

WET-NURSES AT EBLA: A PROSOPOGRAPHIC STUDY

Maria Giovanna BIGA - Rome

Dedicated to Alfonso Archi

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1. A FEMININE CHRONOLOGY

Prosopographic studies have been of vital importance in reconstructing a relative chronology for the Ebla documents, given the absence of annual dating of the texts.¹ Given the difficulty of recognising the various sovereigns usually mentioned in the texts only by the title of king (en) and not by name, an initial chronological division of the texts was based on the presence in these of the names of three prime ministers for whom a sequence was established: Arrugum, Ibrium and Ibbi-Zikir, the son of Ibrium.

Later, although with difficulty, following the identification of certain texts as lists of the names of the sovereigns of Ebla, the sequence for the last three kings was established, during whose reigns the majority of the tablets in the royal archives were written: Igriš-Īšalam, Irkab-Damu and Išar-Damu.

The next task was to attribute the documents to the various kings, thus establishing an ever closer-knit chronological structure. In order to do this and to place the texts in chronological order within the periods of the various

¹ For a synthesis of several steps in the study of prosopography and in the reconstruction of relative chronology cf. M.G. Biga, *Prosopographie et datation relative des textes d'Ebla: "Amurru"*, 1 (1996), pp. 29-72: 29-43; A. Archi, *Chronologie relative des archives d'Ebla: "Amurru"*, 1 (1996), pp. 11-28, with previous bibliography.

reigns, prosopographic studies on certain personages at the court of Ebla, whose lives or careers could be traced through the documents, played a crucial role.

Among these there is the prime minister Ibrum in relation to whom it was possible to establish that he held this position for 17 years and that his son, Ibbi-Zikir, appears in association with his father, finally succeeding him on his death as prime minister and holding the post in his turn for roughly 14-15 years, until the destruction of the city.

The lists of the sons of the various kings, the royal princes, also helped clarify certain aspects of the chronology, but did not play a key role since they continued to be called simply "sons of the king" even after reaching maturity. Of greater importance were other officials present at court under the various kings and serving in the various ministries, such as the bards (nar), the dancers (NE.DI), the officials in charge of wool, those concerned with the king's horses, and those of the prime minister and the princes (ugula bir-BAR.AN en, Ibrum, etc.), etc.

However, without doubt, it is the women of the court of Ebla who have enabled us to make the greatest progress in our studies of Eblaic chronology. We realised very early that they were more useful in reconstructing the chronology in relation to the lives of the various princesses than were the careers of the males. In fact, the scribes trace, so to speak, the private lives of the various ladies and princesses of the court from their infancy to the negotiation of their marriages, from their wedding days to motherhood, sometimes widowhood, until their death. Given the numerous inter-dynastic marriages documented in the Ebla texts it becomes obvious that the information concerning those princesses who became queens of a foreign reign is important also for the reconstruction of the chronology of such other states: the lives of these princesses were followed at their new courts and when their husbands came to Ebla to seal the alliance and make offerings to the gods of the city, etc. Thus it was possible to build a long chronological sequence of texts (so far this has been done for some princesses of Ebla), almost all being monthly accounts of cloth, which follows the lives of certain princesses.² This begins with texts in which they are infants at court, later inserting those mentioning their marriages and then those in which they become mothers, their mourning and widowhood and lastly, their sometimes premature deaths (for example that of the two princesses Tište-Damu and Darib-Damu, daughters

² Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), pp. 63-72; A. Archi, *Les femmes du roi Irkab-Damu*: "Amurru", 1 (1996), pp. 101-124.

of king Išar-Damu). Some of these events relating to women of the court are also recorded in the annual texts relating to outgoing quantities of metals and this fact contributed greatly and in a fundamental way to the organisation of the annual accounts of metals which represent the basis of the chronological network.³ Most of the information, however, is to be found in the texts relating to textiles which we have been able to order precisely by following the lives of certain of the more famous women of Ebla.

The very formula employed by the Ebla scribes to indicate the marriage ceremonies on the day of the nuptials by giving N(ame) of the F(emale) P(erson)-*in ud nig-mú-sà* (bur-kak) NFP mentions the marriage of the woman,⁴ possibly because a woman married only once whilst a man (at least) of the royal family could have numerous wives and, therefore, marry more than once. No marriage of a prince of the court is ever mentioned, nor is it possible to follow the lives of the princes the same way.

Mention of the queen (*maliktum*) in the same texts is not very indicative from the point of view of chronology, either, since it is not possible to identify the personal name and we thus have the same problem as that presented by the term king (*en*). Instead, the lengthy lists of ladies of the court, lists which

³ The first fixed points for a reconstruction of the chronology were found precisely in texts relating to textiles and, in many cases, relating to the principal women of the Eblaite court, such as the textile accounts documenting the birth of a child to the king and queen, cf. M.G. Biga - F. Pomponio, *Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla*: MARI, 7 (1993), pp. 108-112. A perfect synchronism was found between certain textile accounts and others relating to metals, then, thanks to the presence or absence of certain female figures such as priestesses or the mother of the king or queen, it was possible to propose a further subdivision of the chronology of the texts, cf. M.G. Biga - F. Pomponio, *Elements for a Chronological Division of the Administrative Documentation of Ebla*: JCS, 42/2 (1990), pp. 179-201. Lastly, thanks to numerous prosopographic elements, of fundamental importance, among which we have those concerning the Ebla princesses and ladies, and with constant comparison between the contemporary textile account (to ensure that these did not contain elements in contradiction with those relating to the movement of metals) it was possible to establish the sequence of the annual metal accounts, cf. A. Archi, *Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux (CAM): "Amurru"*, 1 (1996), pp. 73-99.

⁴ Cf. A. Archi, *Gifts for a Princess: "Eblaïtica"*, 1 (1987), p. 121. The same formula is used for the royal marriage between the king Išar-Damu and the queen Dabur-Damu, cf. TM.75.G.1730+ (= MEE 7 34) rev. XII 18-20: *in ud nig-mu-sà ma-lik-tum*.

were soon seen to be presented in hierarchical order, have contributed far more to the reconstruction of a chronology than lists of the male figures at court. The presence of certain females, the appearance of new figures, the continued mention of some and the disappearance of others has enabled us to put many texts into chronological order. Some female personages were extremely important as they were mentioned in texts, and not only in the lists of women, as frequently as the king or prime minister. Thus an entirely female chronology was established following certain female personages whose lives are interwoven with those of the kings and prime ministers. We include only a few in order to clarify the key points in this female chronology!

Amongst the earliest women we may trace the life of ladies Kešdut and Tarkab-dulum. Other women of Igrīš-Ḫalam's harem who were then passed on to Irkab-Damu have also been identified, including Darib-Damu, Dagmul-Damu, Enna-^dUtu.⁵

But one woman appears as above the other women of the king and begins to be mentioned frequently in the textile accounts by her own name, eventually being placed first in the lists of women: Dusigu. Her appearance coincides with that of the prime minister Ibrium, under the reign of Irkab-Damu.⁶ This woman, a relative latecomer to the harem of Irkab-Damu, when the king no longer has his queen (although we do not know the name of Irkab-Damu's queen), soon becomes first lady of the harem. Mother of Išar-Damu, some years later, on the death of Irkab-Damu, she succeeds in having her son - possibly the last-born - ascend to the throne over the heads of numerous other princes. From that moment on, Dusigu is often called "great mother of the king" (ama-gal en) and is always to be found alongside her son on all important political and cult occasions. Her four sisters are frequently mentioned in the lists of women of the court who receive textiles. One of these marries the prince Sura-Damu, possibly a brother of king Irkab-Damu (therefore, two sisters marry two brothers). One of the four sisters dies and the three remaining also outlive their more famous sister since they receive purification

⁵ Cf. Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), pp. 101-124.

⁶ Although never stated in the texts, she could be from Ibrium's family and may have been taken to court by the prime minister. Among the vizier's possessions, in fact, is a city called Dusigu^{ki}, cf. Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 30 n. 4.

gifts upon her death (cf. TM.75.G.10088//TM.75.G.1962). They later are reduced to two and then all disappear, thus enabling us to date numerous texts!⁷

On the other hand, in the main temple of Ebla the priestesses are members of the royal family and their presence and substitutions have also contributed to the chronological ordering of the annual accounts of metals as well as many monthly accounts of textiles.⁸

Whilst Dusigu is, without doubt, the pre-eminent woman at court, a new lady (perhaps due to a decision by the mother of the king herself?) appears who takes up the second position in the lists of women. This is Dabur-Damu who will soon become queen and will almost always be mentioned in terms of her title.⁹ The period in which the queen has to live alongside the king's mother lasts a number of years, but on the death of this latter she assumes first place in the lists.

The funeral of the queen mother is a solemn affair and the texts of textiles and one relating to metals list the valuable gifts which Dusigu takes with her to the tomb.¹⁰ After her death and that of the vizier Ibrum (3 years before Dusigu), the royal couple is blessed with the birth of a son which is celebrated with many ceremonies as shown by the accounts of textiles and the contemporary account of metals TM.75.G.10074 (which, however, make no mention of either Dusigu or Ibrum).

Other female personages were of importance in placing numerous monthly textile accounts in sequence, such as the princesses Ziminibarku, Zanehimari and Dati-^dTu, involved in inter-dynastic marriages with important reigns of the time, marriages blessed by the birth of children celebrated by the people of Ebla with precious gifts recorded in the texts.

Also to be mentioned among those female figures who have played a determining role in established the chronological sequence of the texts are two daughters of the last king, Tište-Damu and Darib-Damu who appear at court,

⁷ Cf. Biga - Pomponio: JCS, 42/2 (1990), p. 189-190; Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 48-50.

⁸ Cf. A. Archi, *The High Priestess, dam-dingir, at Ebla: Festschrift Loretz*, Munster 1998, p. 43-53.

⁹ Queen Dabur-Damu is daughter of Irib-Damu who could be a son of king Igriš-Īalam and a brother of king Irkab-Damu; so Tabur-Damu could be a cousin of her husband king Išar-Damu, Irkab-Damu's son., cf. M.G. Biga, *Donne alla corte di Ebla: Memoria di Ebla* (PP, 46), 1991, p. 290-294; Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 40; Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 108 and text TM.75.G.2624.

¹⁰ Cf. Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 48-50

are married at Ebla, become mothers and then sicken and die notwithstanding the many propitiatory offerings made by the king to the gods of the city. Their funeral goods are of great value and are recorded in the accounts of textiles.¹¹

2. THE WET-NURSES AND THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

From the very start in the lists of women the great ladies were seen to be of crucial importance for a relative chronology.¹² These, the mother of the king, the queen, the other wives, the sisters, the daughters of the king, etc. were followed by other female figures clearly lower on the social scale but living at court. These were the wet-nurses, the women who served at court by giving their milk to the sons and daughters of the queen and of the other women of the king and his court, or who had served in this manner and remained in the palace until their deaths according to a tradition which is well-attested to throughout the ancient Near East.¹³ These female figures appear not only in the lists of women but in many other texts, above all in those relating to the delivery of textiles. A systematic study of these women (together, naturally, with prosopographic and other elements) has enabled us to provide a more certain chronological order for a few dozen monthly accounts of texts and their parallels relating to metals. The administrative documents and, above all, those relating to textiles, enable us to state that, at the court of Ebla and in the secondary residences which the king had in the cities of Azan, Arugadu and Lub, a certain number of wet-nurses lived to serve the sons and daughters of the king and the great ladies of the court, as well as others in the palaces of Ibrūm and, later, of his son Ibbi-Zikir.

The prosopographic elements provided by the presence of these wet-nurses confirm and enrich the data we already had, thus enabling us to place an ever-increasing number of administrative documents in a more certain and precise chronological order.

¹¹ For princesses Ziminibarku, Zaneḫimari, Dati-^dTu, Tište-Damu and Darib-Damu cf. Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 63-72.

¹² Cf. M.G. Biga, *Femmes de la famille royale d'Ebla*: J.-M. Durand (ed.), *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Paris 1987, p. 41-47; A. Archi (ed.), *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving* (ARES 1), Roma 1988, p. 238-243, 245-262; M.V. Tonietti, *Le liste delle dam en: cronologia interna*: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 (1989), p. 79-115.

¹³ Cf. M.G. Biga, *Enfants et nourrices à Ebla*: "Ktoma", 22 (1997), p. 35-44 with previous bibliography.

Moreover, among the events which resulted in the distribution of cloth and wool and gifts to members of the court there are numerous births of children to the queen, the great ladies and the women of the royal harem. In the same text or in that immediately following, there is mention of textiles distributed to the wet-nurse to whom the new-born child is entrusted. However, the wet-nurses do not only appear in those texts which follow a birth but also much later. This is since children (as was the custom also in other Mesopotamian regions of the ancient Near East) were breast-fed for at least two years, possibly longer and also because wet-nurses normally stayed at the palace even after their active role in breast-feeding had ended (this may be stated with certainty for some whose lives are documented at court until their deaths).

The aim of this study is, therefore, to insert into the chronology produced to date, the texts which mention the wet-nurses. Thanks to the fact that some of these may be traced for most of their lives, having served many long years at court, up to their deaths, and by comparing the dating provided by the presence of the wet-nurses with that provided on the basis of the presence of other officials or personages, the relative chronology of many texts may be determined with greater precision. The dates proposed by the study of wet-nurses confirm those proposed earlier on the basis of the study of other figures.

The formulas used by the scribes to mention the wet-nurses are, at this point, two:

- 1) (P(ersonal) N(ame₁)) ga-du₈ dumu-nita/mi P(ersonal) N(ame₂) (very frequently employed)
- 2) (P(ersonal) N(ame₁)) ga-du₈ P(ersonal) N(ame₂).

In the first case there are no doubts: this is the wet-nurse who is giving or has already finished giving milk to a royal baby, son or daughter of PN.

The second case may refer to a wet-nurse who is breast-feeding the personage in questions who, therefore, is an infant or she may have breast-fed this person a long time ago and, thus, the individual is an adult, or it may be the wet-nurse in the service of the adult mentioned. These are more doubtful cases, but the presence of the wet-nurse mentioned by name is, however, important, in reconstructing a relative chronology.

Only a few names of wet-nurses are followed by a male Personal Name; surely in the case of the wet-nurse of the king it is the wet-nurse who breast-fed the king. Other cases are more problematic. But a wet-nurse is normally at the service of a woman.

Thanks to the presence of different wet-nurses we can propose the following division of the administrative documents concerning wet-nurses. In every section we tried to arrange the texts in chronological order where possible, but sometimes some texts are to be ascribed to a short period of years and it is impossible to put them into a more precise chronological order.

3. THE TEXTS

3.1 Wet-nurses quoted in documents of the first part of Irkab-Damu's kingdom.

The wet-nurses quoted in this early period are mostly anonymous.

--[1] TM.75.G.2168 (= Archi: "Amurru", 1 [1996], p. 113-116: 114) obv. VII 8-VIII 2: 23 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈-ga-du₈ dumu-nita-dumu-nita dumu-mi-dumu-mi en.

--[2] TM.75.G.2624 (= Archi: "Amurru", 1 [1996], p. 118-119) rev. II' 2'-4': 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ [x]-'i'?'[...]

--[3] TM.75.G.1537 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) obv. VI 18-20: 1 aktum-TÖG 1 TÖG-NI.NI ti-TÖG ga-du₈ GINŠE-Da-mu.

--[4] TM.75.G.1393 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) obv. VIII 17-IX 5: 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-mi In-da-mu 1 aktum-TÖG TAR dumu-mi-sù.¹⁴

--[5] TM.75.G.10192 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) rev. IV 5-8: 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-mi Ib-ù-ud.¹⁵

--[6] TM.75.G.10276 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) obv. IX 1¹⁶: 10 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ [ga]-du₈:

rev. IV 8-15: [1] 'aktum'-TÖG ti-TÖG En-na-^dUtu 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ En-na-^dUtu 1 TÖG-NI.NI dam šà-sù.

¹⁴ The male P(ersonal) N(ame) In-Damu occurs several times in texts all to be dated to the kingdom of Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum, very beginning of Ibrum, but he is never specified by function name. For example in TM.75.G.2161 obv. IX 12-15: 1 gù-li-lum bar₆kù kù-gi NE-zi-ma-lik dumu-nita In-Da-mu; TM.75.G.1468 rev. III' 6-8: wool for a woman of In-Damu, but we do not know if this is the same In-Damu or someone with the same name.

¹⁵ Ib-ù-ud is a woman of Irkab-Damu's harem, cf. Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 109, text TM.75.G.2551 obv. II 1.

¹⁶ TM.75.G.10276 obv. IX 2-10: 10 TÖG-NI.NI Tin-wa-ar Si-da A-ba-ma-du Dam-du-ud Ra-su-ud Sar-du-du Da-a-nab-^hu Ra-ù-tum [...]. All the names of these women are attested in Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), Index, p. 121-124.

The wet-nurse is surely at the service of Enna-^dUtu for the daughter just born but the scribe omits *dumu-mi*.

Thanks to the presence of the midwife (*šā*) of Enna-^dUtu and of the wet-nurse we can date to the same year (or to a very close year) the next text:

--[7] TM 75.G.1345¹⁷ (= ARET II 14 = MEE 2 30) (king Irkab-Damu) obv. III 8-13: 1 *aktum-TÖG En-na-^dUtu in ud tu-da 2 zara₅-TÖG ga-du₈*; obv. X 5-8: 1 *TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-mi En-na-^dUtu*.

--[8] TM.75.G.2232 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) rev. VIII 5-7: 1 *TÖG-NI.NI A-na-³ā ga-du₈ Keš-du-ut*.¹⁸

3.2 Wet-nurses quoted in documents of the second part of Irkab-Damu's kingdom, vizier Arrugum then Ibrum.

During the second part of Irkab-Damu's reign a group of wet-nurses is frequently mentioned with or after the great women of the court. All of them are known by their personal names. These are: Abadu, Gisadu, Išunila, Dabdur, Minadu etc. Their presence enables us to put into chronological order many texts. After the long life of Gisadu, wet-nurse of the king Išar-Damu, we can really arrange several texts in a chronological order. Her life is parallel to that of Dusigu, first lady of the harem during the second part of Irkab-Damu's reign and then mother of the king.

She appears in the texts at the same time as Dusigu. Only Gisadu had the title of wet-nurse of the king (*ga-du₈ en*) and nobody else. In spite of the great number of wet-nurses present at the court for the sons and daughters of the king of Ebla (all of course at the service of the king!) only Gisadu is called wet-nurse of the king. This proves that she was the wet-nurse who breast-fed the king when he was newborn, spending her entire life at court, remaining near her "son" when he became an adult, married and had sons and daughters. In fact we find Gisadu with Aziza, the wet-nurse of Iraq-Damu, Išar-Damu's son.

Only Gisadu is in the list of *dam en* between the most important ladies.

The names of other wet-nurses such as Išunila, Abadu and Dabdur are not associated with those of princes or princesses.

¹⁷ In this text there is a mention of the future king Išar-Damu cf. obv X 12-16: 1 *ib-2-TÖG-dar l-za-iš-lu wa-ši-zu Iš₁₁-ar-Da-mu dumu-nita en*.

¹⁸ For this important lady of Irkab-Damu's harem, cf. Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 105. It is to correct the note in Biga: "Ktema", 22 (1997), p. 42, n. 26.

--[9] TM.75.G.1590 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) obv. III 21-IV 4: 1 TUG-NI.NI 1 aktum-TÜG *İš-ru₁₂-Ni-a* <ga>-du₈ dumu-mi en.

--[10] TM.75.G.2161 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) obv. VI 6-8: 1 TUG-NI.NI ga-du₈ *Sag-Da-mu* dumu-nita en.

--[11] TM.75.G.1727 (king Irkab-Damu, vizier Arrugum) rev. V 15-19: 4 TUG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-nita en.

--[12] TM.75.G.1922 (king Irkab-Damu) obv. X' 8-12: 2 TUG-NI.NI *Gi-sa-du wa* [Ab-a]-du[ga-d]u₈?

--[13] TM.75.G.1263 (king Irkab-Damu, very beginning of vizier Ibrum) obv. V 7-VI 15: 8 TUG-NI.NI *Kir-su-ud En-na-^dUtu Ra-ù-tum Ra-ba₁-tum Maš-ga-ša-du Ma-ga-ra-du Ra-ba₁-tum* || *Téš-má-Da-mu* 4 zara₆-TÜG *Dagl-mul* (KÁ-AN.AN.AN.AN)-*Da-mu Zi-mi-ni-bar₆:kù Iš-ru₁₂-ud A-ba-da-du* 3 TUG-NI.NI *Ab-a-du Gi-sa-du Iš-lu-NI-la* ga-du₈ 2 ib+3-ud-gid *Ma-ri^dDi-ni-ib-du-lum wa Ar-za-du nin-ni en* 1 TAR ti-TÜG *Nu-ru₁₂-ud*.

The wet-nurses are quoted with the most important ladies of the harem.

--[14] TM.75.G.10153 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu first lady of the harem, vizier Ibrum) obv. IX 14-X 15: list of 16 zara₆-TÜG for 16 women of the king;¹⁹ then at obv. X 16-XI 3: 4 TUG-NI.NI *Ab-a-du Mi-na-du 'Gi²-sa²-du Iš₁₁-lu-NI-la* ga-du₈.

Very close in time is

--[15] TM.75.G.1298 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu first lady of the harem, vizier Ibrum) obv. V 2-14: 14 zara₆-TÜG *Du-si-gù En-na-^dUtu Dagl-mul* (KÁ-AN.AN.AN.AN)-*Da-mu Za-ne-ši-Ma-ri Zi-mi-ni-bar₆:kù Iš-ru₁₂-ud* // *Ha-su-ud Ra-ù-tum Ra-ba₁-tum Maš-ga-ša-du Ma-ga-ra-du Ra-ba₁-tum* || *Téš-má-Da-mu A-ba-da-du*;

obv. VI 1-6: 4 TUG-NI.NI *Ki-sa-du Iš-lu-NI-la Dab₆-dur* ga-du₈ *Ab-a-du*. Probably Abadu has finished her work of wet-nurse. Then at obv. VI 7-13: 3 ib+3-'ud³-TÜG *Di-ne-ib-du-lum Ar-za-du Nu-ru₁₂-ud*.

In the same period

--[16] TM.75.G.1318 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu first lady of the harem, vizier Ibrum) list of 15 woman of the king at obv. XII 12-XIII 9: 15 zara₆-TÜG *Du-si-gù En-na-^dUtu Dagl-mul* (KÁ-AN.AN.AN.AN)-*Da-mu Za-ne-ši-Ma-ri Zi-mi-ni-bar₆:kù Iš-ru₁₂-ud* // [*Ha-su-ud*] *Ra-ù-tum Ra-ba₁-tum Maš-ga-sa-du Téš-má-Da-mu Ma-ga-ra-du Ra-ba₂-tum* || *A-da-da A-ba-da-du*;

obv. XIII 10-15: 3 ib+3-ud-TÜG-gid *Ma-ri Di-ne-ib-du-lum wa Ar-za-du wa Nu-ru₁₂-ud*.

¹⁹ For this list cf. Archi, ARES I, p. 259; Tonietti: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 (1989), p. 81 f.

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obv. XIII 16-21-XIV 1: 1 TÖG-NI.NI *Ab-la-du* 3 TÖG-NI.NI *Gi-sa-du Iš-lu-NI-a Dab₆-dur* [ga]-du₈.

--[17] TM.75.G.1319 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu first lady of the harem, vizier Ibrium) obv. IV 10-13: 3 Kin siki TÖG *Gi-sa-du* ga-du₈.

--[18] TM.75.G.1288 (= ARET IV 11) (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium) rev. VIII 3-5: 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-nita *I-ib-Ma-lik*.²⁰
rev. XI 5-9: 10 Ia-2 zi-ri siki *Ki-sa-du wa Iš-lu-NI-a* ga-du₈.

--[19] TM.75.G.1262 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium) rev. X 10-13: 1 GIŠ-kin₂ siki gi₆ ga-du₈ dumu-nita *I-ib-ma-lik*.

--[20] TM.75.G.1791 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium) rev. II 5-9: 1 gu-dùl-TÖG *Bu-ma-na-im* dumu-nita *Ki-sa-du* ga-du₈.²¹ Cf. text [23].

In the same period

--[21] TM.75.G.1522 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium, princess Maud still married, Zanehimari and Ziminibarku not yet) obv. XII 15-rev. I 2: 2 TÖG-NI.NI *Ki-ša-du Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-NI-in* // ga-du₈ / *Du-si-gù*.²²

--[22] TM.75.G.1794 (king Irkab-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium, 3 sisters of Dusigu) obv. II' 1'-III 17:] [Ra] 'ba_x'-tum [Maš]-ga-sa-du Ma-ga-ra-du Yēš-mā-Da-mu Ra-ba_x-tum II A-ba-da-du A-ni-a-lu-du Bil-zù-du Si-mā-^dKu-ra Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud 13 zara₆-TÖG *Ab-a-du Mi-na-du Da-sa-ru₁₂ Uu-za-ù Nu-ru₁₂-ud* tur *Ri-ba-šu* [Gā]-sa-du *Gù-lu-NI-in Ti-NE-a-ḥu Da-gi-iš-ša-ru₁₂ Ba-zi-du A-NE En-nā-Utu* lú é ^dKu-ra 3 zara₆-TÖG 3 nin-ni *Du-si-gù*.

As is clearly written in text [33] there are here together wet-nurses and elderly women (ga-du₈, ABxĀŠ-mi). The figure of the elderly woman is difficult to define. Perhaps under this term are included ex wet-nurses and other old ladies who had some function at the court.²³

²⁰ Ibmalik is a Dusigu's brother, see for example TM.75.G.1730 (= MEE 7 34) rev. XIII 13-14: *I-ib-Ma-lik* šeš ama-gal en.

²¹ The text registers textiles to the king's sons and then to the wet-nurse's son; it is very probably that the wet-nurse's son lived at court with the young princes.

²² In this case we have to admit that the two wet-nurses are at the service of Dusigu.

²³ Elderly women are not frequently attested, see for example ARET I-IX s.v. and texts TM.75.G.1783 obv. X 14-XI 3: 1 saI-TÖG *Za-na-mar-ru₁₂* in ABxĀŠ-mi ÉXPAP. In the same text TM.75.G.1794 rev. V 15-19: 1 TÖG-NI.NI *Da-gù-sa* ABxĀŠ-mi *si-in* ÉXPAP.

3.3 Wet-nurses quoted in documents of the time of king Išar-Damu, Dusigu great mother of the king (ama-gal en), no queen, vizier Ibrium (till year 11).

When Išar-Damu became king, succeeding his father Irkab-Damu, Dusigu was often called great mother of the king, and the wet-nurse Gisadu who gave milk to the king was qualified as wet-nurse of the king (ga-du₈ en). Gisadu is the only woman to be qualified wet-nurse of the king.

--[23] The text TM.75.G.10049 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium) is probably one of the first monthly account of textiles written during the kingdom of Išar-Damu. Dusigu is quoted at obv. XIV 10 in the first place in the list of women of the king; among these are still present princesses Maud (married but still at court), ZanehiMari and Ziminibarku (not yet married) obv. XIV 8-rev. 1 5: 6 zara₆-TÜG 16 TÜG-NI.NI *Du-si-gù Kir-su-ud En-na^dUtu Da-bi Ma-ù-ud Dar₂(BAN)-maš-Da-mu Ga-na-sum Za-ne-ši-Ma-ri Zi-mi-ni-bar₆:kù A-ba-da-ad Tin-wa-rúm Na-am₆ Si-za Ti-iš-ga-du Ma-ga-ra Tiš-má-Da-mu// Maš-ga-sa-at Ra-ba₁-tum Ra-ba₂-tum 11 Ra-zu-ud Ra-ù-tum.*

In the same text Dusigu is called mother of the king at rev. V 3-6: 1 TÜG-NI.NI nu-kešda sa₆ *Du-si-gù ama-gal en.*

At obv. VII 5-9: 1 gu-dùl-TÜG *Bu-ma-na-im dumu-nita ga-du₈ Iš₁₁-ar-Da-'mu'* . Išar-Damu is quoted again at rev. XI 13-14: 2 sa₁-TÜG pa₄-šeš Iš₁₁-ar-Da-mu.

The name of the wet-nurse of the king Išar-Damu is omitted here but in text [20] we have: *Bu-ma-na-im dumu-nita Ki-sa-đu ga-du₈*; so it is clear that Gisadu is the name of the ga-du₈ of Išar-Damu; in other texts there is *Gi-sa-đu ga-du₈ en*, so without doubt we can assume Išar-Damu-en. See also [35], [36]. With text TM.75.G.2417 // TM.75.G.1730+ // ARET XI 2 this is further evidence of the equation Išar-Damu-en.

All the prosopographic elements of this text enable us to assume that Išar-Damu has just become king (with the help of his mother Dusigu and probably of Ibrium) and is very young.

--[24] TM.75.G.1793 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, vizier Ibrium, marriage of princess Zimini-bar₆:kù with the king of Burman) obv. VII 8-VIII 7: 1 zara₆-TÜG *Du-si-gù 14 zara₆-TÜG Dagl-mul-Da-mu Di-ne-ib-du-lum Ar-za-du Iš₁₂-ru₁₂-ud Zù-ga-lum Ra-ù-tum Kir-su-ud En-na^dUtu Ra-ba₁-tum Maš-ga-sa-du Ma-*

*ga-ra-du Ra-ba₂-tum II // Tēš-má-Da-mu A-ba-da-du 4 TŪG-NI.NI Ab-a-du Mi-na-du Gi-sa-du Iš-lu-ni-la*²⁴ (these are four [ex-] wet-nurses).

--[25] ARET IV 12 (= TM.75.G.1369) (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium) rev. IV 1-6: 2 zi-ri siki 'Ab'-[a]-du 2 zi-ri siki *Gi-sa-du ga-du₈* en.

The annual account of metal TM.75.G.2464 registers a gift of precious objects to Kišadu; this fact proves that she had a special status as wet-nurse who breast-fed the king.

--[26] TM.75.G.2464 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium 5) rev. I 18-26: Šu-ša gin DILMUN bar₆kū zu.PIRIG 3 sūr-sūr urudu maḥ 4 gin DILMUN bar₆kū UNKĒN-ak 10 lá-2 geštu₂-lá *Ki-sa-du ga-du₈* en.

--[27] TM.75.G.1745 (king Išar-Damu, Ibrium, no queen, two princesses, daughters of Išar-Damu, Darib-Damu and Tište-Damu still born, 4 sisters of the mother of the king) obv. II' 1-26:] *A-ni-a-lu-du Nu-ru₁₂-ud Ti-ir-^oUtu Da-ba-a-du I-šar-tum 4 zara₆-TŪG 4 nin-ni ama-gal en 13 TŪG-NI.NI Da-sa-ru₁₂ Mi-na-du Ri-ba-šu I-šar-tum Hu-za-ù Gi-sa-du Iš₁₁-lu-NI-la Ti-NE-a-ḫu Da-gi-iš-ša-ḫa-ru₁₂ Ba-zi-da [AN]-NE En-na-^oUtu Ma-si-gi-sa-ba-um.*

--[28] TM.75.G.10135 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, no queen, vizier Ibrium) rev. V 7-10: 1 sal-TŪG *A-sa-na-du*²⁵ *ga-du₈ ÉxPAP.*

--[29] TM.75.G.1789 (= MEE 10 3) (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, no queen, vizier Ibrium) obv. IV 19-V 4: 1 zara₆-TŪG 1 gu-dūi-TŪG dam *Ib-ḫur-Ma-lik* ugula-kā *Da-na-aš^h* dam *Ib-ri-um* 1 TŪG-NI.NI dam *ga-du₈-sù* 1 aktum-TŪG *dumu-nita-sù.*

--[30] TM.75.G.2252 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, Ibrium) rev. II 6-11: 1 sal-TŪG *Ma-da-si-in* *ga-du₈ dumu-nita Ra-ù-tum*²⁶ ÉxPAP.

--[31] TM.75.G.10078 (king Išar-Damu, Ibrium, 4 sisters of the mother of the king, princess Maud married (é-gi₄ *Dur-du-lum*) at court) obv. III' 1'-9': *Maš-ga-ša-du Ma-ga-ra-du Ra-ba₂-tum Tēš-má-Da-mu A-ba-da-du Nu-ru₁₂-ud I-sar-tum Da-ba-a-du Maš-gù-du [...]*

obv. IV' 1'-9': *Tēš-má]-zi-kir in 'A-za-an^h;*

obv. V' 1'-5': *Da-gi-]iš-ša-ru₁₂ Ba-zi-da AN.NE En-na-^oUtu Ma-si-gi-sa-ba-im [...]*

obv. VII 3-7: *nig-AN.AN.AN.AN en A-ni-a-lu-du dumu-nita tu-da;*

rev. II 7-10: 3 aktum-TŪG ti-TŪG *A-ni-a-lu-du* 1 TŪG-NI.NI *ga-du₈-sù.*

²⁴ For this list of women see also Toniatti: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 (1989), p. 102.

²⁵ Asanadu is not quoted in the lists of older women of the court, probably she is young and still active as wet-nurse.

²⁶ Rautum is a well known great lady of the court cf. Archi, ARES 1, p. 254.

3.4 Wet-nurses quoted in texts of the kingdom of Išar-Damu, Dusigu great mother of the king (ama-gal en) and first lady, Dabur-Damu at the court in second place in the women's list and then, after the marriage (Ibrium 13), quoted usually as queen (*maliktum*), vizier Ibrium (last years).

--[32] TM.75.G.2233 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, Dabur-Damu, vizier Ibrium, 4 sisters of the mother of the king, princess Maud [married] at the court) obv. III 17-IV 6: 13 TÖG-NI.NI *Da-sa-ru₁₂ Mi-na-du Ri-ba₂ I-šar-tum Ĥu-za-ù Gi-sa-du Iš₁₁-lu-NI-la A-bù-ma Da-gi-iš-ša-ru₁₂ Ba-zi-da AN.NE En-na-^dUtu [Ma-si-gi-sa-ba]-'im'*...

--[33] TM.75.G.10150 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, Dabur-Damu, 4 sisters of the mother of the king, princess Maud [married], vizier Ibrium) obv. IX 9-XI 3: 23 textiles (zara₆-TÖG) to a list of 23 women of the court beginning with *Du-si-gù Da-bur-Da-mu*;²⁷

obv. XI 12-XII 9: 14 TÖG-NI.NI *Da-sa-ru₁₂ Mi-na-du Ri-ba₂ I-šar-tum Gi-ša-du Iš₁₁-lu-ni-la A-bù-ma Ba-zi-da Da-gi-iš-ša-ru₁₂ AN.NE En-na-^dUtu I-lum-i-da Mi-nu-NI-la Dab₆-ri-Da-mu ABxĀŠ-mi ABxĀŠ-mi wa ga-du₈ ga-du₈. Cf. the list in [22], [27], [32], [34], [42], [55], [78], [92].*

--[34] TM.75.G.1885 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, Dabur-Damu, Ibrium) obv. III 15-IV 15: 17 textiles (zara₆-TÖG) to a list of 17 women of the king beginning with *Du-si-gù Da-bur-Da-mu*;²⁸

obv. V 1-12: 11 TÖG-NI.NI *Ab-a-du Mi-na-a-du Da-sa-ru₁₂ Ā-gù-nu-šé Ĥu-za-ù Ri-ba-šu Gi-sa-du Iš₁₁-lu-NI-la TI-NE-a-ĥu A-zi-kir Ba-zi-da ga-du₈.*

The monthly account of textiles

--[35] TM.75.G.2417 (king Išar-Damu, Ibrium 15) is parallel to the annual account of metal

--[36] TM.75.G.1730+ (= MEE 7 34) and is parallel also to the ritual text ARET XI 2. The three texts are contemporary and to be dated to the year Ibrium 15, year of the marriage of Išar-Damu with Dabur-Damu. The account of textiles registers a long list of textiles and pendants to the most important ladies of the court. The list of TM.75.G.2417 is parallel to that of TM.75.G.1730+ rev. XII 24-XIV 26. Between them is quoted G/Kisadu, but the metal account at rev. XIV 26 has simply the name G/Kisadu; in the monthly account of textiles G/Kisadu

²⁷ For the list cf. Archi, ARES I, p. 258; Tonietti: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 (1989), p. 103; TM.75.G.10150 obv. XI 4-11: 5 zara₆-TÖG 4 nin-ni ama-gal en wa Ma-ù-ud è-gi Dur-du-lum. Cf. also Biga: "Ktoma", 22 (1997), p. 39-40.

²⁸ For this list cf. Archi, ARES I, p. 257; Tonietti: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 (1989), p. 101.

is specified as wet-nurse of Išar-Damu. This is further important proof of the equation Išar-Damu-king (en) to add to the texts [20, 23] previously examined.

	TM.75.G.2417		TM.75.G.1730+ (- MEE 7 34)
rev. XIII	5	1 zara _g -TÜG 1 bu-di šú-ša gin DILMUN bar _g :kû	rev. XIV
	6	Ki-sa-du	26 Ki-sa-du
	7	ga-du _g	
	8	Iš ₁₁ -ar-Da-mu	

It is again thanks to the modest Kisadu that we can assume without doubt that Išar-Damu was the name of Ebla's last king; cf. also [20] and [23].

--[37] TM.75.G.1881 (king Išar-Damu, queen, Ibrium 15) is contemporary to TM.75.G.2417, because it is also parallel to TM.75.G.1730+ (- MEE 7 34) to be dated to the year of the marriage of the king with the queen (Dabur-Damu). The context is broken but is clear that in the same year of his marriage at the court a lady of the court (not necessary a secondary wife of the king) gave birth to a son. The name of this woman is lost. At rev. III 14'-17':] tu-da 1 TÜG-NINI dam ga-du_g-sû
rev. X 1'-4':] 'dam' en 1 TÜG-NINI ga-du_g-sû.

--[38] TM.75.G.2040 (- ARET IV 25) (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibrium)²⁹
obv. IV 10-13: 1 gada-TÜG TÜG-mu A-zi-za ga-du_g šú-ša-ak-Da-mu.

--[39] TM.75.G.10183 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibrium last years and Ibbi-Zikir still involved in public administration) obv. III 5'-11': 1 zara_g-TÜG nig-ba ma-lik-tum ⁴Ra-sa-ap ²A-da-NI^{ki} in ⁴AMA-ra;
obv. VIII 8-11: 1 gada-TÜG TÜG-mu A-zi-za ga-[du_g] 'šú-ša-ak-Da-mu;
obv. IX 6-16: 4 sal-TÜG 4 dumu-mi nig-ba en wa ama-gal en wa Ibr-ri-um ⁴Be Du-du-ia^{ki}.³⁰

²⁹ The text is to be dated after the marriage (after Ibrium 15), because there is a mention of a ritual in the town of Nenaš (*sa-da-bi-iš en wa ma-lik-tum si-in NE-na-š^{ki}*), performed regularly by the royal couple after the marriage, cf. M.G. Biga, *Rituali reali eblaiti e loro riflessi nei testi amministrativi: Actes of Ier Symposium Internacional, "Una década de estudios sobre el Oriente Antiguo"*, Madrid 1996, in press.

³⁰ The scribe omitted the fourth person who would be the queen. The text is to be dated to a year very close to that of the marriage and is one of the few texts where Ibrium and the queen (Dabur-Damu) are mentioned

--[40] TM.75.G.2430 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibrium) rev. III 3-7: 1 zara₆-TÜG 3 aktum-TÜG ti-TÜG dam ga-du₈ dumu-mi ma-lik-tum.

3.5 Wet-nurses at Ibrium's service.

--[41] TM.75.G.2503 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium) rev. II 11-16: 1 TÜG-NI.NI dam ga-du₈ dumu-nita Ib-ri-um Du-si-ig^{ki}.

3.6 Wet-nurses quoted during the reign of Išar-Damu, Dusigu mother of the king, queen Dabur-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir years 1-3, Kisadu still alive and always at the court.

Some texts are clearly dated by the presence together of Dusigu, the mother of the king, and Ibbi-Zikir. In fact, the death of Dusigu is to be placed in the third year of Ibbi-Zikir, well documented in the annual account of metals TM.75.G.10088+10082 and in parallel texts of textiles TM.75.G.1962 and text of mu-DU type TM.75.G.2375.³¹

--[42] TM.75.G.2257 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, Dabur-Damu, 4 sisters of the mother of the king, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. III 6-V 6: 25 zara₆-TÜG Du-si-gú Da-bur-Da-mu Di-ni-ib-du lum Tar₂ bû-Da-mu Ra-û-tum Kir-su-ud mah Gi-ša-du En-na^{du}Utu [4 cases] 'x'-du// Da-ba-a-du I-šar-tum Kir-su-ud tur Ba-gû-du Da-ḫu-šum Ri-du-du Nu-ru₁₂-ud I-du-NI-a dam-dam en lû Sa-za₂^{ki}I-da-du A-NI-a-lu-du Da-dub A-ru₁₂-gu-du^{ki} wa Da-a-Zi-kir [3 cases] 4 nin-ni// ama-gal en wa Ma-û-ud é-gi Dur-du-lum;

obv. V 7-VI 3: 15 TÜG-NI.NI Da-sa-ru₁₂ Mi-na-du Ri-ba_x I-šar-tum Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-NI-a A-bû-ma Ba-zi-da Da-gi-iš-ša-ḫa-ru₁₂ AN.NE En-na^{du}Utu I-lum-i-da [x]-Ja-'x'-mu³ Ma-si-gi-iš-ba-um// wa ga-du₈ A-za-an^{ki}.

In this list we probably have together ex wet-nurses, wet-nurses still in service and older ladies of the court. Compare the lists in texts

together and is to be added to the texts quoted in Biga - Pomponio: JCS, 42 (1990), particularly pp. 190-193. The text proves that Iraq-Damu is not the son of the royal couple but a son of the king and of another woman whose name remains unknown. In fact at the time of the birthday of the first son of the royal couple, both Ibrium and the great mother of the king were dead, and Iraq-Damu was still at the court, see the discussion in Biga: "Ktéma", 22 (1997), p. 35-44.

³¹ Cf. Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 78; Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 48-50.

--[43] TM.75.G.2647+2650 (// 2462 Ibbi-Zikir 2, death of Dirin-Damu priestess at Luban) obv. X 19'-23': 1 sal-TÖG ga-du₈ *Gi-mi-ni-za-du si-in* ÊXPAP. Giminizadu is the sister of the queen whose death is quoted in TM.75.G.1860 (= MEE 10 20) and parallel to ARET IV 19 (see Biga - Pomponio: JCS, 42 [1990], p. 183-184, to be dated at Ibbi-Zikir 1, see Archi: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 87). The wet-nurse died one year after her lady.

--[44] TM.75.G.2433+2509 (// 10182+10088, Ibbi-Zikir 3) rev. V 10-22: 2 aktum-TÖG ti-TÖG dumu-nita *Têš-má-zi-kir* dam en 'Á-za-an^{ki} ! TÖG-NI.NI dam ga-du₈ dumu-nita *Têš-má-Zi-kir* dam en.

In this period the king had many sons and daughters at the palace of Ebla and in other palaces.

--[45] TM.75.G.1770 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, 3 sisters of the king's mother)³² obv. V' 1-VI' 16: 25 zara₆-TÖG to a list (beginning with Dusigu, queen etc.) of 25 ladies of the court then at obv. V' 8: *Gi-ša-du*;

obv. VI' 17-VII' 8: 14 TÖG-NI.NI *i-šar-tum Ri-ba₂ Mi-na-du Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-NI-a Ba-zi-da* AN.NE *En-na-^dUtu Ma-si-gi-sa-ba-um* wa 2 ga-du₈ 2 dumu-mi wa 4 ga-du₈ 4 dumu-nita en.

--[46] TM.75.G.5053 rev. II 1: *Sal-li* 3 ga-du₈ 3 dumu-mi 4 ga-du₈ 4 dumu-nita en [...]

--[47] TM.75.G.10277 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir years 1-3) obv. II' 1'-11': [*En-na-^dUtu* šeš:pa₄ ^d*Ku-ra Gi-ša-du Kir-gi-ša-du Dab₆-du-^dUtu Iš-lu-du* šeš ama-gal en *Bû-bar₆:kû Kir-su-[ud]* [...]

obv. III' 1'-5': [3] 'du'₃:ga 3 dumu-mi 5 du₈:ga 5 dumu-nita *Gal-tum*.

--[48] TM.75.G.425 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king,³³ queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IV' 1'-12': *Ba-zi-da Sal-li* AN.NE *Ma-an-si-gi-sa-ba-um* 3 ga-du₈ '3' dumu-mi 5 ga-du₈ 5 dumu-nita 2 ga-du₈ 'Á-za-an^{ki} 3 'á-da-um-TÖG-II 3 aktum-TÖG 3 ib+3-TÖG-sa₆-dar [...] 'x' [...]

obv. V' 1'-5': *Mi-kum-^dKu-ra 'Ar'-si-Da-mu Ti-iš-te-Da-mu* ga-du₈ 'f'-'á-ak-Da-mu A-NI-a-ú-du *Da-dub Têš-má-'x'-[...]*

³² For the list cf. Archi, ARES I, p. 257 and Tonietti: "Miscellanea Eblaitica", 2 (1989), p. 103.

³³ The mother of the king is surely still alive because at rev. I 1'-7' there is a list of pa₄-šeš at the service of the mother of the king: *Zi-[mi]-na-Da-mu Bû-[da]-NI Mi-ga-[NI] Ti-'ra'-NI* šeš:pa₄ ama-[gal] en.

- [49] TM.75.G.10164 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. II 9-17: 1 ²ā-da-um-TÜG 1 aktum-TÜG *ib-du-Da-mu dumu-nita Du-bi-Da-mu en Bur-ma-an^{ki34}* 1 TÖG-NINI dam ga-du₈-sù;
rev. VIII 8-15: 1 *mi-ut* 12 1/2 kin₂ siki TÖG-mu 75 dam ABxÁŠ dam engar wa dam ga-du₈ Sa-za₂^{ki}.
- [50] TM.75.G.2352 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. VIII 6-16: 1 zara₆-TÜG i-giš-sag *Gi-ša-du*. 1 zara₆-TÜG *Da-dub-Da-mu dam-dingir dumu-mi en Hu-za-an^{ki}ama-gal i-na-sum*.
- [51] TM.75.G.1743 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. V 8-9: 10 kin siki gi₆ 10 dam ga-du₈.
- [52] TM.75.G.10280 (king Išar-Damu, mother of the king, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IX 11-14: 1 gu-mug-TÜG 1 sal-TÜG 1 ib-3-dar-TÜG šeš ga-du₈ *ma-lik-tum*.
- [53] TM.75.G.2527+2528 (king Išar-Damu, Dusigu, Dabur-Damu) rev. I 23-III 9: list of 25 women of the king receiving zara₆-TÜG (see Archi, ARES I, p. 258; Tonietti: "Miscellanea Eblaïtica", 2 [1989], p. 103); among them at rev. II 4: *Gi-ša-du*.

3.6 Texts of the reign of king Išar-Damu, queen Dabur-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir (years 4-10).

To a period immediately after the death of the great mother of the king are to ascribed the following:

- [54] TM.75.G.1868 (= ARET IV 22) (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, Gišadu still alive) rev. VIII 10-IX 16 long list of women of the court; at the end VIII 16: *Gi-ša-du*; rev. X 1-7: [*Ma-sa-gi-[ba-u]*m Sal-li 3 ga-du₈ 3 dumu-mi 4 ga-du₈ 4 dumu-nita en.
- [55] TM.75.G.1890 obv. XII 16-rev. II 16: 26 zara₆-TÜG *ma-lik-tum A-ma-ga Ra-ù-tum A-ba-da-du En-na^dUtu Gi-ša-du Ma-ga-ra-du Teš-má-Da-mu Da-ba-a-du En-na^dUtu I-šar-tum Maš-gù-du Tal(RI)-du-ut Bù-bar₆<kù> Si-NI-ma-du Nu-ru₁₂-ud I-du-NI-a Mi-kum^dKu-ra Dar-ib-Da-mu Ti-iš-te-Da-mu 2 dumu-mi en A-NI-a-ù-du Kir-su-ut 2 zara₆-TÜG 2 nin-ni ama-gal en;
rev. II 17-III 15: 12 TÖG-NINI 3 gu-dùl-TÜG *I-šar-tum Ri-ba₂ Mi-na-du IŠ₁₁-ru₁₂-NI-a Ba-zi-da Sal-li AN.NE Ma-sa-gi-ba-um 3 ga-du₈ 3 dumu-mi 4 ga-du₈ 4 dumu-nita en.**

³⁴ The queen of Burman is an Eblaïte princess, cf. Biga: "Amurru", 1 (1996), p. 66-69; this explains the interest of Ebla in the events of the Burman court.

--[56] TM.75.G.1278 (= ARET I 16) (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. I 1-6: 1 zara₅-TÜG 1 TÜG-NI.NI 2 dam ga-du₅ (obl.) 1 dumu-nita 1 dumu-mi en 'A-za-an^{ki} (cf. [48]).

--[57] TM.75.G.1273 (= ARET IV 5) (king Išar-Damu, queen, Ibbi-Zikir, Iraq-Damu) obv. VII 1-8: 1 TÜG-NI.NI 2 bu-di zabar 20 (gin) 1 dam ga-du₅ *İl-'ā-ak-Da-mu* dumu-nita en é uru-bar.

--[58] TM.75.G.1894 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) cf. "Misc. Eb.", 2, p. 107 rev. VI 19-VII 32: list of 29 ladies of the king receiving textiles (zara₅-TÜG), among them at rev. VII 12: *Gī-'ša'-du*.

--[59] TM.75.G.1264 (= ARET I 15 = MEE 2 2) // ARET IV 7 (TM.75.G.1276) // TM.75.G.10074 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 6, Iraq-Damu) obv. V 9-14: 10 aktum-TÜG ti-TÜG dumu-nita *ma-lik-tum* 2 TÜG-NI.NI 1 dam ga-du₅-sù; obv. VI 13-VII 1: 1 zara₅-TÜG 'A-ga-ša-du ga-du₅ *ma-lik-tum*.

In this example is clear that Agašadu is the wet-nurse who breast-fed the queen when she was a baby. On the important occasion of the birth of the first son of the queen, she receives a gift as one of the most important ladies of the court.

From all these texts it is clear that over a period of about 10 years, the king had many sons and daughters and also the son by the queen.

In the same text TM.75.G.10074 the wet-nurse of a son of the lady Nurud of Išar-Damu's harem receives a precious gift.

--[60] TM.75.G.10074 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 6) obv. IX 16-23: 2 (gin) an-na šub *si-in šu-ša gin DILMUN a-gar₅ 2 bu-di dam ga-du₅ dumu-nita Nu-ru₁₂-ud*.³⁵

--[61] TM.75.G.1274 (= ARET I 13 = MEE 2 7) obv. VI 18-VII 3: 2 aktum-TÜG ti-TÜG *Mi-kum-'Ku-ra* dam en 1 TÜG-NI.NI dam ga-du₅ (obl.) dumu-nita-sù; at rev. XI 14 *Gī-ša-du* concludes a long list of 22 women of the court of Ebla and of other palaces at Arugadu, 'Azan and Lub receiving each 3 kin_x of wool.

--[62] TM.75.G.1419 // annual account of metal TM.75.G.2428 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 7) obv. XI 17-22: 1 gu-mug-TÜG 1 ib+4-TÜG-dar *Sar-ri-ma ku-tu A-zi-za ga-du₅ İl-'ā-ak-Da-mu*; rev. X 16-XI 11: long list (beginning with the queen) of women of the king (dam-dam en) receiving 48 kin_x siki of wool (3 kin_x siki each); after these women

³⁵ Nurud is a well known lady of Išar-Damu's harem and perhaps is the same Nurud mother of another son from the time of prime minister Ibrum, cf. TM.75.G.1923 (Ibrum 8) rev. VI 6'-9': 2 gin DILMUN bar₆:kù *maš-da-ù dumu-nita Nu-ru₁₂-ud*.

and in the same list rev. XI 10-11: *Gi-ša-du 'ga'-du₈*; she receives the same quantity as the most important ladies of the court.

rev. XI 22-25: 2 kin₂ siki 'A'-zi-za ga-du₈ *Il-'ā-ak-Da-mu*.

Aziza and Gisadu lived together at court for a period as we see from

--[63] TM.76.G.530 (= ARET I 5 = MEE 5 10) (king Išar-Damu, queen, Iraq-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. VIII 12-21: 1 'ā-da-am-TÜG-1 1 sal-TÜG 1 ib+3-TÜG-dar A-wa-l-sar dumu-nita [A-z]i-za g[a]-du₈ 1 ['ā-da-] u[m-T]ÜG-11 1 aktum-TÜG 1 ib+27-TÜG-sa₆-dar Gi-da-na-im dumu-nita Gi-'ša'-du ga-du₈ (and Gidanaim is the son of the wet-nurse Gišadu receiving the purification gift at the death of the mother in [75]).

--[64] TM.75.G.1946 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir)

obv. VI 10-14: 1 gu-mug-TÜG 1 sal-TÜG 1 ib+3-TÜG-dar dumu-nita A-zi-za ga-du₈ *Il-'ā-ak-Da-mu*.

--[65] TM.75.G.3041 (= ARET III 35) (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, Iraq-Damu bebê) rev. I 1-4: 1 zara₆-TÜG 1 gid-TÜG A-zi-za ga-du₈ *Il-'ā-ak-Da-mu*.

--[66] TM.75.G.2336 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. XII 12-15: 1 'x'-[L]-TÜG A-zi-za ga-du₈ *Il-'ā-ak-Da-mu*.

--[67] TM.75.G.2371 (king Išar-Damu, queen, Ibbi-Zikir) obv. VII 4-7: 1 zara₆-TÜG A-zi-za ga-du₈ *Il-'ā-ak-Da-mu*.

--[68] TM.75.G.2573 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. V' 19-22: 1 'gu'-mug-[TÜG] 1 ib-[3-T]-dar dumu-ni[ta] A-zi-za ga-'du₈'.

--[69] TM.75.G.10134 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. IV 9-11: t. (1,1,1) i-giš-sag A-zi-za.³⁶

-- [70] TM.75.G.10033 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IV 12-14: 1 zara₆-TÜG 1 gid-TÜG 'A-zi-za ga-du₈.

³⁶ Aziza is also a masculine name, but from the context it is easy to distinguish if we are in the presence of the wet-nurse Aziza or of a male functionary of the court. We have at least two important functionaries with the name Aziza:

1) Aziza is one of the Elders of the city of Ebla cf. TM.75.G.10079 (king Išar-Damu, Ibrium) rev. III 20-25: t. (2,2,2) A-da-gar wa A-zi-za ABxÁS ABxÁS Sa-za₂^{ki}.

2) TM.75.G.1323 (= MEE 2 20) (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium) obv. V 5-7: A-zi-za lú A-lum.

A son of Aziza is quoted in TM.75.G.2622 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 11) rev. XII 14-15: (1 *gulilum*) I-in-zê lú A-zi-za.

- [71] TM.75.G.1934 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, death of Ib-Malik brother of the mother of the king (šeš ama-gal en) rev. II 10-17: [x gada]-TÖG [TÖG]-mu *Gi-ša-du* ga-du₈ en *ma-lik-tum* in-na-sum *I-ab*^{ki}.
- [72] TM.75.G.1763 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IV 6-13: 12 na₄ siki 'BALAG' 'e'-[nun]-'sú' *Ii-'à-ak-Da-mu* 4 aktum-TÖG ti-TÖG *Gi-ša-du* ga-du₈ lù tu-ra-sù.
- [73] TM.75.G.2443 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. IX 12-X 7: 3 kin_x (siki) NI-za-ù for the queen, then 45 kin_x (siki) NI-za-ù to a list of 15 women of the court beginning with Amaga;
at rev. IX 26: *Gi-ša-du* (receiving the same quantity of wool as the most important ladies of the court);
rev. VII 31-32: [10+] 3 kin_x [siki] 13 dam ga-du₈.
- [74] TM.75.G.3164+TM.75.G.3168 (= ARET III 140+144) (king Išar-Damu, queen, Ibbi-Zikir), III 3'-9': 4 ga-du₈ 4 dumu-nita en *Gal-tum* wa ga-du₈ *Za-a-šè*.
- [75] TM.75.G.2247 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, 2 sisters of the mother of the king) rev. VI 1-6: 1 TÖG-NI.NI *Gi-ša-du* ga-du₈ en *si-in* ÈxPAP;³⁷ obv. IV 11-13: 1 'à-da-um TÖG-II 1 aktum-TÖG 1 ib+4-TÖG-sa₆-dar i-giš-sag *Gi-da-na-im*. Gidana'im is, with Budana'im, a son of Gisadu see [63].
- [76] TM.75.G.2353 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, Iraq-Damu) obv. IV 2-5: 1 gu-mug-TÖG 1 ib+3-TÖG-dar šeš ga-du₈ *ma-lik-tum*.
- [77] TM.75.G.1382 (king Išar-Damu, queen Dabur-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. V 19-VI 7: 1 gu-dùl-TÖG 1 ib+2-TÖG-dar šeš 'À-ga-ša-du ga-du₈ *ma-lik-tum ma-lik-tum* i-na-sum.
- [78] TM.75.G.2275 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. XII 8-rev. I-5: 12 zara₆-TÖG to a list (beginning with *ma-lik-tum A-ma-ga*) of 12 ladies of the court of Ebla;
rev. I 6-II 2: 13 zara₆-TÖG to a list of 13 ladies of the palaces of *A-ru*₁₂-ga-du^{ki}, *Ma-du*^{ki}, 'À-za-an^{ki}, *Lu-ub*^{ki}, *Má-bar-du*^{ki};
rev. II 3-III 3: 16 TÖG-NI.NI *I-šar-tum A-zi-kir* 'À-ga-ša-du *A-zi-za Gal-tum Sal-li Ba-zi-da Ū-nu-ma-i-NE AN.NE Dab₆-ri-da Za-lu-li Da-du* II? *Sal-li Da-to*⁴Utu *Ma-sa-iš-ba-um Di-ma*.

³⁷ This is the last quotation of Kišadu, the wet-nurse of the king. In M. Baldacci, *Partially Published Eblaite Texts*, Napoli 1992, p. 150, quotation 1832, TM.75.G.2429 (Ibbi-Zikir 9): (precious objects) nig-ba *Gi-li-tum* HÜB.KI (and not *Gi-ša-du*).

In this list there are together wet-nurses (²Agašadu, Aziza, Galtum), older ladies and some dancers (NE.DI). See also the list in [79] with the same names.³⁸

Agašadu and Aziza are never defined as NE.DI, but as ga-du_g. In this case it is not a problem of homonym. It is very probable that some wet-nurses, their work finished, were used as dancers. At Ebla not only very young women were used as dancers!

--[79] TM.76.G.542 (= ARET VIII 542 - MEE 5 22) (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, princess Kešdut, daughter of the royal couple) rev. 1 2-11 16: in the list of ladies of the harem beginning with the queen, Amaga and the princess Kešdut, Gisadu has disappeared; the text is probably written after the deaths of the two princesses Tište-Damu and Darib-Damu.

rev. 11 17-III 8: 17 TŪG-NI.NI to a list of 17 feminine dancers (NE.DI); among them ²Agašadu, Aziza and Galtum, former wet-nurses and now dancers.

--[80] TM.75.G.10234 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IV' 7-11: 1 zara₆-TŪG ²A-ga-ša-du ga-du_g ma-lik-tum si-in ÉXPAP.³⁹

obv. VI 3-8: 1 TŪG-²NI²NI ga-[du_g] 1 dumu-nita A-zi-za ma-lik-tum i-na-sum. Agašadu is never quoted in the lists of the great ladies of the court, because she lived in the house of Netibudu and Irib-Damu, the parents of the queen; they lived at Ebla, but not at the royal palace.

--[81] TM.75.G.1830 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 9// TM.75.G.2429) rev. X' 12-14: 2 TŪG-NI.NI ga-du_g ²A-za-an^{ki}.

--[82] TM.75.G.1898 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. I' 4'-7': 2 TŪG-NI.NI 2 dam ga-du_g ²A-za-an^{ki}.

--[83] TM.75.G.1436 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. VII 9-11: 2 TŪG-NI.NI 2 ga-du_g ²A-za-an^{ki}.

--[84] TM.75.G.1896 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir 10// TM.75.G.2507) obv. III 5'-15': 3 aktum-TŪG ti 1 TŪG-NI.NI dar 1 dam ga-du_g dumu-mi ma-lik-tum 1 zara₆-TŪG Nam-NE-na-du ²A-šuk^{ki}in ud tu-da ma-lik-tum.

³⁸ For the presence in lists of dancers (NE.DI) of names of wet-nurses cf. A. Catagnoli, *I NE.DI nei testi amministrativi degli archivi di Ebla: "Miscellanea Eblaitica"*, 2 (1989), p. 151-152. Sometimes in the lists we have names of wet-nurses with names of NE.DI. Perhaps some wet-nurses, after their task was over, were used as dancers at the court. Or this could be a homonym.

³⁹ It is clear from this text that ²Agašadu and Gisadu are two different wet-nurses and not the same person as supposed by P. Fronzaroli: *CRRAl*, 33 (1987), p. 70; Catagnoli: *"Miscellanea Eblaitica"*, 2 (1989), p. 151 and n. 11.

To ascribe to the same period are:

--[85] TM.75.G.1917 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. III 7'-15: 1 'gid'-[TÖG] ga-du₈ dumu-mi *ma-lik-tum* 4 aktum-TÖG ti-TÖG *Kéš-du-ud* dumu-mi *ma-lik-tum*

--[86] TM.75.G.1949 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. X 1-3: 1 gada-TÖG TÖG-mu ga-du₈ *Kéš-du-ud*.

--[87] TM.75.G.1916 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. VI 15-VII 2: 1 zara₆-TÖG ga-du₈ // [dumu-mi] *ma-lik-tum*.

--[88] TM.75.G.2653 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. III 8-13: 1 gu-mu-TÖG 1 dam ga-du₈ dumu-mi *Si-na-ni-ma-du* dam en.⁴⁰

3.7 Wet-nurses quoted in texts of the last years of Ebla.

In the texts to be dated to the last years of Ebla all the wet-nurses we knew by name disappear and the presence of anonymous wet-nurses is registered.

--[89] TM.76.G.525 (= ARET VIII 525 - MEE 5 5) obv. XIII 19-23: 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈ *Ir-kab-ri-zu* dumu-nita en.

--[90] TM.76.G.529 (= ARET VIII 529 - MEE 5 9) obv. IX 10-17: 2 aktum-TÖG *Ma-ga-na-a-du wa Za-i-mu* 2 dumu-mi en 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du₈-sù.

--[91] TM.76.G.531 (= ARET VIII 531 - MEE 5 11) rev. II 6-14: 5 aktum-TÖG ti-TÖG en *Ur-sá-um*⁴¹ 2 gada-TÖG 5 sal-TÖG 3 gu-mug₂-TÖG ga-du₈ dumu-nita-sù *En-na-NI lù A-ba-tum* [š_u-ba₄-ti].

In text TM.75.G.1225 king Išar-Damu's harem is composed by 33 great ladies, 13 wet-nurses and elderly women and 15 women of inferior grade. The text is to be dated to a very late period, after the death of the two princesses, daughters of the last king, who died young: Tište-Damu and Darib-Damu (after TM.75.G.2622-Ibbi-Zikir 11).

--[92] TM.75.G.1225 obv. II 21-23: 2 zara₆-TÖG *ma-lik-tum A-ma-ga*.
obv. II 24-III 28: 31 aktum-TÖG *Kéš-du-ud Téš-má-Da-mu En-na*⁴²[Utu] // *A-NI-a-du I-šar-tum I-du-ù-na En-na*⁴²Utu 11 *Nu-lu-ud Ri-du-ud Ma-za-a-du Téš-má-zi-kir Mi-la-gi-ti Si-na-ni-ma-du Mi-kum*⁴²*Ku-ra Da-dub Puzur₄-ru₁₂*⁴²*Ku-ra Da-a-ga-ba-al₆ Zu-ma-NE₆ Iš-lu-ud Ma-ba*⁴²*Ku-ra A-du-ga-za Mi-da-šé Su-ù-du Bù-bar₆:kù Zi-mi-mi-nu Ma-li-NI-a I-du-ù-na* 11 *Sal-li Da-šum* dam en *Ar-za-du*.

⁴⁰ For this lady of the harem see Archi: "Amurru", I (1996), p. 91 (Ibbi-Zikir 9) obv. XXV.

obv. III 29: 13 TUG-NI.NI (3 cases) IV 1-10: *Ba-zi-da Ħa-za-ri AN.NE Dab₆-ri-da Da-du-NI-a Sal-li II I-Ħar-tum II Wa-su-ga-du Ma-sa-gi-ba-um Da-gi-iĦ-KĀ*;⁴¹
obv. IV 11-31: 15 aktum-TUG *MaĦ-gū-ud Bū-bar₆kū Kir-su-ud Da-dub Ħi-su-ud Na-dab₆-ba-du Da-bū-du Du-sa-i-mu Da-tēĦ-NI Si-Ħa-mu Ma-ga-na-du Ħa-na-ba-du* dam en 1 dumu-mi Bū-bar₆kū *En-zū-mu Ra-ba₂-tum* 2 dam *AĦ-su-ub-Da-mu*.

--[93] TM.75.G.2330 rev. II 7-11: 1 TUG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-nita en *Lu-ub^{ki}*;
obv. I 11-16: 2 TUG-NI.NI 2 dam ga-du₈ 1 dumu-nita 1 dumu-mi *Du-bū-Ħu-^dĀ-da*.

--[94] TM.75.G.10191 rev. I 4-10: 1 TUG-NI.NI 2 kin siki 2 bu-di 1 ma-na zabar dam ga-du₈ 1 dumu-'nita' 'en' *[A-ru₁₂]-ga-du^{ki}*.

Probably at the same period is to be dated

--[95] TM.75.G.10016 (= ARET I 2) + TM.75.G.1886 (= ARET IV 23) rev. V 16-23: 1 TUG-NI.NI ga-du₈ dumu-nita en *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* in *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*.

To the last years of Ebla is to be ascribed

--[96] TM.75.G.2431 rev. VII 2'-12': white or black wool for women of the court; among them at rev. VII 6'-7': 12 kin₂ siki ud 12 ga-du₈.

To be ascribed to these last years of Ebla also most of the texts of archive L.2712 where anonymous wet-nurses are recorded as receiving alimentary rations, among other women of the king and with the elderly women. These are all anonymous. None of the wet-nurses we knew Gišadu, Ağašadu, Aziza etc. are quoted in the lists of women of the court. This is further proof that the texts of the archive L.2712 are of the last period of the city's life.

--[97] TM.75.G.527 (= ARET IX 16) obv. V 7-10: 5 ninda dumu-mi wa ga:du₈; rev. III 6-8: 5 ninda dumu-mi ga:du₈.

--[98] TM.75.G.411 (= ARET IX 19) obv. V 9: 1 ninda ga-du₈

--[99] TM.75.G.455 (= ARET IX 41) obv. III 12-IV 1: 12 še gū-bar ga:du₈ (12 še gū-bar for each wet-nurse)

--[100] TM.75.G.457 (= ARET IX 42) obv. I 3: 6 še ga:du₈.

--[101] TM.75.G.523 (= ARET IX 43) rev. II 5-6: 10 dam ga-du₈.

--[102] TM.75.G.537 (= ARET IX 44) obv. VII 9-11: 2 še bar 5 nig-sagšu 10 lá-1 dam ga:du₈.

--[103] TM.75.G.261 (= ARET IX 47) obv. II 3-4: 9 dam ga:du₈.

--[104] TM.75.G.273 (= ARET IX 48) obv. II 4-6: 11 dam 2 1 «GĦN» še bar ga:du₈.

--[105] TM.75.G.350 (= ARET IX 51) obv. I 5: 8 ga:du₈.

⁴¹ Probably there are together here ex-wet-nurses, elderly women and some dancers; compare the list in [22], [27], [32], [33], [42], [55], [78].

Wet-nurses at Ebla

- [106] TM.75.G.446 (= ARET IX 53) rev. III 2: 1 ga-du_g.
 --[107] TM.75.G.453 (= ARET IX 54) obv. I 1-4: 30 dam ABxÁŠ 'wa' [g]a:du_g;
 rev. IV 8: 11 dam ga:du_g
 --[108] TM.75.G.758 (= ARET IX 112) obv. III 1': [...d]am ga:du_g.
 --[109] TM.75.G.443 (= ARET X 95) obv. I 1: 8 dam ga-du_g è

3.8 Wet-nurses for sons or daughters of vizier Ibbi-Zikir or of his son Dubu_h-
 'Ada (reign of Išar-Damu, last 10 years).

- [110] TM.75.G.1944// TM.75.G.2429 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir
 9) obv. IV 17'-21': 1 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du_g Za-á-šè dumu-mi I-bi-Zi-kir.
 --[111] TM.75.G.1729 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) obv. IX 11-14: 2
 TÖG-NI.NI 2 ga-du_g 2 dumu-mi Du-bù-*hu*-^dÁ-da; cf. also [93].
 --[112] TM.75.G.2625 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. I 10-II 3: 1
 TÖG-NI.NI ga-du_g dumu-nita Du-bù-*hu*-^dÁ-da ma-lik-tum i-na-sum.
 --[113] TM.75.G.2402 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. II 7-12: 1
 TÖG-NI.NI dam ga-du_g Ir-ib-I-šar dumu-nita I-bi-Zi-kir.
 --[114] TM.75.G.2490 (king Išar-Damu, queen, vizier Ibbi-Zikir, Iraq-Damu)
 obv. IX 6-10: 1 gu-mug-TÖG (anep.) ga-du_g 1 dumu-nita [x]-'x';
 obv. IX 17-20: 1 TÖG-NI.NI Wa-nu-ga ga-du_g Za-'á-šè;
 rev. VII 8'-23': ...] [I]-šar-tum [Nu]-lu-ud I-du-ù-na Kir-su-ud Ri-du-ud Bù-
 bar_g:kù Da-dub Ma-za-a-du Téš-má-Zi-kir [I]-zu-ud I-du-nu-na Mi-kum-^dKu-
 ra Si-na-ni-ma-du Na-dab_g-ba-du Da-dub II [Sa]-li-'x'-[...]; rev. VIII 2'-4':]
 dam-dam en Ra-ba_g-tum 'x' 'x' [. These women are part of the last harem of
 Išar-Damu, see [92].

It is impossible to date exactly the fragments:

- [115] TM.75.G.3108 (ARET III 93) V 1': ga-du_g-sù.
 --[116] TM.75.G.3480 (ARET III 416) IV 1'-2': dumu-nita ga-du_g.
 --[117] TM.75.G.4596 II x'1':]NI-ra-ar^{kl} TÖG-NI.NI ga-du_g-sù.

There are no mentions of wet-nurses in the texts of archives L. 2586 (1974)
 and L.2875, L.2764 (1976).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The presence of wet-nurses is an important prosopographic aid in placing
 many Ebla texts in chronological order.

Some wet-nurses mentioned by personal names (Gisadu, Agašadu, Aziza etc.) appear frequently and give us more elements for the chronological reconstruction.

The most important of them is Gisadu, the wet-nurse of king Išar-Damu: following her long life, spent entirely at the court in the service of her "son" Išar-Damu, we are able to provide in a chronological order many texts of the Ebla archive, see INDEX *s.v.* *Gi-sa-du*.

Thanks to the texts mentioning Gisadu as wet-nurse of the king or as wet-nurse of Išar-Damu, we can be sure that the name of the last king of Ebla is Išar-Damu, see [20], [23], [35], [36].

5. INDEX OF NAMES OF WET-NURSES AND ELDERLY WOMEN (ga-du₈, ABxÁŠ)

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 'Á-gù-nu-šé [34]
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- Gū-lu-NI-la* [22]
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Īu-za-ù [22,27,32,34]
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Mi-nu-NI-la [33]
Nu-ru₁₂-ud [22]
Ri-ba-šū [22,27,34]
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