÚG; (4) *A-KA-LUM*: [x] tóg 20 ib-TÚG; (5) *Ti-ir*: 120 tóg 1 ib-TÚG; [ ]; (6') *'Á-i-šar*: [ ]; (7') *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 12 tóg

Ia 23 [or II]) TM.75.G.10024+*ARET* III 342 (TM.75.G.3389)(+). (1) *Ti-ir*: 100;00 kb. 20;00 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 110 tóg 5 ib-TÚG; (2) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 7;00; (3) *A-bu*: 10;00; (4) *I-ri-gú-nu*: 3;00; (5) *Ir-kab-ar* lú *Su-ba-ti*: 3;00; (6) <X X> di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 24;20 kb. 20 tóg 30 ib-TÚG; (7) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 2;30; (8) *Íl-zi*: 2;50 kb.; (9) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar*: 4;20; (10) *A-mi-t*: 4;00 kb.; (11) *A-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (12) *Ir-kab-ar*: 2;10 kb.; (13) *Du-bi-šum*: 40;00 kb. 1;04 objects 138 tóg 37 ib-TÚG; (14) [*Ri-i*]-*ma-lik*: 43;30 kb. 1;15 kg. 130 tóg 300 ib-TÚG; (15) *Ki-ti-ir*: 7;42 kb. 0;10 kg. 127 tóg 106 ib-TÚG; [ ]. AN.ŠE.GU 337;36 kb. 10;44 kg. 692 tóg 529 ib-TÚG

Ia 24 [or II]) TM.75.G.10062 (fragmentary). [ ]; (1') *Iš-da-má*; (2') *Ib-ri-um*; (3') *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*; (4') *Ib-dur-i-šar*; (5') *Kùn-zé*; (6') *Ar-si-a-ḥa*; (7) *Ir-kab-ar*; (8') *A-bu*; (9') *Iš-má-da-mu*; (10') *En-na*-BAD lú *Sá-gu-si*; (11') *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu* lú

*I-ri-ig-gú-nu*; (12') *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-[mu-ud]*; (13') [ -]šum lú *Ba-zi-da*; *I-ri-ga-ma-al<sub>6</sub> Gi-sá*; (14') [ ]; (15') é *Sá-gu-si*; (16') *Iš-má-da-mu*; (17') *A[r- ]*; (18') *Ar-si-a-ḫa*; (19') *Ib-dur-i-šar*; (20') *Ḫa-ra-it*; (21') *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*; (22') *Zi-ba-da*

1.2. Documents concerning occasional deliveries of the Darmia and Tir's period: group Ib

Ib 1) TM.75.G.1237. (1) *Dar-mi-a*: 3,510 small spear heads + 60 large spear heads (*GIŠ-gu-kak-gid-šub tur / máḫ*); (2) *Ti-ir*: 211; (3) *Gú-gi-wa-an lú I-gi*: 200; (4) *Du-bi-šum ur<sub>4</sub>*: 10

Ib 2) TM.77.G.23+80.G.207. (1) *Du-bi-šum*: 90;00 kb. objects; (2) *I-ba<sub>4</sub>-zi-nu*: 4;00 kb.; (3) *Gi-gi*: 1;00 kb.; (4) = (1) *Du-bi-šum*: 2;00 kb.

Ib 3) TM.76.G.882: (1) *Ti-ir*: 260;00 kb. objects; (2) *Dar-mi-a*: 70;00 [+x?] kb. objects

Ib 4) TM.75.G.11430+11931+11937 (fragmentary text). (*mu-DU NI-ra-arki, Ma-nu-ti-um<sup>ki</sup>*) (1') *I-bi-zi-kir*; (2') *Ti-ir*; (3') *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-da-mu*; (4') *I-ba<sub>1</sub>-zi-nu*

Ib 5) TM.75.G.1226 (cfr. *Eblaitica* 1, n. 4, pp. 79-81). (1) *A-da-mu*: 1;07 + 1;00 + 1;00 kb.; (2) *La-ti-a-at*: 0;45 + 0;38 kb.; (3) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 9;12 + 2;04 + 5;00 + 2;45 + 2;00 kb. 0;36 kg.; (4) *EN-bù-ma-lik*: 2;11 + 0;23 + 1;50 kb.; (5) *Ḫr-kab-ar*: 1;22 + 0;25 + 1;37 + 1;50;5 + 1;09 + 1;00 kb.; (6) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-zi-da-mu*: 2;49 [*lugal-lugal Ig-du-ra<sub>k</sub>i*] + 1;00 (*lugal A-u<sub>9</sub>-šum<sup>ki</sup>*) + 2;00 (*lugal Ig-dur-ra<sup>ki</sup>*) + 2;25 + 1;00 kb.; (7) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>mu-ud* 10;23 + 2;10 + 6;00 + 8;50 + 4;00 kb.; (8) *Sá-gu-si*: 5;15 + 1;08 + 2;00 + 9;00 + 4;25 + 2;00 kb. 0;06 kg.; (9) *EN-da-zi*: 2;06 + 1;00 kb.; (10) *Iš-da-má*: 2.00 + 1;00 kb.; (11) *I-ri-gu-ú*: 2;35 + 1;00 kb.; (12) <*Ri-i-ma-lik*(?) *ugula*> *A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 8;40 kb.; (13) *Nu-a<sup>2</sup>-ma*: 2;46 kb.; (14) *I-ti-ga-mi-iš*: 1;00 + 1;00 kb.; (15) *Ig-da-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: 2;37 kb.; (16) *En-na-i*: 2;00 kb.; (17) *I-ri-ig*: 3;00 kb.

Ib 6) TM.75.G.1267 (*Eblaitica* 1, n. 2, pp. 75-76). (1) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 1;40 kb.; (2) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 1;40 kb.; (3) *Gi-gi*: 1;40 kb.; (4) *La-da-at*: 1;40 kb.; (5) *Ḫr-kab-ar*: 1;10 kb.; (6) *Ḫi-zi-da-mu*: 1;10 kb.; (7) *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*: 1;00 kb.; (8) *Ḫi-zi*: 2;00 kb.; (9) *A-da-mu*: 1;10 kb.; (10) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-ki*: 1;20 kb.; (11) ŠUBUR: 0;30 kb.; (12) *Dar-mi-a*: 1;00 kb.; (13) *I-ri-gú-nu*: 0;40 kb.; (14) *En-na-i di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 3;00; (15) *A-bu*: 0;20 kb.; (16) *Ti-ir*: 2;30; (17) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 2;30. AN.ŠĒ.GŪ: 25;00 kb.; in-na-sum 2 mu ; lugal-lugal

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Ib 7) TM.75.G.1277. (1) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 0;50 kb.; (2) *Na-a-ma lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*: 0;27; (3) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 0;50; (4) *En-na-i di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 0;50 kb.; (5) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-ki*: 0;50; (6) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 0;50 kb.; (7) *La-da-at di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 0;50 kb.; (8) *Íl-zi*: 0;50 kb.; (9) *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 0;50 kb.; (10) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 0;50 kb.; (11) *Du-na-sa-gi "ur<sub>4</sub>"*: 0;27 kb.; (12) *'Á[- ]*: 0;07[+x] kb.; (13) *Ír-NI-ba*: 0;20[+x] kb.; (14) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 0;27 kb.; (15) *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*: 0;27 kb.; (16) *Dar-mi-a*: 0;50 kb.; (17) *En-na-ma-lik lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*: 0;15 kb.; (18) ŠUBUR: 0;27 kb.; (19) *A-da-mu*: 0;50 kb.; (20) *Ti-ir*: 0;50 kb.; (21) *En-na-da-mu lú lal*: 0;27 kb. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ: 14;18 kb.; (22) *Gú-gi-wa-an*: 0;27 kb. (4 oblique lines)

Ib 8) MEE II 14 (TM.75.G.1295). (1) *Ti-ti-na lú BAR.AN-BAR.AN*: tóg; (2) *A-KA-LUM*: 27 tóg; (3) ŠUBUR: 6 tóg 5 íb-TÚG; (4) *Za-za-LUM*: 1 tóg; (5) *I-mur-li-im*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (6) *Li-ba-'du'*: 3 tóg 3 íb-TÚG; (7) *I-rí-in-na-ba*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (8) *I-mu-ud-da-mu*: 3 tóg 2 íb-TÚG; (9) *I-rí-ig-zé*: 1 tóg; (10) *EN-gi-iš-ar*: 1 tóg 2 íb-TÚG; (11) *En-na-í*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (12) *'Á-wa-ra*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (13) *A-ma-lik*: 2 tóg 2 íb-TÚG; (14) *I-ti-gi-li-im*: 6 tóg 5 íb-TÚG; (15) *Ír-ib-ga-ar*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (16) *Ša-mu-um*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (17) *I-ti-in-NI-LAM*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (18) *Ib-dur-i-šar*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (19) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu*: 1 tóg; (20) *I-bí-da-mu lugal NE-ba-ra-at<sup>ki</sup>*: 14 íb-TÚG; (21) *EN-zi-ma-lik*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (22) *Ar-si-a ħa*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (23) *A-me-í*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (24) *EN-ga-u<sub>9</sub>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (25) *Ír-NI-ba ur<sub>4</sub>*: 13 tóg 5 íb-TÚG; (26) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 1 tóg 2 íb-TÚG; (27) *Ti-ti-na lú Sa-da-LUM*: 1 tóg; (28) *Ib-dur-a-ru<sub>12</sub> šeš Ír-kab-ar*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (29) *EN-zi-li-im A-ti-in<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 íb-TÚG; (30) *Iš-da-máh*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (31) *Dam-da-il lugal 'Á-nu-ga-at<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (32) *I-rí-su Zi-da-gú<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 gir; (33) *Iš-má-da-mu lugal Du-ub<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg; (34) *I-ti-NE lugal Áb-sa-rí-ig<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 íb-TÚG; (35) *Iš-má-da-mu lugal Na-na-ab<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 0;20 kb.; (36) *A-bù Dùl-wa-ga-ba-al<sub>6</sub>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG 0;20 kb.; (37) *Li-kam<sub>4</sub>*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (38) *Du-zi-kir*: 1 tóg; (39) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu dumu-nita Ír-kab-ar*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 108 tóg 61 íb.

Ib 9) TM.75.G.1314. (1) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (2) *I-šar dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (3) *Gú-gi-wa-an dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (4) *'Á-wa-ra dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (5) *GIBIL dum-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (6) *Ír-da-ma-lik dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (7) *Gi-ti-ir*: 1 tóg; (8) *I-mur-li-im*: 1 tóg; (9) *Du-zi-kir*: 1 tóg; (10) *Ig-na-da-mu ul-ki*: 4 tóg 1 íb-TÚG 3 objects; (11) *Gi-gi*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (12) *A-KA-LUM*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (13) *Íl-zi*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (14) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (15) *I-ba-zi-nu*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (16) *Du-zi-kir*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TÚG. lugal-lugal in-na-sum ... AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 23 tóg 8 íb.

Ib 10) MEE II 26 (TM.75.G.1338). (1) *Du-bí-šum lú EN-SID*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG; (2) *Du-zi-kir*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TÚG object; (3) *Zi-ba-LUM šeš I-gi*: 4 tóg 2 íb-TÚG object;



A. Archi

(4) *En-na-ma-lik* lú *Ga-rí*: 10 túg 10 íb-TÚG 3;00 kb.; (5) *GIBIL-za-il*: 30 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (6) *Ib-dur-il*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (7) *dumu-nita-dumu-nita lugal A-sa-al<sub>6</sub>ki*: 4 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (8) *Ib-gi-da-mu*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG objects; (9) *I-ti-ba-li-im*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG object; (10) *Ib-gi-da-mu dumu-nita en*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG object; (11) *Iš-má-da-mu*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (12) *dumu-nita-dumu-nita Du-za-ma-lik NI-du-úr*: 1;00 kb.; (13) *Šu-ma-lik*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (14) *I-bí-da-si-in*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (15) *Na-su-um*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (16) *I-bí-šum*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (17) *A-gi-NI*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (18) *I-da-ne-gi-mu*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (19) *Da-gàr-za-ab<sub>ki</sub>*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (20) *I-gú-uš*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (21) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>(BÜ)-ra-ma-lik*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (22) *I-ib-ma-lik*: 3 túg 2 íb-TÚG object; (23) *Iš-da-má*: 4 túg; (24) *dumu-nita I-gi-da-mu*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (25) *EN-šum*: 1;00 kb.; (26) *A-mu-ti*: 4 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (27) *In-zé*: 3 túg 3 íb-TÚG object. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 90 túg

Ib 11) *MEE* II 27 (TM.75.G.1339). (1) *Kùn-a-NE-NAM*: 3 túg 2 íb-TÚG; (2) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 80 túg 40 íb-TÚG; (3) *Gú-gi-wa-an* lú *I-gi*: 14 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (4) *A-KA-LUM*: 20 túg (é *dumu-nita A.*); (5) *En-na-BAD dumu-nita Sá-gu-si*: 23 túg 3 íb-TÚG; (6) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 213 túg; (7) *Du-zi-kir* lú *Su-ba-ti*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (8) *A-gi-NI*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (9) *En-na-il* lú *’Á-za-du*: 4 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (10) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-mu lugal Sa-ra-ap<sub>ki</sub>*: 29 túg 50 íb-TÚG; (11) *’Á-gi ur<sub>4</sub>*: 8 túg; (12) *Li-ba-at šeš I-gi*: 4 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (13) *Ti-ti-na lugal BAR.AN-BAR.AN*: 20 túg; (14) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm Lu-da-u<sub>9</sub>ki*: 1 túg; (15) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu* lú *BAD-Ē*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (16) *’Á-wa-ra dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 túg; (17) *Gi-gi*: 231[+x] túg 120 íb-TÚG; (18) *NE-zi-ma-a-ħa lugal Gú-GIG*: 2 túg; (19) *Ib-gi-da-mu A-na-áš<sub>ki</sub>*: 10 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (20) *Na-a-ma lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>*: 13 túg 10 íb-TÚG; (21) *Sá-gu-si*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; 14 túg; (22) *Šu-ma-lik dumu-nita Ba-ti-iš-lu<sub>x</sub>*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG; (23) *KU-tu Da-gàr-[za-a]b<sub>ki</sub>*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG; (24) *Īr-NI-ba ur<sub>4</sub>*: 10 túg 10 íb-TÚG; (25) *Si-da GUL.A*: 2 túg 1 íb-TÚG; (26) *En-na-da-mu* lú *lál*: 26 túg 10 íb-TÚG; (27) *Du-na-sa-gi*: 29 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (28) *Ib-dur-i-šar* lú *Me<sup>?</sup>-la-lu<sub>x</sub>*: 22 túg 4 íb-TÚG; (29) *Ib-dur-i-šar maškim I-dub-da-mu*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG; 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG 1 object; (30) *Ba-ħa-ga*: 7 túg 1à íb-TÚG; (31) *Ti-ti-na* lú *In-sa-da*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG

Ib 12) *MEE* II 38 (TM.75.G.1359). (1) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 0;20 kg.; (2) *Gi-gi*: 0;20 kg.; (3) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 0;20 kg.; (4) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 0;15 kg.; (5) *Īl-zi*: 0;15 kg.; (6) *La-da-at*: 0;10 kg.; (7) *En-na-i*: 0;10 kg.; (8) *A-da-mu*: 0;10 kg.; (9) *Īr-kab-ar*: 0;10 kg.; (10) *Īl-zi-da-mu*: 0;10 kg.; (11) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 0;14 kg.; (12) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 0;10 kg.; (13) *A-bu*: 0;10 kg.; (14) *Ti-ir*: 0;20 kg. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ 3;13(I) (3;14) kg. mu-DU lugal-lugal

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Ib 13) TM.75.G.1437. (1) *Ir-ga-bù Uš-du-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>: 1 túg; (2) *Il-ba-um*: 2 túg; (3) *Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar lú Ba-lu-šum*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (4) *Ib-gi-da-mu Ū-ru<sub>12</sub>-KA*: 1 túg object; (5) *I-šar dumu-nita I-gi*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (6) *I-du-ba lugal 'Á-ru<sub>12</sub>-gú<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (7) *EN-ma-lik*: 3 túg; (8) *Iš-da-má lugal 'Á-na-ga-NE<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 túg 3 ib-TÚG; (9) *I-ib-ma-lik lugal Ti-ga-mi*: 2 túg 2 ib-TÚG; (10) *A-mu-ti lugal A-ra-'à-du<sup>ki</sup>*: 5 túg 3 ib-TÚG; (11) *Ib-gú-i-šar lugal Iš-du-mu-gú<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (12) *I-mu-da-mu lugal I-ti-NI<sup>ki</sup>*: 5 túg 2 ib-TÚG. AN.ŠÈ.GŪ 21 túg 12 ib-TÚG

Ib 14) TM.75.G.1465. I (1) *Ib-rí-um* (2) *Na-ma-da-mu* (3) *Ig-rí-iš* (4) *[A-]'à-lu* (5) *En-na-il* (6) *A-mi-i* (7) *Iš-má-da-mu* (8) *Gú-gi-wa-an* (9) *[Ti-]r* (11) *Kam<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*

II (1) *Ib-rí-um* (2) *Na-ma-da-mu* (3) *Ig-rí-iš* (4) *A-'à-lu* (5) *En-na-il* (6) *A-mi-i* (7) *Dub-da-ar* (8) *Ir-da-ma-lik* (9) *EN-bù-us-li-im* (10) *Ar-si-a-ḥa* (11) *Iš-má-da-mu* (12) *Ša-ù-um* (13) *Gú-gi-wa-an* (14) *KU-tu* (15) *Ti-ir* (16) *Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu* (17) *Kùn-zé* (18) *Kùn-da-ar* (19) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu* (20) *EN-zi-da-ar*

III (1) *Iš-má-gar-du* (2) *Ir-⟨da-⟩ma-lik* (3) *Sag-da-kam<sub>4</sub>* (4) *Ar-[ ]* (5) *EN-da-za* (6) *Da-zi-ma-ad* (7) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu* (8) *Dub-da-ar* (9) *Ig-rí-iš* (10) *Ar-si-a-ḥa* (11) *EN-bù-uš-lim* (12) *[ ]*

IV (1) *Ib-rí-um* (2) *Na-ma-da-mu* (3) *Ša-ù-um* (4) *[ ]* (5) *En-na-il* (6) *Gú-gi-wa-an* (7) *[ ]*

V (1) *Ib-rí-um* (2) *Dub-da-ar* (3) *[ -]da-mu* (4) *Ša-ù-um*

VI (1) *Ir-da-ma-lik* (2) *Ig-rí-iš* (3) *Ar-si-a-ḥa* (4) *Ib-rí-um* (5) *A-[mi-]'i'* (6) *Iš-má-da-mu* (7) *Gú-gi-wa-an*

VII (1) *Ir-da-ma-lik* (2) *Iš-má-da-mu* (3) *Ib-rí-um* (4) *A-mi-i* (5) *A-'à-lu* (6) *Gú-gi-wa-an*

VIII (1) *Dub-da-ar* (2) *A-mi-i* (3) *A-'à-lu* (4) *Ig-rí-iš* (5) *En-na-il*

IX (1) *Ša-ù-um* (2) *Ib-rí-um* (3) *Ig-rí-iš* (4) *Dub-da-ar* (5) *En-na-il*

Ib 15) ARET 1 30 (TM.75.G.1702). (1) *Du-bí-šum*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG 0;20 kb.; (2) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG objects; (3) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG 0;30 kb.; (4) *Ir-kab-ar*: 2 túg 0;16 kb.; (5) *A-bu*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG objects; (6) *Ti-ir*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG objects; (7) *Sá-gu-sí*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (8) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 1;00 kb.; (9) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (10) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (11) *ŠUBUR*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (12) *Il-zi-da-mu*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (13) *Ir-da-ma-lik*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (14) *En-na-BAD*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG; (15) *Ba-ḥa-ga*: 0;18 kb.; (16) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG 0;20 kb.; (17) *En-na-da-mu*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG 1 object; (18) *En-na-i di-kus*: 1 túg 1 ib-TÚG 0;15 kb.; (19) *Il-zi*: 2 túg 1 ib-TÚG 0;22 kb.; (20) *BAD-da-mu*: 1 túg. AN.ŠÈ.GŪ ... mu-DU en

Ib 16) TM.75.G.1714. (1) *Iš-da-má*: 2;00 kb.; (2) *EN-da-zi*: 2;00 kb.; (3) *Sá-gu-si*: 2;00 kb.; (4) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-mu-ud*: 2;00 kb.; (5) *I-rí-ig*: 2;00 kb.; (6) *'Iš<sub>x</sub>'(LAM)[-zi]-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (7) *En-na-i*: 2;00 kb.; (8) *Ig-na-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (9) *A-da-mu*: 1;00 kb.; (10) *Ír-kab-ar*: 0;33(?) kb. <AN.ŠĚ.GŪ> 14;30(I) (14;33 [?]) lugal-lugal

Ib 17) TM.75.G.1769. (1) *A-mu-ti lugal NE-na-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (2) *EN-ma-ar lú Ū-sa*: 1 tóg; (3) *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-da-mu lugal NI-gi-mu<sup>ki</sup>*: 17 tóg 10 íb-TŪG; (4) *Ga-ma-da-mu dumu-nita Iš-ù-ra*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (5) *Ku-šar ur<sub>4</sub> lú Dam-na-ud*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (6) *Ki-li-im lugal Wa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>*: 24 tóg 20 íb-TŪG; (7) *I-gú-uš-li-im lugal Za-ra-mi-iš<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 tóg; (8) *EN-ga-u<sub>9</sub> lugal dam-dingir*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (9) *Ig-na-da-mu ur<sub>4</sub>*: 2 tóg 41 íb-TŪG object; (10) *Ga-da-ba-an dumu-nita I-bí-ne-gi-mu*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (11) *en Ĥa-zu-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 tóg object; (12) *A-mu-ti lugal Mar-tum<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (13) *Ib-su-ul-da-mu lugal Ša-da-du<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (14) *I-bí-šum lugal 'Á-ma-at<sup>ki</sup> lú Za-lu-ut<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (15) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 17 tóg; (16) *I-da-ne-gi-mu lú Ib-ħar<sup>?</sup>-il*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (17) *I-bí-šum Ša-da-dub<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (18) *I-gú-uš dumu-nita Na-a-ma*: 3 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (19) *Gú-ra-ra-ab<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (20) *Du-bí-šum lú EN-ŠID*: 6 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (21) *Gur-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu lú Sa-mu-um*: 4 tóg; (22) *A-mi-i*: 3 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (23) *GIBIL dumu-nita I-gi*: 3 tóg; (24) *Za-a-ti dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (25) *Ki-ti-ir dumu-nita I-gi*: 1 tóg; (26) *EN-gi-iš 'Á-wa-ad<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (27) *I-bí-šum lú Ba-lu-šum*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (28) *BAD-da-mu*: 15 tóg; (29) *A-ma-lik lugal NE-zi-gi-NI<sup>ki</sup>*: 2 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (30) *Ti-ti-na lú EN-ga-da-ba-an*: 2 tóg; (31) *En-na-il A-wa-du<sup>ki</sup>*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (32) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-da-mu lú Zi-ba-LUM*: 1 tóg; (33) *In-gàr-du*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG; (34) *[Kùn/In]-zé lú Da-du-lu*: 1 tóg 1 íb-TŪG. AN.ŠĚ.GŪ ... 7 mu

Ib 18) *ARET VII 71 (TM.75.G.1283)*. (1) *Ti-ir*: 1;05 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Si-da-NE-ir<sup>ki</sup>*; (2) *Ír-kab-ar*: 1;05 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Mar-ma-gú<sup>ki</sup>*; (3) *Ib-rí-um*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Ū-gú-ra-at<sup>ki</sup>*; (4) *A-mi-i*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Ab-a-li-ig<sup>ki</sup>*; (5) *A-'á-lu*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *NI-ki-mu<sup>ki</sup>*; (6) *Du-bí*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Ša-ħa-ru<sub>12</sub><sup>ki</sup>*; (7) *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *NE-ir<sup>ki</sup> lú I-ba<sup>ki</sup>*; (8) *Iš-má-da-mu*: 1;00 kb. nig-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 BAR.AN *Na-za-rí-a-an<sup>ki</sup>*; (9) *Ig-rí-iš*: <x kb.> 1 BAR.AN nig-sa<sub>10</sub>; (10) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 1 BAR.AN nig-sa<sub>10</sub>; (11) *A-bu*: 1 BAR.AN nig-sa<sub>10</sub>

Ib 19) TM.75.G.2140. ([1a] *'Iš<sub>x</sub>'(LAM)-a-ma-lik* [2a] *[A]r-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 1 kù-sal kb.; *I-si-rúm Ti-NI<sup>ki</sup>(?)*: 1 kù-sal kb.; *Da-'gàr<sup>?</sup>-du*: 1 kù-sal; *I-da-il*: 1 kù-sal; *Ib-u<sub>9</sub>-um*: 1 <kù-sal>) (1) *Zu-zi-da*: 1; (2) *EN-ar-ma*: 1; (3) *Ib-da-ra-ak*: 1; (4) *A-BAD*: 1; (5) *Iš-ra-il*: 1; (6) *I-da-ni-ki-mu*; (7) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-a-ma-lik*; (8) *Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*; (9)



## The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

*Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik*; (10) *I-bi-zi-kir*; (11) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik* lú A-NI-um; (12) *Ib-dur-i-šar*; (13) *Šum-ma-il*. 13 lugal-lugal

Ib 20) TM.75.G.10086. (1) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 3 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (2) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar*: 3 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (3) *Za-za-LUM*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (4) *Ti-ir*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (5) *I-ba<sub>x</sub>-zi-nu*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (6) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (7) *A-da-mu*: 1 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (8) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (9) *Ib-rí-um*: 1 túg 1 íb-TÚG objects; (10) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (11) *A-bu*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (12) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects; (13) *Ír-kab-ar*: 2 túg 2 íb-TÚG objects. ... dub gar in-na-sum lugal-lugal ...

### 2. The lords contemporary of minister Arrukum; reign of Irkab-Damu

Arrukum perhaps came from *Lu-da-u<sub>9</sub>ki* (Ib 11), a place not attested in other documents. The first text attributed to Arrukum as minister is perhaps II 1. According to this document, Arrukum delivers the same amount of unworked silver (100 minas) as Tir, by then already one of the most important lords for some years, together with Darmilu. Arrukum, however, also delivers silver and gold objects, of the respective value of 10 and 12 minas, as well as several hundred pieces of clothing. The section recording his deliveries concludes the document. In the other three texts, II 2, 3 and 4, this section is, instead, placed at the beginning and this order is used also in his successors' records, those of Ibrum and Ibbi-Zikir.

We cannot rule out the possibility that texts Ia 22, 23 and 24, listed in the previous paragraph, are to be attributed to the period of Arrukum's supremacy. Their fragmentary state prevents their being placed in a certain chronology.

II 1) TM.75.G.1459. (1) *En-na-i* and (2) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 31;30 kb. 325 túg 182 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ti-ir*: 100;00 kb. 50;00 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 70 túg, ugula BĀD<sup>ki</sup> ugula BĀD<sup>ki</sup> *Ti-ir*: 1;50 kb.; (4) *I-bi-zi-kir*: 16;00 kb.; (5) *En-na-il*: 20;00 kb. 54 túg 17 íb-TÚG; (6) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb. 2 túg; (7) *A-bu*: 10;00 kb.; (8) *I-rí-gú-nu*: 6;00; (9) *Ír-kab-ar*: 7;00 kb.; (10) *Gú-gi-wa-an*: 1;00; (11) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-mu*: 8;00 kb.; (12) *Ar-si-a-ḥa*: 4;11; (13) *Ti-ti-na*: 2;00 kb.; (14) *Ib-rí-um*: 4;00; (15) *En-na-il* ugula IGI.NITA: 1;00; (16) *En-na-BAD*: 48;57 kb. (in part objects) 1;30 kg.; (17) *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-gúm*: 110;44 kb. (in part objects) 12;48 kg. (objects) 706 túg 500 íb-TÚG. AN.ŠĒ.GŪ: 380;13 kb. 14;18 kg. 1,192 túg mu-DU lugal-lugal 3 mu

II 2) TM.75.G.3195 + 3197 + 3391 + 3395 (ARET III 168 + 170 + 344) + 5643 + 11421: (1) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 86; 38 kb. objects kg. 800 túg 106 íb-TÚG; (2) *Na-am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu*: 10;00 kb.; (3) [*En-n*]a-*it*: 60;00 kb. objects; (4) [*Gú-gi*]-[*wa*]-*an*: [x] kb.; (5) *Ti-ti-na*: [x] kb.; (6) [ ] 5;00 kb.; (7) *Kùn-zé* [ ]; (8) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 1;00 kg (objects) clothings; (9) *A-mi-i*: 2;00 kb. objects; (10) *Kam*<sub>4</sub>-*da-mu*: 20;00 kb. clothings; (11) 'Íš<sub>x</sub>'([LA]M)-*gi-da-ar*: 1;00 kb. (objects) clothings; (12) *En-na-i*: [x] kb. clothings kg. (objects); (13) [*Ib-dur-i-šar*]: clothings 1;00 kb. (object); (14) *Ib-ri-um* [ ]; (15) *En-na-it*: 22;00 kb. objects

II 3) TM.75.G.1897+3390 (ARET III 343). (1) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 140;00 kb. 13;32 kg. (objects) 1,070 túg 90 íb-TÚG; (2) *Ar-si-a-ħa*: 5;20 kb.; (3) *Ig-ri-iš*: 5;23 kb. object; (4) *Ti-ir*: 90;00 kb. 52[+x] túg 1 íb-TÚG; (5) *En-na-i* and (6) *Ib-dur-i-šar*: 6;30 kb. 78 túg; (7) *Kam*<sub>4</sub>-*da-mu*: 14 túg 3 íb-TÚG object; (8) *Iš<sub>x</sub>*(LAM)-*a-ma-lik* ugula *iš<sub>11</sub>-ki Du-u*[b<sup>ki</sup>](?): 141 túg; (9) *Dab*<sub>6</sub>-*da-ar*: 13;00 kb.; (10) *En-na-it*: 4;00 kb.; (11) *EN-bù-uš-li-im*: 4;00 kb.; (12) *Na-am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu*: 10;00 kb.; (13) *Ib-ri-um*: 1 íb-TÚG; (14) *A-ʾà-lu*: nu-mu-DU; (15) [ ]; (16) [ ]; (17) [ ]; (18) *Gú-gi-wa-an*: 1 túg

II 4) MEE II 50 (TM.75.G.1378) + ARET III 52. (1) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: '200;20' kb. (part in object) 9;10 kg. (objects) 1,510 túg 462 íb-TÚG; (2) *Ti-ir*: 131;00 kb.; 5;09 (objects) kg.; 134;00 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 104 túg 50 íb-TÚG; (3) *Du-bí*: 9;00 kb.; 0;10 kg.; (4) *Na-am*<sub>6</sub>-*da-mu*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *Ar-si-a-ħa*: 5;00 kb.; 46 túg 30 íb-TÚG; (6) *A-ʾà-lu*: 4;30 kb.; (7) *Ba-ħi-ga*: 2;00 kb.; (8) *A-mi-i*: 4;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-kab-ar*: 11;00 kb.; (10) *Ír-da-ma-lik* (*áš-du* ug<sub>7</sub>): 10;00 kb. 2;40 kg. (objects) 9;00 zabar 34 túg; (11) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 14;10 kb. 120 túg 40 íb-TÚG; (12) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 5;50 kb. 80 túg 10 íb-TÚG; (13) *Iš-má-da-mu*: 4;10 kb.; (14) *En-na-i* (ug<sub>7</sub> *ma-za-um*): 1;40 kb.; (15) *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gúm*: 30 túg

### 3. The lords of minister Ibrium; reign of Išar-Damu

Arrukum was succeeded by Ibrium, who already appears in the lists of the period following Darmilu, when Tir was first among the lords. In the documents of Arrukum (II 1 and 2), he does not hold an important position.<sup>11</sup> His

<sup>11</sup> The name *Ib-ri-um* is rather uncommon (see *Ib-ri Ga-ga-duki*, TM.75.G.1881 obv. X 2-3). I. J. Gelb: L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981, p. 34, has interpreted this name "as a nominal name based on *barājum* 'to see': /Jbrijum/ "He has seen". M. Bonechi and A. Catagnoti: SEL, 15 (1998), pp. 37-38, suggest that "Ibrium's profession was that reflected by the etymology of

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nomination to minister seems to have marked a break with the previous administration, if we may base such suppositions purely on administrative documents.

There are 18 annual mu-DU texts of Ibrium. Only a few of these are annotated: mu-DU 1 mu "deliveries (of) one year" (III 2, 4, 8, 9, 11). There is no doubt, however, that the others were also annual: they all (with the exception of III 1) have the same format of four sections described above (section 0). A further four texts (IIIa 1-4) record deliveries of the "lords", lugal-lugal, on particular occasions; that relating to the priestess Tinib-Dulum (III 4) is dated to the final years of Ibrium or the first of Ibbi-Zikir.<sup>12</sup>

The annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals (RAMs) attributed to Ibrium number 17, one fewer than the mu-DU texts. This difference may be due to the fact that one fragmentary RAM has not yet been identified. It is also possible that the accounting of RAMs concluded in a different month and, thus, an annual account fell in the period of the previous or successive minister.

The last of the mu-DU texts is III 18, drawn up the year of Ibrium's death: DIŠ mu ug<sub>7</sub> *Ib-ri-um*. The sequence of the other documents is uncertain. Text III 1 has been considered the first since it does not yet show the four-part structure discussed above (which, however, has been used already in two mu-DU texts of Arrukum, II 1, 2), and the deliveries made by Ibrium are recorded in the middle of the text rather than at the beginning. Text III 1 gives exceptionally a date: the year following the death of the king, 2 mu ug<sub>7</sub> en, who must be Irkab-Damu. Other texts (TM.75.G.1462; MEE X 4) would seem to demonstrate that in the year of this king's death, Ibrium already held the position of minister.<sup>13</sup> Should III 1, therefore, be preceded by another mu-DU text?

An initial chronological order is given by the sequence of names of the "judges". Ennai (/ Ennani-il) and Ibdur-išar, who held such positions already before Arrukum was minister, appear in III 1-4. The post of Ibdur-išar is then taken by Iram-dar (III 5-8) who is, in turn, soon replaced by Iš-damu (III 9-11). When Ennai disappears, after possibly 19 years' service, Ile-išar is alongside Iš-damu. The sequence of judges is thus as follows: III 1-4: Ennai (Ennani-il in

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his PN", that is that he was a diviner ("*nomen - omen*"). There is no evidence in favour of it. Further, for example, the name of Richard Wagner's son, Siegfried, is in some way significant of the father's expectations and not of the son's personality.

<sup>12</sup> For TM.75.G.2022 (III 4), see Archi, "*Und Moses schrieb dieses Lied auf*". *Festschrift O. Loretz*, Münster 1998, p. 48

<sup>13</sup> See Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), pp. 23-26.



3, 4) - Ibdur-išar; 5-8: Ennani-il (Ennai in 7) - Iram-dar (in 8: Iram-dar - Ennani-il); 9-11: Ennani-il (Ennai in 11) - Iš-damu; 12-18: Iš-damu - Ile-išar.

Ibrium changed practically all of the lords; evidently his reforms did not affect only the accounting. Tir, already in service under king Igriš-Ḫalab, retired with the disappearance of Arrukum, possibly due to old age. Abu (III 1) and Irda-malik (III 2, 3), active for many years with Darmilu and Tir, disappeared in the very first years of Ibrium. Of those "lords" chosen by Ibrium, Dubi already appeared in the documents of Arrukum's last year. Others, such as Ḫara-il, Išgi-ba'ir and Ri'i-malik are attested in one or two previous documents; ZazaLUM appears only in III 2 (see Table II).

III 1) TM.75.G.1746. (1) *Ir-da-ma-lik* lú *Ba-ḫa-ga*: 1;00 kb.; (2) *Ib-dur-i-šar* lú *Za-gi-ti-ma*: 3;00 kb. (objects) 25 túg 24 ib-TÚG; (3) *Ḫa-ra-il* lú *I-bi-su*: 11;00 kb. (1;00 kb. nu-mu-DU); (4) *Ib-[ ] ur*<sub>4</sub>: 10;00 kb.; 6 túg; (5) *Nab-ḫa-il*: 5;00 kb. (5;00 kb. nu-mu-DU); (6) *A-bu*: 3;40 kb. 100 túg; (túg-túg ḪI.GAR *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>); (7) *Ar-si-a-ḫa*: 5;00 kb. (1;00 kb. nu-mu-DU); (8) *Sá-gu-šum*: 5;00 kb. (2;00 kb. nu-mu-DU); (9) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (10) *Ri-i-ma-lik* ugula BAR.AN: 1;00 kb.; (11) *Ig-ri-sa*: 4;00 kb. 46 túg (túg-túg ḪI.GAR *Ar-mi*<sup>ki</sup>); (12) [ ]: 7;30 kb.; (13) *Ib-ri-um*: 81;00[+x(?)] kb. 400 túg 498 ib-TÚG objects; (14) é *Ir-[ ]*: 56;20 kb. 18;00 kg. 10;00 zabar 13;00 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 60;00 urudu 400 túg objects 27 ib-TÚG; (15) é *Iš-má-da-mu*: 4;20 kb. 0;07 kg. 20 túg; (16) é *In-ma-lik* lú *Íl-zi-da-mu*: 0;20 kb. 24 ib-TÚG; (17) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 21;00 kb. 80 túg; (18) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 133 túg 14 ib-TÚG; (19) *Ib-du-ra* lú *I-NE-la*: 3;00 kg.; (20) *Ír-kab-ar* lú *Su-ba-ti*: 7;40 kg.; (21) é ŠUBUR: 1;40 kb. 0;27 kg.; (22) é *Ar-si-a-ḫa*: 39 túg 2 ib-TÚG; (23) *Iš-má-il*; (24) [ ]-NE; (25) *Zi-ba-da*; (26) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*; (27) ŠUBUR: nu-mu-du; (18) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: kb. nu-mu-DU. AN.ŠE.GÜ 223;50 kb. 30;10 kg. 1,390 túg (2 mu ug<sub>7</sub> en)

III 2) TM.75.G.1740. (1) *En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 36[+x] túg 73 ib-TÚG; (2) *Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 220[+x] túg 40[+x] ib-TÚG; (3) *Ḫa-ra-il*: 20;00 kb.; (4) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *A-zú-ma*: 7;00 kb.; (6) *Nab-ḫa-il*: 8;00 kb.; (7) EN-a-mar: 7; 40 kb.; (8) *Za-zalUM*: 5;00; (9) *En-na-il*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 4;50 kb.; (11) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*: 3;45 kb.; (12) *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (14) *Ír-da-ma-lik*: 1; 00 kb.. AN.ŠE.GÜ 84;15(I) (73;15) kb. (mu-DU 1 mu)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
A(/EN)-zú(/zu)-ma		x	x (EN-zu-mu)	x	x(-zu-mu)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x (-mu)	x	x	x			
Du-bí (ugula Arulu)							x (ug. A.)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
EN-a-mar		x	x	x(?)															
En-na-ni-il(/NI) di-kud	x (-NI)	x (-NI)	x	x	x	x	x (-NI)	x	x	x	x (-NI)								
En-na-il		x					x (Iq T.)										x	x	x
GABA-da-mu																	x	x	x
Gi-ra-ma-lik*																	x	x	x
GIBIL-ma-lik*							x	x	x	x					x		x	x	x
Ĥa-ra-il(/I) (Iú Ibisu)*	x (I. I.)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x (-I)	x	x	x	x	x (-I)
Ĥáb-ra-ar										x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
I-bí-šum		x	x	x		x		x											
I(/Ib)-bí-um			x (?) (Ib-)	x															
I-rí-ig-da-mu		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Ib-dur-i-sar di-kud	x	x	x	x															
Ig-rí-sa(/-su)	x			x					x	x (-su)	x	x	x (-su)	x					
II-e-i-šar di-kud												x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
II-gú-uš-ti*															x	x	x	x	x
Ir-am <sub>6</sub> -da-ar di-kud					x	x	x	x											
Ir-am <sub>6</sub> -ma-lik*							x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x
Ir-da-ma-lik (Iú Baġaga)	x (I. B.)	x	x	x (I. B.)															
Ir-NI-ba*					x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Iš <sub>6</sub> -da-mu di-kud*									x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Iš <sub>6</sub> -gi-ba-ir*	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nab-ĥa-il	x	x	x	x							x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Puzur <sub>6</sub> -ra-ĥa-al <sub>6</sub>	x	x	x	x	x														
Rí-i-ma-lik ug. Adaš.K <sub>1</sub>					x	x	x	x	x										
Rí-i-ma-lik (ug. Igdura)		x	x	x	x	x	x (ug. I.)	x	x (ug. I.)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			

Table II. The lords, Iugal-Iugal, of minister Ibrium

A. Archi

III 3) TM.75.G.2361. (1) *En-na-ni-il di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 16;00 kb. 202 túg 85 ib-TÚG; (2) *Ib-dur-i-šar di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 80 túg; (3) *EN-a-mar*: 7;40 kb.; (4) *Ha-ra-il*: 12;00 kb.; (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (6) *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb. (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (7) *I-bi-šum*: 6;00 kb.; (8) *Ir-da-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb. (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (9) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*: 4;32 kb.; (10) *EN-zu-mu*: 7;00 kb.; (11) *Nab-ḫa-if*: 10;00 kb. 0,10 kg.; (12) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb. <mu-DU lugal-lugal: 79;12>

III 4) TM.75.G.10258. (1) *En-na-ni-il di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 9;00 kb. 191 túg 34 ib-TÚG; (2) *Ib-dur-i-šar di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 179[+x] túg; (3) *Ha-ra-il*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ḫa-if*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 7;00(?) kb.; (6) *A-zú-ma*: 8; 00 kb.; (7) [E]N-[a-mar](?): 6;00 kb.; (8) *Ig-ri-sa*: 5;00 kb. ([x] nu-mu-DU); (9) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *I-bi-um*: 5;00; (11) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*: 4;00[+x ?]; (12) *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb. (2;00 nu-mu-DU); (13) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: [x] kb. (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (14) *Ir-da-ma-lik lú Ba-ḫa-ga*: 1;00. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 78;00 kb. (mu-DU 1 mu)

III 5) TM.75.G.2031. (1) *Ha-ra-il*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *En-na-ni-il di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 134 túg 2 ib-TÚG; (3) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 120 túg; (4) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 2;00 kb.; (5) *I-bi-šum*: 6;00 kb.; (6) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (7) *Ir-da-ma-lik ká 'Á-da-ra-tim<sup>ki</sup>*: 5;00 kb., 1;00 ká-sù; (8) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*: 4;00 kb.; (9) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (10) *Ir-NI-ba* 1,080 *ba-ri-zú še*, 3;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-si*; (11) *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 1,080 *ba-ri-zú še*, 3;00 *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; (12) *En-na-ni-il di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 1,700 *ba-ri-zú še*; 16;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; (13) *A-zu-mu*: 3,360 *ba-ri-zú še*, 5;00 *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; (14) *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ḫa-al<sub>6</sub>*: 360 *ba-ri-zú še*, 1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; (15) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 1,080 *ba-ri-zú še*, 3;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; (16) *Ri-i-ma-lik ugula A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 2,100 *ba-ri-zú še*, 10,00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*; AN.ŠE.GŪ: <36;00 kb.> 10,760 *ba-ri-zú še*, 43;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub> bù-še*

III 6) TM.75.G.2015 (ARET II 13). (1) *En-na-ni-il wa* (2) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 140 túg; (3) *Ha-ra-il*: 7;00 kb. (5;00 nu-mu-DU); (4) *Ri-i-ma-lik ugula A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *A-zú-ma*: 6;00 kb. 1 gir (1;20 nu-mu-DU); (6) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb. (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (7) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb. (1;46 nu-mu-DU); (8) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 3;10 kb. 3 gir (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (9) *Ri-i-ma-lik*: 1;00 (2;00 nu-mu-DU). AN.ŠE.GŪ: 37;10 kb.; 1;30 kb. value of 4 gir.

III 7) TM.75.G.2355. (1) *Ri-i-ma-lik ugula A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 10;00 kb.; (2) *Ha-ra-il*: 12;00 kb.; (3) *A-zú-ma*: 8;00 kb.; (4) *Ir-NI-ba*: 7;00 kb.; (5) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (6) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (7) *I-ri-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *Du-bi ugula A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *En-na-il lú TAR.ḪUR*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Ri-i-ma-lik ugula Ig-du-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: 3;00 kb.; (11) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (12) *En-na-i di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 420 túg 130 ib-TÚG; (13) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: 420 túg 130 ib-TÚG. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 68;30 kb.



The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

III 8) TM.75.G.1586. (1) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 340 túg 100 íb-TÚG; (2) *En-na-ni-il* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 356 túg 170 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ik*: 11;00 kb.; (4) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *Rí-i-ma-lik* ugula *A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 10;00 kb.; (6) *Du-bí*: 5;00 kb.; (7) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb.; (8) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;30 kb.; (9) *Ig-rí-sa*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *A-zú-ma*: 8;00 kb.; (11) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (12) GIBIL-*ma-lik*: 8;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal 63;30 kb. (mu-DU 1 mu)

III 9) TM.75.2172. (1) *En-na-ni-il wa* (2) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 380 túg 119 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ik*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Rí-i-ma-lik* ugula *A-da[-áš<sup>ki</sup>]*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *A-zú-ma*: 8;00 kb.; (6) GIBIL-*ma-lik*: 8;00 kb.; (7) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb. (2;00 kb. nu-mu-DU); (8) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *Ig-rí-su*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Du-bí*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-NE-ĤAR*: 5;00 kb. 6;00 guruš-guruš-sù; (12) *Rí-i-ma-lik* ugula *Ig-du-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3;00 kb. <mu-DU lugal-lugal: 75;00 kb.> (mu-DU 1 mu)

III 10) TM.75.G.10200. (1) *En-na-ni-il wa* (2) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 380[+x?] túg 100 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ik*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Rí-i-ma-lik* ugula *A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *A-zú-ma*: 8;00 kb.; (6) GIBIL-*ma-lik*: 8;00 kb.; (7) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (8) [*I-rí-ig-da-mu*]: 5;00 kb.; (9) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Ig-rí-sa*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *Du-bí*: 4;00 kb.; (12) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: [3;00 (?) kb.]. <mu-DU lugal-lugal: 68;00 kb.>

III 11) TM.75.G.2360. (1) *En-na-i wa* (2) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 250 túg 190 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ik*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *Ig-rí-sa*: 5;00 kb.; (6) *A-zú-ma*: 8;00 kb.; (7) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 8;00 kb.; (8) *Nab-ĥa-ik*: 7;00 kb. (3;00 nu-mu-DU); (9) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 4;00 kb. (1;00 nu-mu-DU); (10) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *Du-bí*: 4;00; (12) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 3;00 kb.; mu-DU lugal-lugal: 64;00 kb. (mu-DU 1 mu)

III 12) TM.75.G.1587. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu wa* (2) *Íl-a-i-šar 2* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 180 túg 40 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ik*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ĥa-ik*: 9;00 kb.; (5) *A-zú-ma*: 7;10 kb. (0;20 kb. lú *A-ba-ru<sub>12</sub>-du<sup>ki</sup>* 0;30 kb. lú *Sa-du-úr<sup>ki</sup>* lú *A-KA-ma* "tag<sub>4</sub>" in mu-DU-sù); (6) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 7;00 kb. (1;00 kb. lú *Ar-ra<sup>ki</sup>* lú *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir* "tag<sub>4</sub>" in mu-DU-sù); (7) *Du-bí*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Ig-rí-sa*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (12) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 1;30 kb. ([x kb.] lú *Ĥáb-ra-ar* "tag<sub>4</sub>" in mu-DU-sù). mu-DU lugal-lugal: 64;40 kb.

III 13) TM.75.G.2272. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 210 túg 20 íb-TÚG; (2) *Íl-a-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 99 túg 170 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Ig-rí-su*: 3;00 kb.; (5) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 9;00 kb.; (6) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 4;10 kb.; (7) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 2;00 kb. wa 300 gú-bar še a-dè 1;00 kb.; (8) *Du-bí*: 3;00 kb. (9) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (10) *A-zú-mu*: 7;30 kb.; (11) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 8;00 kb.; (12) *Ír-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (13) *Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 4;24 kb. <mu-DU-lugal-lugal: 61;04 kb.>

III 14) TM.75.G.1527. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa (2) *Íl-e-i-šar* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 180 túg 37 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 9;13 kb.; (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 8;00 kb.; (6) *A-zú-mu*: 7;30 kb.; (7) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-NI-ba*: 4;43 kb.; (10) *Du-bí*: 4;00 kb.; (11) *Ig-rí-sa*: 4;00 kb.; (12) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (13) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 2;00 kb. mu-du lugal-lugal: 64;30 (l) (64;26) kb.

III 15) TM.75.G.1864. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa (2) *Íl-a-i-šar* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 300 túg 40 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 10;00 kb.; (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 7;00 kb.; (6) *A-zú-ma*: 7;00 kb.; (7) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Ír-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (11) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 3;00 kb.; (12) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 2;00 kb. mu-DU-lugal-lugal: 61;00 kb. (*En-na-ni-ít*: nu-mu-DU)

III 16) TM.75.G.1556. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa (2) *Íl-e-i-šar* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 260 túg 40 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 9;00 kb. (1;00 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 7;00 kb.; (6) *A-zú-ma*: 7;00 kb.; (7) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *Ír-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *En-na-ít*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 4;40 kb. (0;20 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (12) *Ĥáb-ra-ar*: 3;00 kb. mu-du lugal-lugal: 60;40 kb.

III 17) TM.75.G.1297. (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa (2) *Íl-e-i-šar* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 100 túg 50 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *En-na-ít*: 7;10 kb.; (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 7;00 kb.; (6) *Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (7) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 4;40 kb.; (11) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 9;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (12) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb. mu-du lugal-lugal: 64;50 kb.

III 18) TM.75.G.1261 (*MEE* II 1). (1) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa (2) *Íl-e-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 110 túg 55 íb-TÚG; (3) *Ha-ra-ít*: 12;00 kb.; (4) *Nab-ħa-ít*: 9;00 (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 7;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (6) *En-na-ít*: 7;10 kb.; (7) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (8) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (9) *Ír-NI-ba*: 5;00 kb.; (10) *Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 4;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 4;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (12) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (13) TÚG:GABA: 3;00 kb. mu-du lugal-lugal: 64;10 kb. (4;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*) (*DIŠ mu ug<sub>7</sub> Ib-rí-um*)

## The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

IIIa 1) TM.75.G.1462. (0) *Ib-rí-um*: 1 túg 1;00 kb.; (1) *Ib-NE-um*: 1 túg 0;20 kb.; (2)-(3) 2 *di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: [2 túg] 0;40(?) kb.; (4) *Ib-dur-i-šar* lú *Za-ki-ti-ma*: 1 túg 0;20 kb.; (5) *Ha-ra-i*: 1 túg 16 kb.; (6) *A-bu*: 1 túg 0;18 kb.; (7) *EN-a-mar*: 1 túg 0;16 kb.; (8) *Nab-ḥa-il*: 1 túg 0;30 kb. AN.ŠE.GÜ 3;00 (I) (2;50) kb.

IIIa 2) TM.75.G.1518. (0) *Ib-rí-um*: 1;00 kb.; (1) *Du-bí* ugula *A-ba-tum<sup>ki</sup>*: 1;00 kb.; (2) *Ha-ra-il*: 1;00 kb.; (3) *Za-ba-rúm*: 1;00 kb.; (4) *I-bí-zi-kir*: 1;00 kb.; (5) *Du-bí* ugula *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu<sup>ki</sup>*: 0;30 kb.; (6) *EN-mar*: 0;30 kb.; (7) *Ir-NI-ba*: 0;10 kb.; (8) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 0;30 kb.; (9) *I-rí-ig-da-mu*: 0;30 kb.; (10) *Nab-ḥa-il*: 0;30 kb.; (11) *A-zú-ma*: 0;30 kb.; (12) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 0;30 kb.; (13) *I-rí-ig-i*: 0;29 kb.; (14) *Ig-rí-sa*: 0;20 kb.; (15) *Ḥáb-ra-ar*: 0;10 kb.; (16) *In-ti*: 0;11;5 kb.; (17) *Rí-i-ma-lik*: 0. AN.ŠE.GÜ 16;14 kb. lú lugal wa KAL-zi *Ib-laki*...

IIIa 3) TM.75.G.1526. (en: 0;10 kb.); (0) *Ib-rí-um*: 0;10 kb.; (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 0;10 kb.; (2) *Za-ba-rúm*: 0;10 kb.; (3) *Du-bí*: 0;10 kb.; (4)-(5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu* wa *Íl-a-i-šar*: 0;10 kb.; (6) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 0;05 kb.; (7) *En-na-ma*: 0;05 kb.; (8) *Nab-ḥa-i*: 0;05 kb.; (9) *GABA-da-mu*: 0;05 kb.; (10) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 0;05 kb.; (11) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 0;05 kb.; (12) *A-mur-da-mu*: 0;05 kb.; (13) *In-ma-lik*: 0;05 kb.; (14) *Ha-zu-um*: 0;05 kb.; (15) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 0;05 kb.; (16) *Ir-NI-ba*: 0;05 kb.; (17) *Íl-gu-uš-ti*: 0;05 kb.; (18) *Ḥáb-ra-ar*: 0;05 kb.; (19) *Ba-ga-ma*: 0;05 kb.; (20) *Ib-NE-um*: 0;05 kb.

IIIa 4) TM.75.G.2022 (*Eblaitica* 1 [1987] 117-120). (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 0;40 kb. 2 túg; (2) *Ki-ti-ir*: 0;40 kb. 2 túg; (3) *U-ti*: 0;40 kb. 2 túg; (4) *A-mur-da-mu*: 0;40 kb. 2 túg; (5) *En-na-i* lú *Zi-ba-da*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (6) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* ugula *A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (7) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zú*: 0;20 kb.; (8) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (9) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (10) *Ir-NI-ba*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (11) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 0;20 kb. 2 túg; (12) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 0;10 kb.; (13) *Iš<sub>x</sub>(LAM)-gi-ba-ir*: 0;10 kb.; (14) *GABA-TÚG*: 0;10 kb. 2 túg; (15) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* ugula *Ḥu-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*: 0;10 kb. 2 túg; (16) *GABA-da-mu*: 0;10 kb. 2 túg; (17) *Ha-zu-um*: 0;10 kb. 2 túg; (18) *In-ti*: 0;10 kb. 2 túg. dub DU.DU *Di-ni-ib-du-lum* dam-dingir dumu-mí en *si-in Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>*.

### 4. The lords of minister Ibbi-Zikir; reign of Išar-Damu

With Ibbi-Zikir there is a notable increase in goods delivered to the Palace by the minister, while the lords continue their contributions on the same level as before. *Ḥara-il*, who was already first lord at the beginning of Ibbrium's term, continues to give his 12 minas of silver until the tenth year of Ibbi-Zikir (he remained therefore in his position for almost thirty years). Other lords marking



a degree of continuity between the two ministers are Gaba-damu, Ilgušti, Iram-malik, IrNIba and possibly Ibišum (see Table III).

Of the two judges, di-ku<sub>5</sub>, of Ibrium's last years, Iš-damu remains in his post while Ile-išar is replaced by GanuLUM. In the 8th year GanuLUM disappears and is replaced by Iram-damu. These judges, from the fifth year of Ibrium on, made deliveries only of clothing. In the documents of Ibrium, the two judges appeared in the list of lords, generally at the beginning. With Ibbi-Zikir, instead, their deliveries of clothing are recorded after the total quantity of silver given by the lords (texts IV 1-3). From the fourth year on their deliveries appear in the third section of the text.

In the 13th year, the names of the other lords also disappear from the annual texts of Ibbi-Zikir. On the eve of Ebla's fall, economic power laid almost entirely in the hands of the minister himself.

The datations of the years which appear in the following list without question mark have been fixed on the basis of the document TM.75.G.2271, quoted in section 0.

IV 1(?) TM.75.G.2351. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12:00 kb.; (2) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 10:00 kb.; (3) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zú*: 7:00 kb.; (4) *En-na-i lú Zi-ba-da*: 6:38 kb. (0:22 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Ir-NI-ba A-luki*: 5:00 kb.; (6) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 5:00 kb.; (7) *Gi-ra-ma-lik*: 5:00 kb.; (8) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 4:40 kb. (0:20 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (9) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 4:00 kb. (1:00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *GABA-da-mu*: 3:00 kb.; (11) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: 3:00 kb. mu-DU ugula-ugula: 65:18 kb.; (12) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*; (13) *Ga-nu-LUM* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 100 túg 40 íb-TÚG

IV 2(?) TM.75.G.2350. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12:00 kb.; (2) [*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-u*]: 10:00 kb.; (3) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zú*: 7:00 kb.; (4) *En-na-i lú Zi-ba-da*: 6:40 kb. (0:20 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Zi-ra-ma-lik*: 5:00 kb.; (6) *Ir-NI-ba*: 5:00; (7) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 4:30 kb. (0:30 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *GABA-da-mu*: 3:00 kb.; (9) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3:20 kb.; (1:40 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *En-na-i lú Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*: 2:00 kb. (1:00 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *GIBIL-ma-lik*: 3:50 kb. (1,10 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*). mu-DU lugal-lugal: 62:20 kb.; (12) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu wa* (13) *Ga-nu-LUM* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 140 túg 50 íb-TÚG

IV 3(?) TM.75.G.2519+. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: [x kb.]; (2) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-r[u-ut]*: 9:00 kb.; (3) *I-bi-šum*: 2[+x kb.]; (4) and (5) [...]; (6) *Ig-na-da-ar* [...]: 4:30 kb.; (7) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: [x kb.]; (8) [...]; (9) *GABA-da-mu*: 2:57 kb.; (10) *En-na-i lú Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*: 2:00 kb. (1:00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *Íl-gú-us-ti*: 2:20 kb. [mu-DU lugal-lugal:] 51:04 kb.; (12) *Ir-NE*: 5:00 kb.; (13) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu wa* (14) [*Ga-nu-LUM*] 200 túg 50 íb-TÚG

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
'A-daš										10		6
Bû-gi-su						11	9	8	10	7	6	11
En-na-i lû IŠ-da-mu		10	10									
En-na-i (lû Zibada/ugula Dagbal.KI)	4 (l. Z.)	4 (l. Z.)			5 (l. Z.)	6 (l. Z.)	7	6 (l. Z.)	6 (l. Z.)	3 (u. D.)	4	9
GABA-damu*	10	8	9	7	8	9	6	7	8			
Gi-ra-ma-lik*	7											
GIBIL-ma-lik*	6	11										
Īa-ra-i*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
I-bi-šum*			3	3	4	7	4	3	11	5	3	
I-ri-gu					9	5	3	11	5	4	8	8
Ig-na-da-ar (ugula Abazu/lû Gigi)			6	2 (l. G.)	6 (u. A.)	4 (u. A.)	8 (u. A.)	10 (u. A.)	4 (u. A.)	11 (u. A.)	9 (u. A.)	10 (u. A.)
Ig-na-da-ar ugula A-da-š.KI						2	2	2	2	2	7	3
Īl-gú-uš-ti*	8	9	11	10	10	10	10	9	7	6	10	5
Īr-am <sub>2</sub> -ma-lik*	9	7	7	6	3							
Īr-NI-ba*	5 (Alu.KI)	6										
Īš <sub>2</sub> -gi-ba-ir*	11											
Īš <sub>2</sub> -gi-bar-zú	3	3										
Īš <sub>2</sub> -ru -ut	2	2	2	8	7	8	5	4	9	8	5	7
Kûn-da-ba-an										1	1	1
Ti-ti-nu				4	2	3	11	5	3	9		
U-ti											2	2
Zi-ra-ma-lik		5										
ugula Nugamu.KI												4
			4,5,8 in gap	5,9 in gap								

Table III. The lords, lugal-lugal, of minister Ibbi-Zikir

A. Archi

IV 4) 75.2341. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* lú *Gi-gi*: 9;00 kb.; (3) *I-bi-šum*: 6;00 kb.; (4) *Ti-ti-nu*: 4;00 kb.; (5) [ lú ] *Mi-ga-i*: 4;56 kb.; (6) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (7) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (2;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;50 kb. (0;10 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (9) [ ]: 2;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 2;40 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 52;10 (I) (52;26) kb.; rev. VIII 5-8: *En-na-i wa Ga-nu-LUM* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 100 tóg 45 íb-TÚG

IV 5(?) TM.75.G.2375. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ti-ti-nu*: '5;00' kb.; (3) *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: 5;00 kb.; (4) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb. (1;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *En-na-i* lú *Zi-ba-da*: 5;00 kb.; (6) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 4;50 kb. (0;10 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (7) *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 3;00 kb.; (8) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (9) *I-ri-gu*: 2;20 kb.; (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 2;20 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 47;10 kb.; obv. XIII 11-14: *En-na-i wa Ga-nu-LUM* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 185 tóg 45 íb-TÚG

IV 6) TM.75.G.1985+10188. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* [ugula *A-da-áški*]: 9;30 kb. (0;01 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (3) *Ti-ti-nu*: 5;00 kb.; (4) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *I-ri-gu*: 4;47 (0;13 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (6) [*En-na-i* lú] *Zi-ba-da*: 4;55 kb. (x;05 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (7) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb. (2;00 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;50 kb.; (9) *GABA-da-mu*: 1,440 *gú-bar* še *a-dè* 3;00 kb. (2;00 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 1,440 *gú-bar* še *a-dè* [3;00] kb.; (11) *Bù-gi-su*: 1,440 *gú-bar* še *a-dè* 3;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 49;30 (I) (49;02) kb.; obv. XII 4-7: *Ga-nu-LUM wa En-na-i* 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 200 tóg 50 íb-TÚG

IV 7) TM.75.G.2289. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-da-áški*: 10;00 kb.; (3) *I-ri-gu*: 5;00 kb.; (4) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;50 kb.; (6) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (7) *En-na-i*: 4;56 kb.; (8) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-suki*: 6;00 kb.; (9) *Bù-gi-su*: 2;50 kb.; (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;40 kb.; (11) *Ti-ti-nu*: 5;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 59;07 (I) (59;16) kb. rev. X 6-11: 2 di-ku<sub>5</sub> 185 tóg 45 íb-TÚG

IV 8(?) TM.75.G.2244. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-da-áški*: 10;00 kb.; (3) *I-bi-šum*: 5;00 kb.; (4) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;50 kb. (0;10 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Ti-ti-nu*: 4;55 kb.; (6) *En-na-i* lú *Zi-ba-da*: 4;46 kb. (0;14 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù* *Ba-u<sub>9</sub>-ra-duki* nu-mu-DU); (7) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (8) *Bù-gi-su*: 2;57 kb.; (9) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;35 kb.; (0;05 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 4;26 kb.; (0;33 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *I-ri-gu*: 4;14 kb. (0;46 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*). mu-DU lugal-lugal: 57;44 (I) (57;43) kb.; *Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu En-na-i* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: 195 tóg 50 íb-TÚG



The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

IV 9) TM.75.G.10236. (1) *Ha-ra-i*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-da-áški*: 10;00 kb.; (3) *Ti-ti-nu*: 5;00 kb.; (4) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 4;57 kb. (0;03 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *I-ri-gu*: '7';10 kb. (0;50 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (6) *En-na-i lú Zi-[ba-da]*: 4;25 kb. (0;35 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (7) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;15 kb. (0;25 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *GABA-da-mu*: 3;00 kb.; (9) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 3;00 kb.; (10) *Bù-gi-su*: 3;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 52;47 kb. (11) *[I-]bí-šum*: 5;00 kb.

IV 10(?) TM.75.G.2073. (1) *Kùn-da-ba-an*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-da-áški*: 8;45 (1;15 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (3) *En-na-i* ugula *Dag-ba-al<sub>6</sub>ki*: 4;33 kb. (0;27 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (4) *I-ri-gu*: 4;10 kb. (0;50 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *I-bí-šum*: 5;30 kb.; (6) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;20 kb. (0;20 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (7) *Bù-gi-su*: 2;50 kb. (0;10 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;53 kb. (0;07 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (9) *Ti-ti-nu*: 4;57 kb. (0;03 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *'Á-daš*: 3;00 kb.; (11) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 5;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 57;00 (I) (56;58) kb.

IV 11(?) TM.75.G.2070. (1) *Kùn-da-ba-an*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Û-ti*: 5;00 kb.; (3) *I-bí-šum*: 5;00 kb. (0;30 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (4) *En-na-i*: 4;30 kb. (0;30 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (5) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 3;00 kb.; (6) *Bù-gi-su*: 2;30 kb. (0;30 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (7) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-da-áški*: 8;50 (1;10 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *I-ri-gú*: 4;15 kb. (0;45 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (9) *Ig-na-da-ar* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 4;55 kb. (0;05 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;20 kb. (0;20 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*). mu-DU lugal-lugal: 53;20 kb.

IV 12(?) TM.75.G.2072. (1) *Kùn-da-ba-an*: 12;00 kb.; (2) *Û-ti*: 5;00 kb.; (3) *<Ig-na-da-ar>* ugula *A-da-áški*: 8;36 kb. (0;24 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (4) ugula *Nu-ga-mu<sub>ki</sub>*: 5;00 kb.; (5) *Íl-gú-uš-ti*: 3;20 kb.; (6) *'Á-daš*: 2;57 kb.; (7) *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: 2;00 kb. (1;00 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (8) *I-ri-gu*: 4;13 kb. (0;47 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (9) *En-na-i*: 4;20 kb. (0;40 kb. *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (10) *<Ig-na-da-ar>* ugula *A-ba-zuki*: 3;57 kb. (1;03 *al<sub>6</sub>-sù*); (11) *Bù-gi-su*: 3;00 kb. mu-DU lugal-lugal: 54;30I (54;33) kb.

IV 13) TM.76.G.528 (*ARET VIII 528*). (The list of the lugal-lugal is abolished).

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The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

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The "lords", lugal-lugal, of Ebla

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*In-gár-du*: Ib 17 (33)  
*In-na-zu-ra*: Ia 11 (17)  
*In-zé*: Ib 10 (27)  
*Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar*: Ib 19 (8)  
*Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu* lú I-rí-ig-gú-nu: Ia 24 (11')  
*Ír-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu*: Ib 14 II  
*Ír-da-ma-lik* dumu-nita I-gi: Ib 9 (6)  
*Ír-da-ma-lik*: Ia 9 (8); 12 (7); 18 (1); 25 (5'); Ib 14 II, III, VI, VII; 15 (13); 20 (8); II 1 (6); 2 (8); 4 (10) (áš-du ug<sub>7</sub>)



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- Ir-ib-ga-ar*: Ib 8 (15)  
*Ir-ga-bù Uš-du-LUM*<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 13 (1)  
*Ir-kab-ar*: Ia 1 (8); 2 (4); 3 (13); 4 (9); 5 (3); 7 (4'); 8 (8); 10 (5) (ugula); 11 (6); 12 (11); 13 (5); 15 (6); 17 (8); 18 (7); 19 (10); 20 (5); 22 (2); 23 (12); 24 (7); Ib 5 (5); 6 (5); 12 (9); 15 (4); 16 (10); 18 (2); 20 (13); II 1 (9); 4 (9)  
*Ir-kab-ar lú Su-ba-ti*: Ia 23 (5)  
*Ir-NI-ba ur*<sub>4</sub>: Ia 15 (23); Ib 8 (25); 5b (24)  
*Ir-NI-ba*: Ib 7 (13)  
*Iš-da-má lugal ʾÁ-na-ga-nu(/ne)*<sup>ki</sup>: Ia 6 (6); Ib 13 (8)  
*Iš-da-má*: Ia 19 (1); 20 (9); 24 (1'); Ib 5 (10); 10 (23); 16 (1)  
*Iš-da-máh*: Ib 8 (30)  
*Iš-má-da-mu lugal Du-ub*<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 8 (33)  
*Iš-má-da-mu lugal Na-na-ab*<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 8 (35)  
*Iš-má-da-mu*: Ia 18 (9); 24 (9') and (16'); Ib 10 (11); 14 I, II, VI, VII; 18 (8); II 4 (13)  
*Iš-má-gar-du*: Ib 14 III  
*Iš-ra-ii*: Ib 19 (5)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-a-ma-lik* ugula *iš<sub>11</sub>-ki Du-u*[<sup>bki</sup>]: II 3 (8)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>'(LAM')-a-ma-lik*: Ib 19 (1a) and (7)  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-ma-lik*: Ia 21 (12)  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: Ia 24 (3') and (21')  
*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gú-ma*: Ia 21 (1)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-a-ii*: Ia 9 (11)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-da-mu dumu-nita Ir-kab-ar*: Ib 8 (39)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-da-mu lú BAD-É*: Ib 11 (15)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-da-mu lú Zi-ba-LUM*: Ib 17 (32)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-da-mu*: Ia 1 (1); 11 (16) (é); 14 (1); 22 (1); Ib 8 (19)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar lú Ba-lu-šum*: Ib 13 (3)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-ar*: Ia 8 (10); 23 (9); 25 (8'); Ib 13 (3) 20 (2); II 2 (13)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-gi-da-mu lugal Sa-ra-ab*<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 5b (10)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-zi*: Ia 1 (11); 11 (9); 17 (3)  
*Iš<sub>1</sub>(LAM)-zi-da-mu*: Ia 1 (9); 11 (11); 12 (12); 17 (6); 19 (6); 20 (8); Ib 5 (6); 16 (6) (L[AM-zí]-da-mu; II 1 (11))  
*Kam<sub>4</sub>-da-mu*: Ia 25 (7'); Ib 14 I; II 2 (10); 3 (7)  
*Ki-li-im lugal Wa-ra-an*<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 17 (6)  
*Ki-li-im*: Ia 5 (5)  
*Ki-ti-ir dumu-nita I-gi*: Ib 17 (25)  
*Gi(/Ki)-ti-ir*: Ia 23 (15) (Ki-); Ib 9 (7)  
*KU-šar ur*<sub>4</sub> lú *Dam-na-ud*: Ib 17 (5)

- KU-tu: Ib 14 II  
 KU-tu Da-gâr-[za-a]b<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 11 (23)  
 Da-gâr-za-ab<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 10 (19)  
 Kûn-a-NE-NAM: Ib 11 (1)  
 Kûn-da-ar: Ib 14 II  
 [Kûn?/In-]zé lú Da-du-lu: Ib 17 (34)  
 Kûn-zé: Ia 8 (15); 24 (5'); 25 (4'); Ib 14 II; II 2 (7)  
 La-da-at di-ku<sub>5</sub>: Ia 5 (1); 7 (1); 13 (1); 15 (8); 16 (1); Ib 7 (7)  
 La-da-at <di-ku<sub>5</sub>>: Ia 3 (5); 4 (4); Ib 6 (4); 12 (6)  
 La-ti-a-at: Ib 5 (2)  
 Li-ba-at šeš I-gi: Ib 11 (12)  
 Li-ba-'du': Ib 8 (6)  
 Li-ba-kam<sub>4</sub>: Ia 7 (5')  
 Li-kam<sub>4</sub>: Ib 9 (37)  
 Na-a-ma lugal ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>: Ib 7 (2); 11 (20)  
 Na-am<sub>6</sub>-da-mu: Ia 18 (6); Ib 18 (7); II 2 (2); 3 (12); 4 (4)  
 Na-ma-da-mu: Ia 9 (2); Ib 14 I, II, IV  
 Na-su-um: Ib 10 (15)  
 NE-zi-ma-a-ĥa lugal Gú-GIG: Ib 11 (18)  
 Nu-a<sup>2</sup>-ma: Ib 5 (13)  
 Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik: Ib 10 (21); 19 (9)  
 Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ma-lik lú A-NI-um: Ib 19 (11)  
 Ri-i-ma-lik: Ia 22 (7'); 23 (14) ([Ri-i-]ma-lik)  
 <Ri-i-ma-lik(?) ugula> A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>: Ib 5 (12)  
 Sá-gu-si: Ia 1 (7); 3 (11); 10 (1) (ugula); 11 (7); 15 (21); 17 (1); 19 (3); 20 (2); 24 (15') (é); Ib 5 (8); 11 (21); 15 (7); 16 (3)  
 Sag-da-kam<sub>4</sub>: Ib 14 III  
 Si-da GUL.A: Ib 5b (25)  
 Ša-ù-um: Ib 14 II, IV, V, IX  
 Ša-mu-um: Ib 8 (16)  
 Šu-ma-lik dumu-nita Ba-ti-iš-lu<sub>2</sub>: Ib 11 (22)  
 Šu-ma-lik: Ia 21 (7); Ib 10 (13)  
 ŠUBUR: Ia 9 (14); 12 (14); 15 (18); 16 (7); Ib 6 (11); 7 (18); 8 (3); 15 (11)  
 Šum-ma-if: Ib 19 (13)  
 Ti-ir: Ia 1 (14); 2 (12); 3 (4); 4 (1); 5 (4); 6 (1); 8 (1); 9 (12); 11 (14); 12 (1); 13 (4); 14 (2); 15 (3); 16 (8); 21 (5); 22 (5); 23 (1); Ib 1 (2); 3 (1); 4 (2); 6 (16); 7 (20); 12 (14); 14 I?, II; 15 (6); 18 (1); 20 (4); II 1 (3) (ugula BĀD<sup>ki</sup> ugula BĀD<sup>ki</sup> Ti-ir); 3 (4); 4 (2)  
 Ti-ti-na lugal BAR.AN-BAR.AN: Ia 4 (8); 15 (19); Ib 8 (1) (lú); 11 (13)

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*Ti-ti-na* lú EN-*ga-da-ba-an*: Ib 17 (30)  
*Ti-ti-na* lú Sa-*da-LUM/In-sa-da*: Ib 8 (27); 5bis (31)  
*Ti-ti-na*: Ia 2 (10); 7 (3'); 8 (13); 25 (2); II 1 (13); 2 (5)  
*Ti-wa-ga-ba-al*<sub>6</sub>: v. *A-bù*  
*Za-a-ti* dumu-*nita I-gi*: Ib 17 (24)  
*Za-za-LUM*: Ia 12 (10); Ib 8 (4); 20 (3)  
*Za-[x-x]-mu*: Ia 1 (12)  
*Zé-kam*<sub>4</sub>: Ia 21 (13)  
*Zi-ba-da*: Ia 24 (22')  
*Zi-ba-LUM šeš I-gi*: Ib 10 (3)  
*Zu-zi-da*: Ib 19 (1)  
 [ -] *da-mu*: Ib 14 V  
 [ -] *šum* lú *Ba-zi-da*: Ia 24 (13)  
*dumu-nita-dumu-nita lugal A-sa-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>: Ib 10 (7)

2) *The lords of the period of Ibrium*

*A-bu*: III 1 (6); IIIa 1 (6)  
*A*(<sup>2</sup>*Á*<sub>x</sub>:EN)-*zú(/zu)-ma(/mu)*: III 2 (5); 3 (10) (EN-*zu-mu*); 4 (6); 5 (13) (-*zu-mu*); 6 (5); 7 (3); 8 (10); 9 (5); 10 (5); 11 (6); 12 (5) (*A-ba-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*du*<sup>ki</sup>, *Sa-du-úr*<sup>ki</sup>); 13 (10) (-*mu*); 14 (6); 15 (6); 16 (6); IIIa 2 (11)  
 [*A-mur-da-mu*: IIIa 3 (12) (dumu-*nita Ibbi-Zikir*); 4 (4)]  
*Ar-si-a-ḥa*: III 1 (7), (22) (é *Ar-si-a-ḥa*)  
 [*Ba-ga-ma*: IIIa 3 (19)]  
 [*Du-bí ugula A-ba-tum*<sup>ki</sup>: IIIa 2 (1)]  
*Du-bí ugula A-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*lu*<sup>ki</sup>: III 7 (8); IIIa 2 (5)  
*Du-bí*: III 8 (6); 9 (10); 10 (11); 11 (11); 12 (7); 13 (8); 14 (10); IIIa 3 (3)  
*EN-a-mar*: III 2 (7); 3 (3); 4 (7)? ([E]N-[*a-mar*]); IIIa 1 (7)  
*EN-mar*: IIIa 2 (6)  
*En-na-il* lú TAR.ḤUR: III 7 (9)  
 [*En-na-i* lú *Zi-ba-da*: IIIa 4 (5)]  
*En-na-il*: III 2 (9); 16 (9); 17 (4); 18 (6)  
*En-na-i di-ku*<sub>5</sub>: III 1 (17); 2 (1); 7 (12); 11 (1);  
*En-na-ni-il di-ku*<sub>5</sub>: III 3 (1); 4 (1); 5 (2) and (12); 6 (1); 8 (2); 9 (1); 10 (1)  
 [*En-na-ma*: IIIa 3 (7)]  
 (EN-*zu-mu*: see *A-zú-ma/mu*)  
*GABA-da-mu*: III 16 (11); 17 (12); 18 (12); IIIa 3 (9); 4 (16)  
*GABA.TÚG*: III 18 (13); IIIa 4 (14)  
*Gi-ra-ma-lik*: III 16 (7); 17 (7); 18 (8); IIIa 3 (10); 4 (12)



- GIBIL-*ma-lik*: III 7 (6); 8 (12); 9 (6); 10 (6); 15 (9); 17 (8); 18 (7); IIIa 3 (11); 4 (9)
- Ĥa-ra-il* lú *I-bí-su*: III 1 (3)
- Ĥa-ra-it*: III 2 (3); 3 (4); 4 (3); 5 (1); 6 (3); 7 (2); 8 (3); 9 (3); 10 (3); 11 (3); 12 (3); 13 (3); 15 (3); 16 (3); 17 (3)
- Ĥa-ra-î*: III 14 (3); 18 (3); IIIa 1 (5); 2 (2); 3 (1); 4 (1)
- [*Ĥa-zu-um*: IIIa 3 (14); 4 (17)]
- Ĥáb-ra-ar*: III 10 (13); 11 (13); 12 (13); 13 (7); 14 (13); 15 (12); 16 (12); IIIa 2 (15); 3 (18)
- I-bí-šum*: III 2 (4); 3 (7); 4 (9); 5 (5); 6 (6)
- I-bí-um*: III 4 (10)
- I-bí-zi-kir*: IIIa 2 (4)
- I-rí-ig-da-mu*: III 2 (10); 3 (12); 4 (5); 5 (4) and (15); 6 (8); 7 (7); 8 (4); 9 (8); 10 [8]; 11 (4); 12 (9); 13 (6); 14 (7); 15 (8); IIIa 2 (9)
- I-rí-ig-î*: IIIa 2 (13)
- Ib-du-ra* lú *I-NE-ja*: III 1 (19)
- Ib-dur-i-šar* lú *Za-gi(/ki)-ti-ma*: III 1 (2); IIIa 1 (4) (-*ki*)
- Ib-dur-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: III 1 (18); 2 (2); 3 (2); 4 (2)
- [*Ib-NE-um*: III 3 and 4 (following the lugal-lugal); IIIa 1 (1); 3 (20)]
- Ib-[ ]ur<sub>4</sub>*: III 1 (4)
- Ig-rí-sa(/su)*: III 1 (11); 4 (8); 8 (9); 9 (9) (-*su*); 10 (10); 11 (5); 12 (10); 13 (4) (-*su*); 14 (11); 15 (2) (-*a*); IIIa 2 (14)
- Îl-e(/a)-i-šar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: III 12 (2) (-*a*); 13 (2) (-*a*); 14 (2); 15 (2) (-*a*); 16 (2); 17 (2); 18 (2); IIIa 3 (5) (-*a*)
- Îl-gú-us-ti*: III 15 (7); 16 (10); 17 (10); 18 (11); IIIa 3 (17); 4 (11)
- [*In-ma-lik*: IIIa 3 (13); é *In-ma-lik* lú *Îl-zi-da-mu*: III 1 (16)]
- [*In-ti*: IIIa 2 (16); 4 (18)]
- Îr-am<sub>6</sub>-da-ar* di-ku<sub>5</sub>: III 5 (3); 6 (2); 7 (13); 8 (1)
- Îr-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: III 7 (5); 8 (8); 9 (7); 10 (7); 11 (9); 12 (8); 13 (13); 14 (8); 17 (6); 18 (10); IIIa 2 (8); 3 (6); 4 (8)
- Îr-kab-ar* lú *Su-ba-ti*: III 1 (20)
- Îr-da-ma-lik* ká <sup>ʾ</sup>*Á-da-ra-tim*<sup>ki</sup>: III 5 (7)
- Îr-da-ma-lik* lú *Ba-ḥa-ga*: III 1 (1); 4 (14)
- Îr-da-ma-lik*: III 2 (14); 3 (8)
- Îr-NI-ba*: III 5 (6) and (10); 6 (7); 7 (4); 10 (9); 11 (10); 12 (11); 13 (12); 14 (9); 15 (10); 16 (8); 17 (9); 18 (9); IIIa 2 (7); 3 (16); 4 (10)
- [é *Îr-[ ]*: III 1 (14)]
- [é *Iš-má-da-mu*: III 1 (15)]
- Iš-má-it*: III 1 (23)

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*Iš<sub>11</sub>-a-NE-ĤAR*: III 9 (11)

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: III 9 (2); 10 (2); 11 (2); 12 (1); 13 (1); 14 (1); 15 (1); 16 (1); 17 (1); 18 (1); IIIa 3 (4)

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: III 1 (9); 2 (13); 3 (5); 4 (13); 5 (9); 7 (11); 8 (7); 9 (13); 11 (7); 12 (6) (*Ar-ra<sup>ki</sup>*); 13 (11); 14 (5); 15 (5); 16 (5); 17 (5); 18 (5); IIIa 2 (12); 3 (15); 4 (13) (LAM-)

[*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zú*: IIIa 4 (7)]

[*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut ugula A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: IIIa 4 (6)]

[*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut ugula Ĥu-za-an<sup>ki</sup>*: IIIa 4 (15)]

[*Ki-ti-ir*: IIIa 4 (2)]

*Nab-ĥa-i(ĥ/i)*: III 1 (5); 2 (6); 3 (11); 4 (4); 11 (8); 12 (4); 13 (5); 14 (4) (-i); 15 (4); 16 (4); 17 (11); 18 (4) (-i); IIIa 1 (8); 2 (10); 3 (8) (-i)

*Puzur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ĥa-al<sub>6</sub>*: III 1 (26); 2 (11); 3 (9); 4 (11); 5 (8) and (14)

*Ri-i-ma-lik ugula BAR.AN*: III 1 (10)

*Ri-i-ma-lik ugula A-da-áš<sup>ki</sup>*: III 5 (16); 6 (4); 7 (1); 8 (5); 9 (4); 10 (4)

*Ri-i-ma-lik ugula Ig-du-ra<sup>ki</sup>*: III 7 (10); 9 (12)

*Ri-i-ma-lik*: III 2 (12); 3 (6); 4 (12); 5 (11); 6 (9); 8 (11); 10 (12); 11 (12); 12 (12); 13 (9); 14 (12); 15 (11); IIIa 2 (17) (= R. ugula BAR.AN?)

*Sá-gu-šum*: III 1 (8)

ŠUBUR: III 1 (21) (é ŠUBUR), (27)

[*Ū-ti*: IIIa 4 (3)]

*Za-ba-rúm*: IIIa 2 (3); 3 (2)

*Za-za-LUM* III 2 (8)

*Zi-ba-da*: III 1 (25)

[ ]-NE: III 1 (24)

### 3) The lords of the period of Ibbi-Zikir

*ʾA-daš*: IV 10 (10); 12 (6)

*Bù-gi-su*: IV 6 (11); 7 (9); 8 (8); 9 (10); 10 (7); 11 (6); 12 (11)

*En-na-i lú Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu*: IV 2 (10); 3 (10)

*En-na-i lú Zi-ba-da*: IV 1 (4); 2 (4); 5 (5); 6 (6); 8 (6) (*Ba-u<sub>9</sub>-ra-duki*); 9 (6)

*En-na-i ugula Dag-ba-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>*: IV 10 (3)

*En-na-i*: IV 7 (7); 11 (4); 12 (9)

[*Ga-na-LUM di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: IV 1 (13); 2 (13); 3 (13)]

*GABA-da-mu*: IV 1 (10); 2 (8); 3 (9); 4 (7); 5 (8); 6 (9); 7 (6); 8 (7); 9 (8)

*Gi-ra-ma-lik*: IV 1 (7)

*GIBIL-ma-lik*: IV 1 (6); 2 (11)

*Ĥa-ra-i*: IV 1 (1); 2 (1); 3 (1); 4 (1); 5 (1); 6 (1); 7 (1); 8 (1); 9 (1)

## A. Archi

*I-bi-šum*: IV 3 (3); 4 (3); 5 (4); 6 (7); 7 (4); 8 (3); 9 (11); 10 (5); 11 (3)

*I-ri-gu*: IV 5 (9); 6 (5); 7 (3); 8 (11); 9 (5); 10 (4); 11 (8); 12 (8)

*Ig-na-da-ar lú Gi-gi*: IV 4 (2)

*Ig-na-da-ar*: IV 3 (6)

*Ig-na-da-ar ugula A-ba-su/zuki*: IV 5 (6); 6 (4); 7 (8); 8 (10); 9 (4); 10 (11); 11 (9); 12 (10)

*Ig-na-da-ar ugula A-da-áški*: IV 6 (2); 7 (2); 8 (2); 9 (2); 10 (2); 11 (7); 12 (3)

*Ū-gú-uš-ti*: IV 1 (8); 2 (9); 3 (11); 4 (10); 5 (10); 6 (10); 7 (10); 8 (9); 9 (7); 10 (6); 11 (10); 12 (5)

*Ir-am<sub>6</sub>-ma-lik*: IV 1 (9); 2 (7); 3 (7); 4 (6); 5 (3)

*Ir-NI-ba*: IV 1 (5) (*A-luki*); 2 (6)

[*Iš<sub>11</sub>-da-mu di-ku<sub>5</sub>*: IV 1 (12); 2 (12); 3 (12)]

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-ba-ir*: IV 1 (11)

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-gi-bar-zú*: IV 1 (3); 2 (3)

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*: IV 1 (2); 2 (2); 3 (2); 4 (8); 5 (7); 6 (8); 7 (5); 8 (4); 9 (9); 10 (8); 11 (5); 12 (7)

*Kùn-da-ba-an*: IV 10 (1); 11 (1); 12 (1)

*Ti-ti-nu*: IV 4 (4); 5 (2); 6 (3); 7 (11); 8 (5); 9 (3); 10 (9)

*Ū-ti*: IV 11 (2); 12 (2)

*Zi-ra-ma-lik*: IV 2 (5)

<X> ugula *Nu-ga-muki*: IV 12 (4)

[x lú] *Mi-ga-i*: IV 4 (5)