

Archivi Reali di Ebla

Testi

XIV

On behalf of the Università degli Studi di Roma
„La Sapienza“ edited by
Paolo Matthiae, Frances Pinnock,
and Alfonso Archi



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Annual Documents of Deliveries
(mu-DU) to the
Central Administration
(Archive L. 2769)

Part 1

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Foreword

This volume includes the documents concerning the “deliveries”, mu-DU, of metals (in particular silver and gold, and in later years also copper and bronze) and garments to the central administration.

Text no. 1 is a statement of the silver and gold stored from the time of King Kun-damu until the end of Irkab-damu’s reign. No. 2 resumes these data and adds those pertaining to the reign of Iš’ar-damu (the last king), when Ibrium first served as minister, and was succeeded by his son Ibbi-zikir. A similar statement is no. 3, but only very few lines are preserved. No. 2.a is an excerpt from the section concerning Ibbi-zikir in no. 2; it adds moreover the number of cattle and sheep under his control. No. 2.b is a list of the gold stored by him.

A detailed list of the gold employed for objects delivered year after year personally by Ibbi-zikir is presented in no. 92; no. 93, similarly organized, concerns also silver. These two texts have to be evaluated in conjunction with the annual mu-DU documents of the minister (nos. 77–87, 89–90).

Texts nos. 5–42, 47, and the fragments nos. 43–46 (section I) are probably all to be dated to the first six years of King Irkab-damu. Some of these are annual documents: they list either metals along with objects or garments; the later annual documents instead include all these goods. Agricultural production had its own accounting procedures, and its documentation was eliminated (with few occasional exceptions) after a couple of years.

Darmilu/Darmia and Tir held a preeminent position in the administration, as surely already during several years of Igrīš-Ḫalab’s rule. These documents had been selected for their importance and transferred from an indeterminable place into the “Central Archive” (L. 2769), a room built under the already existing portico, against the eastern wall of the Audience Court. The creation of this archive has to be dated to about the seventh year of king Irkab-damu, when Arrukum assumed the functions of minister. A few other kinds of documentation were transferred to this archive from a previous collection: important chancellery texts such as the letter of Enna-Dagan of Mari, the political treaty with Abarsal, a letter dictated at king Igrīš-Ḫalab’s death and the letter by Irkab-damu for the king of Ḫamazi (respectively *ARET* XIII 4, 5, 2 and 3); additionally, a text of cultic character originally written in Mari (*ARET* XIII 1), and perhaps the marriage ritual for king Irkab-damu (*ARET* XI 1). Some documents concerning large numbers of animals belonging to the Palace were also transferred into this archive (see Archi, 1984, nos. 9, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).

At Darmia’s death, Arrukum was appointed to control large sectors of the administration, although Tir kept his position for several more years. Arrukum acted as minister for at least five full years, until his death. It was Arrukum who created the typology of the annual documents concerning the “deliveries”, mu-DU, of metals and garments to the central administration (texts nos. 48–53, section II) and the annual documents of the “expended”, è, metals also in form of objects. The monthly accounts of the “expenditure”, è, of garments, also seems to be a typology not in use before Arrukum. The preserved documents of this kind attributed to this minister are sixty-two in number, fifty-nine of which have been edited by F. Pomponio in *ARET* XV, to which *ARET* II 14; IV 16, 17 must be added.

No. 54 concerns the funerary gifts delivered by several city-states and some Eblaite officials on the occasion of Irkab-damu’s death; Ibrium had been appointed as minister just from a few months earlier. His annual documents are no. 55–71 (section III), which cover without interruption the eighteen years of his mandate.

Only thirteen annual documents of his son and successor Ibbi-zikir are preserved (nos. 77–87, 89–90; section IV) although text no. 93 states that he was minister for seventeen years. According to this document either Ibbi-zikir died few months before the final defeat of Ebla by the Mari’s army, or the minister had resigned his office in favour of his son Iš’ar-damu (see the commentary to text no. 93). The most recent documents were carried off by officials of the army of Mari during

the plundering of the city. This is presumed from the fact that text no. 90, of the thirteenth year, was found on a wooden barrow several meters outside the Central Archive!

In conclusion, around forty-six years (traditional date: years 2380–2335 BC) are documented without interruption.

The photographs are by Maurizio Necci, whom I thank here together with Enrico Guida who has formatted this volume.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to the officials of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Syrian Arab Republic, where I found a home away from home, in particular to Drs Bassam Jamous, former Director General and Michel al-Maqdissi, former Director of Excavations and Archaeological Studies; to Mr Abdo Asfari and Mr Fajjar haj Mohammed, who succeeded each other as Director of the Archaeological Museum of Idlib until 2010. The sense of hospitality and camaraderie shown by each of them and the staff of the Museum of Idlib created an ideal work environment for many years and made it a privilege to work in Syria.

May the people of Syria find peace and fellowship once again after so many long years of disastrous war and division.

My thoughts go to all the officials of the Service of Antiquities and Museums and the men and women who are currently engaged in protecting their cultural heritage, which also belongs to all of humanity. May they soon find a way to re-establish forms of collaboration with scholars who hold them in the highest esteem.

I thank the President of the Fondazione OrMe, who did possible the publication of this volume.

Rome, December 2021

A. A.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are according to *RLA* (= E. Ebeling et al., *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. Berlin–Leipzig–New York 1928–) except for the following:

<i>ARES</i> II	A. Archi – P. Piacentini – F. Pomponio, <i>I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla (ARET I–IV, VII–X, e altri testi editi e inediti)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Studi II), Roma 1993.
<i>ARES</i> IV	M. Civil, <i>The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary (Archaic HAR-ra A)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Studi IV), Roma 2008.
<i>ARET</i> I	A. Archi, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di tessuti (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi I), Roma 1985.
<i>ARET</i> II	D. O. Edzard, <i>Verwaltungstexte verschiedenen Inhalts aus dem Archiv L. 2769</i> (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi II), Roma 1981.
<i>ARET</i> III	A. Archi – M. G. Biga, <i>Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto (Archivio L. 2769: TM.75.G:3000–4101)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi III), Roma 1982.
<i>ARET</i> IV	M. G. Biga – L. Milano, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di tessuti (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi IV), Roma 1984.
<i>ARET</i> VII	A. Archi, <i>Testi amministrativi: registrazioni di metalli e di tessuti (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi VII), Roma 1988.
<i>ARET</i> VIII	E. Sollberger, <i>Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles (L. 2752)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi VIII), Roma 1986.
<i>ARET</i> IX	L. Milano, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari (Archivio L. 2712-I)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi IX), Roma 1985.
<i>ARET</i> X	A. Archi – M. G. Biga, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari (Archivio L. 2712-II)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi X), (forthcoming).
<i>ARET</i> XI	P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi rituali della regalità (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XI), Roma 1993.
<i>ARET</i> XII	M. Lahlouh – A. Catagnoli, <i>Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto (Archivio L. 2769: TM.75.G.4102-6050)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XII), Roma 2006.
<i>ARET</i> XIII	P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi di cancelleria: i rapporti con le città (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XIII), Roma 2003.
<i>ARET</i> XV	F. Pomponio, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XV, 1, 2), Roma 2008 / 2013.
<i>ARET</i> XVI	A. Catagnoli – P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi di cancelleria. Il re e i funzionari, I (Archivio L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XVI), Roma 2010.
<i>ARET</i> XVIII	A. Catagnoli – P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi di cancelleria. Il re e i funzionari, I (Archivio L. 2875)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XVIII), Wiesbaden 2020.
<i>ARET</i> XIX	I. Samir, <i>Wirtschaftstexte. Monatliche Buchführung über Textilien aus Ibriums Amtszeit (Archiv L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XIX), Wiesbaden 2020.
<i>ARET</i> XX	A. Archi, <i>Administrative Documents. Allotments of Clothing for the Palace Personnel (Archive L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XX), Wiesbaden 2019.
<i>ARET</i> XXI	A. Archi – G. Spada, <i>The Annual Documents of Expenditures of Metals. Period of Minister Ibrium (Archive L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XXI), (forthcoming).
<i>ARET</i> XXII	A. Archi – G. Spada, <i>The Annual Documents of Expenditures of Metals. Period of Minister Ibbi-zikir (Archive L. 2769)</i> , (Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi XXII), (in preparation).
<i>MEE</i> 2	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 2), Napoli 1980.
<i>MEE</i> 4	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 4), Napoli 1982.
<i>MEE</i> 5	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi amministrativi di Ebla. Archivio L. 2752</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 7), Roma 1996.
<i>MEE</i> 7	F. D'Agostino <i>Testi amministrativi di Ebla. Archivio L. 2769</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 5), Roma 1996.
<i>MEE</i> 10	P. Mander, <i>Administrative Texts of the Archive L. 2769</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 10), Roma 1990.

<i>MEE</i> 12	H. Waetzoldt, <i>Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungstexte aus Ebla. Archiv L. 2769</i> (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla – 12), Roma 2001.
AAEM	Annual Account of Expenditures of Metals
BL	Sumerian-Eblaite Bilingual list
ESL	Ebla Sign List (Archi 1987d)
frgm.	Fragment, fragmentary
garm.	garments
Ibr.	minister Ibrium
I.Z.	minister Ibbi-zikir
kb.	kù-babbar “silver”
kgb	babbar-kù-gi “silver and gold”
kg.	kù-gi “gold”
o.	obverse
r.	reverse

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List of the documents and the find spots

Text no. no.	Inv. no. TM	mm. Wall	Locus 2769 Sector	
<i>Darmia and Tir</i>				
1	77.G.23+80.G.207	103×110×32	North (Locus 2764)	A
2	75.G.2286	112×114×28		
2.a	76.G.974	82×87×26		
2.b	75.G.1479	84×98×26		
3	75.G.12312	41×46×21		
4	75.G.1237	105×118×26		
5	76.G.882	109×118×27		
5.a	75.G.2639			
6	75.G.11430+ 75.11931-11937	111×137×33		
7	75.G.1373	103×108×37	North	C
8	75.G.1357	116×135×31	North	C
9	75.G.1733+ 75.G.4511+4514	142×148×30	North	C
10	75.G.1350	96×108×39	North	C
11	75.G.1686	103×117×41	North	A
12	75.G.1751	105×109×32	NE corner	C
13	75.G.1338	113×133×38	North	C
14	75.G.1374	130×140×31	North	C
15	75.G.1295	123×140×42	North	C
16	75.G.1219	75×85×38	North	
17	75.G.2576	88×98×34		floor
18	75.G.1553	75×83×29	North	
19	75.G.1267	94×98×34	North	C
20	75.G.1277	94×97×33	North	C
21	75.G.11564	63×97×35		
22	75.G.1359	103×111×26	North	C
23	75.G.1370	106×115×39	North	C
24	75.G.1762	165×175×21	North	C
25	75.G.1296	103×109×30	North	C
26	75.G.1226	122×133×39		
27	75.G.1471	78×89×24	North	floor
28	75.G.1714	46×51×25	East	A
29	75.G.2113	69×74×29	North	C
30	75.G.1968	62×69×27	East	A
31	75.G.1314	85×88×31	North	C
32	75.G.1339	161×177×42	North	C
33	75.G.1465	120×128×33	North	C
34	75.G.1491	75×78×31	North	C
35	75.G.10086	97×102×30		
36	75.G.1655	86×89×30	North	C
37	75.G.2140	59×67×24	North	C
38	75.G.1461	120×125×28	North	C
39	75.G.1437	90×99×36	North	C
40	75.G.1769	152×166×39	pit	
41	75.G.10026	118×128×29		
42	75.G.1242	172×181×24		
43	75.G.15117	33×34×11		
44	75.G.11921[(+)4259]	40×71×10		
45	75.G.12267	45×28×10		
46	75.G.11878	58×69×11		

Minister Arrukum

47		75.G.3389+5635+ 10024+11897+12678	157×167×40	North	C
48		75.G.10062	153×157×40		
48a		75.G.1551	58×68×25		
49		75.G.1459	153×163×34	North	A
50		75.G.3195+3197+ 3391+3395+5643+11421	133×139×32	North	C
51		75.G.1897+3390	129×138×27	North	C
52		75.G.1378+3064	158×168×31	East	D
53		75.G.1653	70×73×28	North	C

Minister Ibrium

	year				
54	[00]	75.G.1462	135×141×33	North	C
55	[01]	75.G.1746	133×150×33	East	E
56	[02]	75.G.10258	117×125×34		
57	[03]	75.G.1740+3493+11731	149×153×31	East	E
58	[04]	75.G.2361	131×143×35	East	B
59	[05]	75.G.2031	130×140×38	North	
59a	[06]	75.G.2015			
60	[07]	75.G.2355	126×136×35	East	B
61	[08]	75.G.1586	156×173×32	North	C
62	[09]	75.G.2172	120×131×42	East	B
63	[10]	75.G.10200+5363	140×155×30		
64	[11]	75.G.2360	140×148×37	East	B
65	[12]	75.G.1527	137×151×34	East	A
66	[13]	75.G.1587	154×164×33	East	A
67	[14]	75.G.2272	139×153×35	East	A
68	[15]	75.G.1864	144×156×37	East	A
69	[16]	75.G.1556	140×147×35	NE corner	
70	[17]	75.G.1297	131×142×36	North	C
71	[18]	75.G.1261	147×164×37	North	C
72		75.G.2616	78×83×24	corner	NE
73		75.G.1526	68×71×24	North	C
74		75.G.1518	90×98×28	East	B

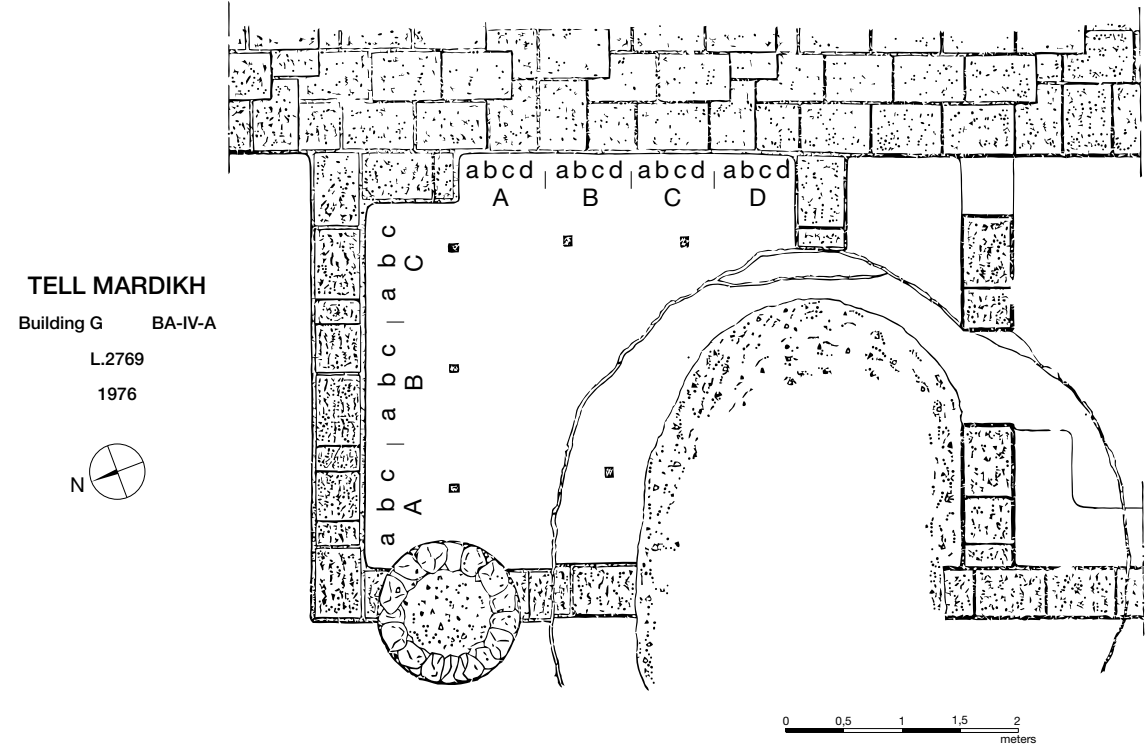
Minister Ibbi-zikir

	year				
75		75.G.2022	88×98×25	NE corner	C
76		75.G.2010	89×96×28	NE corner	C
77	[01]	75.G.2350	163×176×34	NE corner	C
78	[02]	75.G.2351	138×143×24	North	C
79	[03]	75.G.2519+3191+ 75.3846+3851+3853+ 3854+5328+11335	180×184×34	North	C
80	[04]	75.G.2341	178×194×41	North	A
81	[05]	75.G.2375	168×178×32	North	B
82	[06]	75.G.1985+10188	183×201×42	North	B
83	[07]	75.G.2289	181×190×26	North	A
84	[08]	75.G.2244	153×161×27	North	D
85	[09]	75.G.10236	198×219×37		
86	[10]	75.G.2073	153×162×29	North	D
87	[11]	75.G.2070	70×97×37	North	D
88		75.G.2262	66×68×20	North	D
89	[12]	75.G.2072	170×174×27	North	D
90	[13]	76.G.528	143×149×25	(Locus 2752)	
91		76.G.535	66×68×20	(Locus 2752)	

List of the documents and the find spots

XVII

92	75.G.2271	109×113×25	North (Locus 2764)	A
93	76.G.968+969+973+ 977+2072+2073	156×145×25		
94	75.G.2645+3207 +3403+3870+4278+ 4665+4672+4720+ 4760+5512+5657+ 5672+10006(+)+4694+ 4678+4738(+)+4741(+) 3866(+)+3872+3877(+) 4746(+)+12160	233×237×41		
95	75.G.2057	68×72×23		
96	75.G.2069	52×55×23		
97	75.G.2104	55×57×22)		
98	75.G.1841	55×57×22		
99	75.G.1908	65×70×25		
100	75.G.1809	40×43× 22		
101	75.G.1331	62×64×22		
102	75.G.1919	98×102×24		
103	75.G.2071	100×102×28		
104	75.G.2077	76×81×26		
105	75.G.10070	140×136×27		



Ebla: Central Archive, L. 2769

List of the inventory numbers of the tablets

TM.75.G.	Text no.	1985+	82
		2010	76
1219 (Archi 1987b, pp. 76–79)	16	2015 (<i>ARET</i> II 13; <i>MEE</i> 10, 40)	59a
1226	26	2022 (Archi 1987e; <i>MEE</i> 10, 41)	75
1237	4	2031	59
1242	42	2057 (Archi 1982, no 11)	95
1261 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 1)	71	2069 (Archi 1982, no 5; <i>MEE</i> 12, 5)	96
1267 (Archi 1987b, pp. 75–76)	19	2070	87
1277	20	2071	103
1295 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 14)	15	2072	89
1296 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 15)	25	2073	86
1297	70	2077	104
1314	31	2104 (Archi 1982, no 4; <i>MEE</i> , 12, 10)	97
1331 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 23)	101	2113	29
1338 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 26)	13	2140	37
1339 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 27)	32	2172	62
1350 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 34)	10	2244	84
1357 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 36)	8	2262	88
1359 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 38)	22	2271	92
1370 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 44)	23	2272	67
1373 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 47)	7	2286 (<i>MEE</i> 12, 27)	2
1374	14	2289	83
1378 (<i>MEE</i> 2, 50)	52	2341	80
1437	39	2350	77
1459	49	2351	78
1461	38	2355	60
1462	54	2360	64
1465	33	2361	58
1471	27	2375	81
1479	2.b	2519+	79
1491	34	2576	17
1518	74	2616	72
1526	73	2639	5a
1527	65	2645+	94
1551	48a	3064+ (<i>ARET</i> III 52)	52
1553	18	3191+ (<i>ARET</i> III 164)	79
1556	69	3195+ (<i>ARET</i> III 168)	50
1586	61	3197+ (<i>ARET</i> III 170)	50
1587 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 2)	66	3207+ (<i>ARET</i> III 179)	94
1653 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 15)	53	3389+ (<i>ARET</i> III 342)	47
1655 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 16)	36	3390+ (<i>ARET</i> III 343)	51
1686	11	3391+ (<i>ARET</i> III 344)	50
1714 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 31)	28	3395+ (<i>ARET</i> III 344)	50
1733+ (<i>MEE</i> 7, 36)	9	3403+ (<i>ARET</i> III 351)	94
1740+	57	3493+ (<i>ARET</i> III 429)	57
1746 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 38)	55	3846+ (<i>ARET</i> III 758)	79
1751	12	3851+ (<i>ARET</i> III 763)	79
1762 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 43)	24	3853+ (<i>ARET</i> III 765)	79
1769 (<i>MEE</i> 7, 46)	40	3854+ (<i>ARET</i> III 758)	79
1809 (Archi 1982, no 1)	100	3866+ (<i>ARET</i> III 777)	94
1841 (Archi 1982, no 3)	98	3870+ (<i>ARET</i> III 781)	94
1864	68	3872+ (<i>ARET</i> III 783)	94
1897+	51	3877+ (<i>ARET</i> III 787)	94
1908 (Archi 1982, no 2; <i>MEE</i> 10, 28)	99	4259(+) (<i>ARET</i> XII 127)	44
1919	102	4278+	94
1968	30	4511+	9

XX

List of the inventory numbers of the tablets

4514+	9	11430+	6
4665+	94	11564	21
4672	94	11731+	57
4678+	94	11878	46
4694+	94	11897+	47
4720+	94	11921(+)	44
4738+	94	11931+	6
4741+	94	11937+	6
4746+	94	12160+	94
4760+	94	12267	45
5328+	79	12312	3
5363+ (<i>ARET</i> XII 904)	63	12678+	47
5512+	94	15117	43
5635+	47		
5643+	50	TM.76.G	
5657+	94	528 (<i>ARET</i> VIII 528; <i>MEE</i> 5, 8)	90
5672+	94	535 (<i>ARET</i> VIII 535; <i>MEE</i> 5, 15)	91
10006+	94	882	5
10024+	47	968+969+	93
10026	41	973+	93
10062	48	974	2.a
10070	105	977+	93
10086	35	2072+2073	93
10188	82		
10200+	63	TM.77.G.	
10236	85	23+	1
10258	56		
11335	79	TM.80.G	
11421	50	207+	1

Catalogue of the documents

- 1 Statement of the precious metals stored by the central administration at the end of king Igriš-Ḫalab's reign, for a total of 1,800 minas (846 kg) of silver and 40 minas (18.8 kg) of gold.
- 2 Account of the silver hoarded at king Igriš-Ḫalab's death, and in the periods of ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir.
- 2.a Account of the silver and gold hoarded in vessels, and an evaluation of cattle and sheep belonging to the central administration.
- 2.b Statement of the gold received in the period of minister Ibbi-zikir.
- 3 Statement of the silver received from the period of king Kun-damu until to minister Ibbi-zikir.
- 4 Statement of spearheads stocked in the "heigh-houses", é-é-maḫ. Darmia and Tir are mentioned. First years of king Irkab-damu.
- 5 Inventory of high amounts of silver and gold deposited in several storerooms. First years of Irkab-damu.
- 5.a Duplicate of text no. 5, with the addition of a statement on the stock on hand of clothing at disposal of Irkab-damu and queen Kešdūt.
- 6 Statement of "gifts", níg-ba, to Irkab-damu concerning his first three years.
- 7 Record of deliveries of silver and objects in silver delivered from the "lords", lugal-lugal. Second year of king Irkab-damu.
- 8 Record of deliveries of silver and gold from the "lords", and some cities.
- 9 Record of deliveries of silver, gold, and objects from the "lords" on the occasion of the "offering to the stele of the seventh year".
- 10 Record of deliveries of clothing from the "lords" on the occasion of the "offering to the stele".
- 11 Record of deliveries of clothing from the "lords" on the occasion of the celebration of the AN.NI-*ra-mu*.
- 12 Record of deliveries of silver, belts with daggers from the "lords" on the occasion of the "offering to the stele of the seventh year".
- 13 Record of deliveries of clothing and objects in relation with the celebration of the AN.NI-*ra-mu*.
- 14 Record of deliveries of silver, gold and precious objects by the "lords" and eighteen cities on the occasion of the celebration of the AN.NI-*ra-mu* of the seventh year.
- 15 Record of deliveries from thirty-nine officials on the occasion of the "offering to the stele".
- 16 Record of deliveries from fifteen "lords".
- 17 Record of deliveries of clothing from the "lords".
- 18 Record of deliveries of silver and gold from the "lords".
- 19 Record of deliveries of silver and gold from the "lords".
- 20 Record of silver expended by the "lords" for acquiring garments from the city of Kablul. Fourth year of Irkab-damu.
- 21 Record of deliveries of daggers and belts from the "lords".
- 22 Record of deliveries of small amounts of gold by fourteen "lords" for princess Tarkab-dulum on the occasion of her wedding with a prince of Kakmium.
- 23 Statement of deliveries of clothing from the "lords".
- 24 Record of deliveries of clothing by a large number of "lords".
- 25 Annual account of deliveries of silver from fourteen "lords".
- 26 Record of deliveries of silver from "lords".
- 27 Record of deliveries of silver from "lords".
- 28 Record of small deliveries of silver from "lords".
- 29 Record of small amounts of silver delivered over two years from ten "lords".
- 30 Record of deliveries of garments from "lords".
- 31 Record of deliveries of garments from "lords".
- 32 Record of deliveries of garments from thirty-one "lords", and other officials.
- 33 Record of deliveries of silver, objects, and garments from "lords". Ibrium is mentioned.
- 34 Record of deliveries of garments from "lords".
- 35 Record of deliveries of garments from thirteen "lords", "on the occasion of the purification of the house of the king".
- 36 Record of fourteen platoons, each at the orders of a "lord", for a total of 7,000 "men", guruš; 4,700 "men" of the Palace, SA.ZA₄^{ki}.

- 37 Record of deliveries of silver and jewels. Arrukum is mentioned.
- 38 Annual document concerning the deliveries of fifteen major “lords”. Seventh year of Irkab-damu
- 39 Record of deliveries of modest amounts of garments from twelve “lords” of second rank.
- 40 Record of thirty-four deliveries of modest amounts of garments from some “lords” at the head of villages.
- 41 Record of nineteen deliveries of small amounts of silver.
- 42 Record of deliveries of small amounts of silver from the “overseers”, ugula, of about eighty villages.
- 43 Fragment: deliveries from the “lord” Tir, for “the second year”.
- 44 Fragment: deliveries from the “lords”.
- 45 Fragment: deliveries from the “lords”.
- 46 Fragment: deliveries from the “lords”.
- 47 “Document”, dub-gar, of the third year of Irkab-damu concerning deliveries of gold, silver, refined copper, objects, garments from the “lords”.
- 48 Record of annual deliveries of gold, silver, and garments from the “lords”. Period of minister Arrukum?
- 48.a Record of garments, gold (also objects) silver to the king (Irkab-damu) on the occasion of the ceremony of purification for the death of his son from Arrukum, and seven city-states.
- 49 Annual mu-DU document of the year Arrukum 03.
- 50 Annual mu-DU document of Arrukum.
- 51 Annual mu-DU document of Arrukum.
- 52 Annual mu-DU document of Arrukum.
- 53 Record of deliveries of silver by thirty-eight villages and by Arrukum
- 54 Deliveries from centres of the Eblaite kingdom and several city-states on the occasion of king Irkab-damu’s death. Some deliveries are specified to be for the “ceremony of purification”, i-giš-sag, of the new king, Iš’ar-damu, and his mother Dusigu, in relation with the funerary rites.
- 55 Annual mu-DU document of the first full year of Ibrium as minister, “second year (from) the death of the king (Irkab-damu)”.
- 56 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 02. High delivery of gold from the city of Kablul as consequence of its defeat.
- 57 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 03.
- 58 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 04. Journey of the king to Abarsal.
- 59 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 05.
- 59.a Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 06.
- 60 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 07.
- 61 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 08.
- 62 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 09.
- 63 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 10.
- 64 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 11.
- 65 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 12.
- 66 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 13.
- 67 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 14.
- 68 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 15. Defeat of the city of Sidarin.
- 69 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 16. Wars against Ḫalsum.
- 70 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 17.
- 71 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibrium 18. Death of Ibrium. War between Ebla and Mari, concluded by an oath.
- 72 Account of expenditures of gold; year Ibrium 11.
- 73 Accounts of small deliveries of silver to the king, the minister, and other officials; years Ibrium 12–18.
- 74 Account of silver delivered by gudu₄ officials, and their KAL-zi, for the decoration of the temple of Kura.
- 75 Record of deliveries of toggle-pins to twenty-one girls on the occasion of the departure of the priestess Tinib-dulum, “daughter of the king”, to the sanctuary of the god ’Adabal in Luban. Year Ibbi-zikir 01.
- 76 Small deliveries of silver from eighteen “lords”, lugal-lugal, mostly of second rank and of Ibbi-zikir.
- 77 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 01. Princess Zugalum (Irkab-damu’s daughter) becomes queen in Ḫarran.
- 78 Annual mu-DU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 02.

- 79 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 03.
- 80 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 04. Death of Dusigu, Iš'ar-damu's mother. Conquest of the city of Ilwum.
- 81 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 05. War against Armi, and peace.
- 82 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 06. Further procedures for the peace with Armi.
- 83 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 07.
- 84 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 08. War against Ḫazaman.
- 85 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 09. War against Ibal.
- 86 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 10. Conquest of Ibal.
- 87 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 11. War against Sida'u and its conquest.
- 88 Recapitulatory document of the gold delivered as "competence", nig-ki-za, of the king for the year Ibbi-zikir 11.
- 89 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 12.
- 90 Annual mu-ḌU document of the year Ibbi-zikir 13.
- 91 Abstract concerning the deliveries of gold from the cities of Kablul and Armi in the years Ibbi-zikir 12 and 13.
- 92 Account of the gold and silver personally delivered by minister Ibbi-zikir in the seventeen years of his mandate.
- 93 Account of the gold and the silver delivered by minister Ibbi-zikir in the seventeen years of his mandate.
- 94 Account of deliveries of weapons and garments by around twenty officials, – mostly "lords", lugal – in several years.
- 95 Registrations of deliveries of gold during eight years.
- 96 Account of expenditures of 1,200 minas during five years.
- 97 Incomplete version of text no. 96
- 98 Account of expenditures of 8,389 minas of silver for three years; 96.57 minas of gold in the ratio 4 : 1 with silver, and 405;47 minas of gold in the ratio 2 ½ : 1 with silver for six years.
- 99 Statement concerning 8,516 minas of silver: 8,389 minas expended in three years: other silver amounts at disposal.
- 100 Registration of 2,130 minas of silver.
- 101 Registration of 838;20 minas of gold "expended" for a jar.
- 102 598;55 minas of silver given by the city of Irku(tu) as repayment of a loan.
- 103 Delivery of beads for necklaces to be given to the queen (i.e. Tabur-damu).
- 104 Delivery of precious objects by Ibbi-zikir probably for the birth of prince Ir'aq-damu.
- 105 Deliveries from several city-states as a consequence of the victory over Mari at Terqa (year Ibbi-zikir 16).

1.
DOCUMENTS OF THE YEARS
1–7 OF KING IRKAB-DAMU

Introduction

1. The “lords” lugal-lugal

“Lord”, lugal (*ba’lum*) was the title given to the officials whom the central administration recognized as responsible for a sector of the administration or for a village or a town. They had the duty to deliver a contribution in silver (or also in barley evaluated in silver) at least once a year, as well as on some particular occasions.

Deliveries of barley are seldom mentioned. No. 58 § 38: 5 minas of silver (and) 750 *gubar* measures of barley Enna-il has given (*i-na-sum*). No. 59 §§ 12–18 “x *barizu*-measures of barley PN₁–PN₇ has given, equivalent to the value (*al₆ bû-šè*) of x minas of silver”. No. 61 §§ 30–46: “x shekels/minas of silver, which is the value (*lú níg-sa₁₀*) of barley in níg-sagšu-measures from PN₁–PN₁₇”. No. 86 §§ 10 and 11: “1,440 *gubar* measures of barley, equivalent to 3 minas of silver from PN₁–PN₂, 2 minas of silver debited on his account”; § 12: “1,440 *gubar*-measures equivalent to 3 minas of silver PN₃ has delivered”.

Those having control over a village were also in charge of collecting animals for the administration. TM.75.G.2349 is a list of deliveries of cattle by these lords, whose names (Ibbi-zikir, Ibu-mut, Igna-damu, Irkab-ar, and Sagusi) also occur in the documents published in this section of the volume, and has therefore to be dated to the first seven years of king Irkab-damu’s period. The totals, rev. V 2–7, are: 1 *mi-at* gud-áb šu-du₈ lugal-lugal 17 gud-gud mu-*DU* en “cattle: 100 heads, in possession of the lords; 17 oxen: delivery (for) the king” (Archi 1984, pp. 56–63).

A single document, *ARET* II 25, seems to prove that some of these “lords” were responsible for supplying regularly the animals, mostly for the royal estates and also as victuals, for a total (§ 7) of 11,788 cattle and asses (gud-gud *ù* [igi.]nita), and 36,100 sheep (udu-udu).

ARET VII 71 (also to be dated to Irkab-damu’s reign, perhaps just before the period of Arrukum) shows that the “lords” also delivered “mules”, BAR.AN, precisising the value of each mule: 1 mina of silver, and in one case (§ 1) 1;05 minas: 1;05 ma-na kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 BAR.AN *Si-da-NE-ir^{ki} Ti-ir*.

Annual and monthly “agricultural documents” were only occasionally preserved, and the identification of the “lords” is difficult, because personal names are in general not provided with a title, and titles attributed to a personal name are rare (cf. TM.75.G.2539 rev. IV 3–4: 1 udu lugal *’À-ru₁₂-ag^{ki}*). It is perhaps possible to deduce from TM.75.G.2554 rev. V 1–3 that around a quarter of the sheep was at disposal of the lords, and the other three-quarters of the king: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1 *ri-pap* [3+]3 *li-im* [10+]30 udu-udu lugal-lugal 3 *ri-pap* 7 *li-im* 2 *mi-at* udu-udu igi-du₈ en “Total: 16,040 sheep of the lords; 37,200 sheep donation (to) the king”.

The deliveries of metals by the “lords” are registered in the mu-*DU* documents, but only rarely in other kinds of texts, as in TM.75.G.1552 obv. I 1–II 2: Igna-damu and Enna-i(l) lugal *’Ir-ra-ku^{ki} NE-zi-il* lugal *Ar-ri^{ki}*; and in TM.75.G.2315 rev. II 3: lugal *’À-ma-tum^{ki}*, where these lords are said to have “handed over”, šu-mu-tag₄, small amounts of silver.

Many lords mentioned in the documents of the first six or seven years of Irkab-damu (such as Darmia (/Darmilu), Tir, and Gugiwan son of Igi) were in office as “lord”, lugal, already at the time of his father, Igriš-Ḫalab, as text no. 4 proves.¹ Darmia and Tir had in part functions of minister: they delivered by far the highest amounts of revenues to the central administrations, and also weapons (text no. 4).

Two “judges”, di-kud,² belonged to the group of the foremost lords: Ladad (who was substituted by Ibdur-išar when Arrukum became minister, probably in his second year) and Enna-i(l)/Ennani-il. They delivered some precious objects in addition to garments until the first years of minister Ibrum, but later only garments. They were provided with “houses” (i.e. workers units), é, and

1 All the “lords” had already been chronologically ordered in Archi 2000a.

2 On di-kud “to judge”, see *ARET* XIII, p. 251; XVI, p. 224.

fields, see TM.75.G.2620 obv. III 6–7: 4 é 'Iš'-da-mu; TM.75.G.1831(+) obv. III 6–8: 2 *mi-at* gána-kešda *Ír-am-da-ar* di-kud, VIII 12–IX 2: 2 *mi-at* gána-kešda i-giš *En-na-ni-il* di-kud; rev. I 8–10: 5 *mi-at* *Ib-dur-i-sar* di-kud; TM.75.G.2340 rev. X 5–7: 1 *li-im* 5 *mi-at* gána-kešda *Ib-dur-i-sar* di-kud; TM.75.G.3887(+) rev. VIII 9–11: 4 *mi-at* gána-kešda-ki *En-na-ni-il* di-kud; TM.75.G.10217 rev. IV 11–V 2: 5 *mi-at* gána-kešda *Íl-e-i-sar* di-kud.

According to a single document, no. 36, fourteen of the most prominent lords had at their disposal platoons of “men”, *guruš*, for a total of 7,000 men, who were organized in centuries. Tir, who delivered the largest amounts of silver, was in charge of 800 men; Darmia, who also had a leading position, was perhaps no longer in office at that time. The Palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, was instead provided with 4,700 men. All these men, 11,700 in total, had been “gathered by Tin”, *tuš áš-ti [Ti]-in^{ki}*, probably for a military expedition.³ This document has to be dated to a year immediately preceding the period of Arrukum.

Two mu-DU documents already published are not included in the present volume. *ARET* I 29 has to be dated to the period preceding that of minister Arrukum. Nine officials delivered (in one year) a total of 216;50 minas (101.91 kg) of silver, 7;10 minas (3;37 kg.) of gold, 1,450 “garments”, *túg-túg*, and 1,135 “kilts”, *íb-KAK gùn*; in particular, Abulum: 8 minas of silver; Ĥumilu: 93 minas of silver and 1;16 of gold; Enbuš-lim: 4 mana of silver; Ibu-mut: 9 minas of silver; Igna-damu: 8 minas of silver and 0.52 of gold; Irigu'u: 1 mina of silver; Iš-damu: 14 minas of silver and 0.14 of gold; Iti-Gamiš: 1;51 minas of silver; Tir: 80 minas of silver and 2;05 of gold. Ĥumilu appears only in this document, and in *ARET* II 5 XIII 15.

ARET I 30 (also from the pre-Arrukum period) apparently represents the typology of an occasional “delivery (for) the king” mu-DU en, § 48): usually, one set of garments (in some cases also very small amounts of precious metals), by twenty “lords” (§§ 1–20), other officials, and also several city-states (including Abarsal and Mari).

While the deliveries of garments and metals to the central administration are systematically documented year after year, for forty-one years, most of the preserved documentation of the agricultural production and animal breeding concerns only the last years, and comprehensive annual documents are not preserved, so that we are deprived by the documentation concerning the sector of the primary productions entrusted to the “lords”.

Notwithstanding this documentation, it is not possible to detect how the ministers provided such high amounts of silver, gold, copper, and bronze, with an impressive increment during the years. This is paradoxical considering the hundreds of preserved texts: one has to admit that whole administrative sectors escape to our analysis. There is only a hint which could explain in a minor part these incomes: text no. 56 obv. I 5–II 2 registers first incomes of gold and silver from Kablul, followed by: [lú](?) *kar Ib-ri-um*, which could mean that part of the tribute of this vanquished city (120 minas of silver) was personally “taken away” (*kar* = *a-ga-mu-um/mu*, Akk. *ekēumum*) by the minister. The tributes of the defeated cities could therefore be in part sent directly to Ebla (occasionally with ceremonial gifts) and in part collected by the minister.

2. The lists of the “lords”, *lugal-lugal*

According to the mu-DU documents of minister Ibrium, the title of “lord”, *lugal*, was reserved for a group of between twelve and fifteen officials:

no. 57:	15	no. 64	13	no. 68	12
no. 60	14	no. 65	13	no. 69	12
no. 61	13	no. 66	13	no. 70	12
no. 62	14	no. 67	13	no. 71	13
no. 63	13				

3 Tin (*ARES* II, pp. 449–451) was a centre where large numbers of men (*guruš*) were gathered. For platoons of men employed for military expeditions, see *ARET* XX, pp. 218–222; Archi 2021a, pp. 212–218.

Ibrium's deliveries open his annual documents: his position in the administration was therefore that of a minister, although no title is given to him (and to Ibbi-zikir his son and successor). Although Darmia and Tir also held prominent positions during the first seven years of king Irka-damu's reign, as clearly seen by the amounts of their deliveries, only Arrukum had received a similar position before Ibrium. The deliveries from the lugal-lugal follow those of Ibrium, and the documents give a distinct total (see e.g. nos. 60 § 15; 64 § 14; 65 § 14).

Only three of the "lords" in Ibrium's documents are mentioned also as "overseers", ugula, of a village: *Du-bí* of *A-ru₁₂-lu^{ki}*, *Rí-ì-ma-lik* of *A-da-ás^{ki}*, and *Rí-ì-ma-lik* of *Ig-du-ra^{ki}* (see here below the List of the Lords of Ibrium). In general, the deliveries by villages and city-states follow those of the "lords"; see e.g. no. 61: the deliveries by Ibrium are registered in § 1; those by the lords in §§ 2–13; and then the total of the delivered silver in § 14; the deliveries by the city-states are from § 15 onward, followed by those of the villages or towns of the kingdom.

A term which defines the city-states ruled by a "king", en, is kalam^{tim ki} "land(s)" (no 65 § 38". Their deliveries were considered to be "competence of the king (of Ebla)", níg-ki-za en, nos. 77 § 26, 80 § 24, 81 § 35, 82 § 26, 83 § 27, 84 § 50, 85 § 27, 87 § 25. Earlier documents have instead: "deliveries (for) the king" mu-DU(-mu-DU) en: nos. 58 § 37, 59 § 38.

Some official at the head of a village is explicitly qualified as "overseer", ugula (§§ 17, 28, 35, 36). Nos. 62 §§ 18, 19, 20, and 63 §§ 16–21 also mention an "overseer", ugula, of villages. In the documents from the period of Irkab-damu the overseers of villages may have received the title of lugal instead, as in nos. 39 §§ 6, 8–12; 40 §§ 1, 3, 6, 8, 12–14, 29.

The distinction between first and second rank officials was formalized during the years of Irkab-damu. Text no. 15 lists 39 deliveries of single garments by officials, some of whom have to be considered of higher rank (*A-me-ì*, *Ar-si-a-ḫa*, *I-ba₄-zi-nu*, Šubur); others are qualified as lugal of a village (§§ 20, 31, 33–35). The officials who receive the qualification of lugal-lugal are 22 in no. 10, and 17 in nos. 18 and 19. In that period there were also a "lord of the serfs", lugal ir₁₁-ir₁₁; of the mules, BAR.AN, and the asses, IGI.NITA; of the honey, làl; other lugal were qualified by terms like ul-ki or ur₄ ("carrier"; see the Index). In nos. 25 and 34, however, the lords of first rank are just 15; 14 in nos. 22 and 36; 10 in no 28. Text no 26 registers the deliveries from 9 "lords", lugal, month after month, over 6 months, for a total of 137 minas (64.39 kg) of silver. In the early period *A-ḫa-ar* was lugal ugula é ugula é "lord of the overseers of the buildings" (47 r. V 10²–VI 2), or also lugal SA.ZA^{ki} "lord of the Palace" (see the commentary to no. 47).

Some documents show that the lords of first rank may have been at the head of a "gate", ká: a district composed of several villages, each under the control of an "overseer", ugula. According to no. 42 § 1, the "district", ká, of *Iš₁₂-gi-da-ar* was made up at least by 39 villages, which delivered in total 10;01 minas (4.78 kg) of silver; the "district" of *A-mi-i* (§ 2), by 13 villages, delivered 4;50 minas (2.27 kg) of silver; the district of a third official (§ 3, the name is in lacuna) delivered 6;40 minas (3.13 kg) of silver. Text no. 59 (period of Ibrium) §§ 8, 9 has: *Ìr-da-ma-lik ká 'Á-da-ra-tim^{ki}*; no 62 § 15: ká 'Á-ma^{ki}. Accordig to text no. 53, 39 villages delivered 14;25 minas of silver altogether, and Arrukum 9;17 minas.

The rank of the "lords" decreased over the years, as is shown by the amounts of their deliveries. In no. 78 § 13 (minister Ibbi-zikir) they are qualified as "overseer", ugula, and in the last preserved document (no. 90, I.Z. 13) their deliveries are no longer registered.

The names of the lords of the period preceding minister Arrukum are collected here below.

3. List of the "lords" of the pre-Arrukum period

'Á-gi (ur ₄)	9 § 22; 10 § 19; 11 § 8; 20 § 12; 23 § 8; 32 § 11
'Á-wa-ra (dumu.nita I-gi)	15 § 12; 31 § 4; 32 § 16
[A-] 'à-lu	33 §§ 1, 2, 6, 7, 8; 34 § 1
A-BAD	37 § 1