

## Daughters-in-law and family ties: insights into the story of princess *Ma-ù-ud*\*

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### Abstract

Starting from the analysis of the attestations concerning *Ma-ù-ud*, princess of Ebla, this article investigates the kinship term with which she is referred to in the texts after her wedding: rather than being called dam, “wife” of her husband, *Ma-ù-ud* is qualified as *é-gi<-a>* or *gal<-la>-tum Dur-du-lum*, “daughter-in-law of *Dur-du-lum*”. The qualification *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* seems to have been used only for the Ebla princesses married to members of other families of Ebla or for daughters of Ebla’s most important households married to the sons of the king. The *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* qualification pointed out the role of these princesses in the internal policy, highlighting the kinship of some of the princesses with their fathers-in-law, that is to say the ties of the royal family with other Ebla households.

### Résumé

En commençant par l’analyse des attestations concernant *Ma-ù-ud*, princesse d’Ébla, cet article étudie la notion de parenté à laquelle *Ma-ù-ud* se réfère dans les textes postérieurs à son mariage : plutôt que d’être appelée dam, « épouse » de son époux, *Ma-ù-ud* est qualifiée comme *é-gi<-a>* ou *gal<-la>-tum Dur-du-lum*, c’est-à-dire « belle-fille de *Dur-du-lum* ». La qualification *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* semble avoir été utilisée uniquement pour les princesses d’Ébla mariées à des membres d’autres familles éblaites ou pour les filles des familles les plus importantes d’Ébla mariées aux fils du roi. La qualification *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* soulignait le rôle de ces princesses dans la politique interne, mettant en évidence la parenté de certaines princesses avec leur beau-père, soit les liens de la famille royale avec les autres familles majeures d’Ébla.

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## Zusammenfassung

Ausgehend von der Analyse der Zeugnisse über *Ma-ù-ud*, Prinzessin von Ebla, untersucht dieser Artikel den Verwandtschaftsbegriff, mit dem sie in den Texten nach ihrer Hochzeit bezeichnet wird: Anstatt *dam*, "Frau" ihres Mannes, zu nennen, wird *Ma-ù-ud* als *é-gi<-a>* oder *gal<-la>-tum Dur-du-lum*, "Schwieger-tochter von *Dur-du-lum*" bezeichnet. Die Bezeichnung *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* scheint nur für Ebla-Prinzessinnen verwendet worden zu sein, die mit Mitgliedern anderer Familien von Ebla verheiratet waren, oder für Töchter der wichtigsten Haushalte von Ebla, die mit den Söhnen des Königs verheiratet waren. Die Bezeichnung *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* wies auf die Rolle dieser Prinzessinnen in der Innenpolitik hin und betonte die Verwandtschaft einiger Prinzessinnen mit ihren Schwiegervätern, d. h. die Verbindungen der königlichen Familie mit anderen Haushalten in Ebla.

**Keywords:** Ebla, Prosopography, Women, Weddings, Internal Policy, Family Ties

## Introduction

Forging alliances among different kingdoms through inter-dynastic marriages is one of the best known Ancient Near Eastern practices. The important role played by high-ranking women, in what can to all intents be defined as foreign policy, is already attested in the Ebla texts starting from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. The inter-dynastic marriages which linked Ebla to other kingdoms, such as *Ḫa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>*, *Na-gàr<sup>ki</sup>* and *Kiš<sup>ki</sup>*, to name a few and the princesses personally involved have all been object of many in-depth studies<sup>1</sup>. However, vital to ensure the social and political cohesion of the Ebla kingdom were the marriages that tied the most important families within the kingdom itself.

Tracking such marriages in the Ebla tablets and identifying, where possible, the people and the families involved in them, is an important step in order to delineate which families constituted the very structure of the Ebla kingdom and how extensively interconnected they were with each other.

In this regard, the attestations concerning princess *Ma-ù-ud* (her name is also spelled *Ma-ù-du*) constitute a fitting case-study and allow us to investigate in more detail the complexity of family relationships at the top of the Ebla society.

### 1. The story of princess *Ma-ù-ud*

*Ma-ù-ud*<sup>2</sup> is first known as *dumu-mí en*, "a king's daughter", a king who could be the third to last Ebla ruler *Ig-ri-iš-Ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub>*(LAM). Later on, she is known as daughter-in-law of *Dur-du-lum*, who was an important member of the Ebla élite at the time of *Ìr-kab-da-mu*.

<sup>1</sup> See in particular ARCHI 1987a; ARCHI 1998a; ARCHI 2002a: 162; BIGA 1987; BIGA 1991: 298–299; BIGA 1996: 63ff.; BIGA 1998a; BIGA 2003a: 350; BIGA 2008: 307–308; BIGA 2010a; BIGA 2014: 74 and n. 8.; TONIETTI 1989; TONIETTI 2005: 247ff.

<sup>2</sup> Princess *Ma-ù-ud* was first studied in BIGA 1996: 64–65.

It is possible to follow her traces in a sufficiently clear and manageable *corpus* of attestations to be divided into two parts identifying, as a central event, the wedding of the princess herself.

All the attestations below have been ordered with respect to the relative chronology of the texts, taking also into account the months, when known.

The main purpose of this sorting remains to show the chronological span covered by these lists, which refer to the reigns of the last three kings of Ebla.

In fact, *Ma-ù-ud* is attested from the reign of *Ig-ri-iš-Ḥa-lab<sub>x</sub>*(LAM) (passage [1]), through the reign of *Ìr-kab-da-mu* (passages [2–8]) to the reign of the last king of Ebla, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu* (passages [10–19] and perhaps also [9]).

In the attestations [1–10] *Ma-ù-ud* is recorded in various lists of *dumu-mí* en to be dated before her wedding:

[1] TM.75.G.2624<sup>3</sup> = ARCHI 1996a: 118–119 obv. I 1–VI 14: 5 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ter<sub>5</sub>-kab-du-lum* / 4 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ìr<sup>2</sup>-kab-da-mu* / 4 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ìr-ib-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / SUM-*i-ig-da[-mu]* / [(x)] // *Ìš<sub>11</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Sag-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *I-ti<sup>d</sup>-<sup>À</sup>-da* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Dag-mul<sup>l</sup>(MU:MU)-da-mu<sup>4</sup>* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ig-ri-iš-da[-mu]* / [1 aktum-TÚG] / [ti-TÚG] // [...] / 1 *aktum<sup>r</sup>-TÚG* / ti-TÚG / *I-in<sup><d></sup>-<sup>À</sup>-da* / *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* / *Ti-nu-ud* 1 aktum-TÚG / [ti-TÚG] / *GABA-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *GABA-TÚG-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / [ti-TÚG] // [...] / 1 a[ktum-TÚG] / ti-[TÚG] / *I-ti-ne-gi-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / [ti-TÚG] / *Dar-maš-da-mu* / [...] - *x<sup>r</sup>-du* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ti-in-ib-da-mu* / *Si-za* / [1 aktum-TÚG] // [ti-TÚG] / [...] / [...] / [1 aktum-TÚG] / t[i-TÚG] / *Gú-ù-LUM* / *Si-mu-ud* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ma-ù-ud* / *Ma-ga-ša-du* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Ma<sup>r</sup>-<sup>ḥa<sup>r</sup></sup>-[ru<sub>12</sub>-du]* // [...] / [...] / [...] / [...] / [...] / {x} / {x} / *Bí-na[-du]* / 1 a[ktum-TÚG] / ti-TÚG / *I-ti-gi-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG / ti-TÚG / *Gi<sup>r</sup>-<sup>x<sup>r</sup></sup>* (king *Ig-ri-iš-Ḥa-lab<sub>x</sub>*(LAM)).

[2] TM.75.G.2168<sup>5</sup> = ARCHI 1996a: 113–117 = MEE 12 20 obv. I 1–V 6: [40<sup>2</sup> TÚG-NI.NI sa<sub>6</sub>] / [...]i<sup>k<sup>2</sup></sup> / *Da<sup>2</sup>-zi* / [...] / [...] / *Bí-na-at* / *Ti-nu-ut* // [...] / [...] /

<sup>3</sup> See also ARCHI 1996b: 74. The recording of *Ìr-kab-da-mu* by his name and not by his royal title, may lead to propose a dating of this text to king *Ig-ri-iš-Ḥa-lab<sub>x</sub>*(LAM).

<sup>4</sup> On this spelling of the name *Dag-mul-da-mu*, recorded as *Dag-mul<sup>l</sup>(MU:MU)-da-mu* also in [4], see BONECHI 2016a: 19 n. 65.

<sup>5</sup> For the dating of this text see ARCHI 1998b: 45: “In the great list of women TM.75.G.2168, Tirindamu is the second lady of the court, preceded by *KÉŠ-du-ut* (obv. VIII 3–8), who is probably to be identified as the queen in the period of *Igriš-Ḥalab*, the predecessor of *Irkab-Damu*”. On *Kéš-du-ut* then identified rather as the spouse of king *Ìr-kab-da-mu* see ARCHI 2013: 228 and ARCHI 2016a: 6–7. According to ARCHI 2019a: 11, this text “could refer to gifts given on the occasion of the marriage of the queen”, whose pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mí-pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mí are recorded (obv. VIII 3–5: 15 TÚG-NI.NI / pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mí-pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš-mí / *Kéš-du-ut*).

*B[ù]-kù:babbar / Tin-wa-rúm / [...] / Ti-da-um / [...] / Da-a-nap(AN:AN)-hu / Ga-du'-w[a-at/-du] // [...] / [...] / [...] / Na-am<sub>6</sub> / é / <sup>d</sup>KU-ra / Du-si-gú / Ma-ù-ud / Ti-wa-ga-ba-al<sub>6</sub> / [...] / Ti-iš-má-ti-ir // Si-mu-ut / I-ti-u<sub>9</sub>-ud / Ti-iš-da-u<sub>9</sub> / Da-sa-rí-NI / Ti-wa-da-mu / D[ab<sub>6</sub>]-da-u<sub>9</sub> / Da-bi / Dag<sup>1</sup>(DAGxPAP)-mul-da-mu / Dar-maš-da-mu / Ma-ù-ud // Da-bù-i-šar / A-ba-ma-du / Si-da / Hi-su-ut / Zimi-nu-ut / Na-ḥa-lu-ut (king Īr-kab-da-mu, minister Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).*

[3] TM.75.G.2551<sup>6</sup> = ARCHI 1996a: 109 obv. I 1–VI 3: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Ti-rí-in-da-mu* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* / '1' [zara<sub>6</sub>]-TÚG [Ti]-'a'-[da]-mu / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Bí-na-du* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 'T-ig-[d]a-mu // 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Ib-ù-ud* / 1 'zara<sub>6</sub>'-TÚG 'Tin-wa-rúm / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Ba-lu-ut* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Lá-za-an* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Ti-nu-ud* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG // *Kir-su-ut* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Téš-má-da-mu* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Na-am<sub>6</sub>* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Téš-ga-du* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Si-'za'* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Ra-péš-tum* // 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Si-mu-du* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Maš-ga-sa-du* / [1 zar]<sub>a6</sub>-TÚG / *Ra-ù-tum* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Ra-su-ud* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Na-am<sub>6</sub>* é <<sup>d</sup>KU-ra> // 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Ma-ga-ra-at* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Dag-mul-da-mu* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Ti-in-ib-da-mu* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Dar-maš-da-mu* // '1' [zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG] / *Ma-ù-ud* / šu-nigin 26 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG (king Īr-kab-da-mu, minister Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM, undated).

[4] TM.75.G.1535 = ARET XV 26 obv. IX 3–12: 5 TÚG-NI.NI sa<sub>6</sub> / *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu* / *Dag-mul<sup>1</sup>(MU:MU)-da-mu* / *Dar-maš-da-mu* / *Ma-ù-ud* / *I-ti-mu-ud* / 3 TAR zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Da-ti<sup>d</sup>Tu* / *Za-ne<-ḥi>-Ma-ri<sup><ki></sup>* / *Dab<sub>6</sub>-za-da-mu* (king Īr-kab-da-mu, minister Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti *ga-sum* = 7<sup>th</sup> month).

[5] TM.75.G.1537 = ARET XV 27 rev. IV 13–18: 4 TÚG-NI.NI *Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* / *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu* / *Dag<sup>1</sup>(DAGxKASKAL)-mul<sup>1</sup>(AN.AN.AN)-da-mu* / *Ma-ù-ud* / *Dar-maš-da-mu* / *dumu-mí en* (king Īr-kab-da-mu, minister Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti 'a<sub>5</sub>-nun-na = 8<sup>th</sup> month).

[6] TM.75.G.1292 = MEE 2 12 obv. II 5'–III 9': 9<sup>2</sup> gín-DILMUN [x] *kù-gi* / *kam<sub>4</sub>-ma-a-tum* / 7 [...] eškiri<sub>x</sub> // [...] *Dag-[mul]-da-mu* / 10<sup>2</sup> 3-NI gín-DILMUN *kù-gi* / *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu* / 6 3-NI gín-DILMUN *kù-gi* / *Ma-ù-du* / 6 3-NI gín-DILMUN

<sup>6</sup> See ARCHI 2019a: 11: “75.2551 lists an expenditure of mantels (zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG) for 26 ladies of first rank and less precious mantels (túg-NI.NI) to another 73 women. Reasons are not given, but because a prosopographic analysis dates this text to Irkab-damu and his wife is not mentioned, the occasion could have been the funerary rites of queen Kešdut”. *Kéš-du-ut*'s death is recorded in TM.75.G.1293 = MEE 2 13 = ARCHI 1987b: 67–72 rev. III 3–7 and traces of this event have been found by POMPONIO 2008: XXI, also in TM.75.G.4466+ = ARET XII 298 obv. IV 7–9: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 1 *bu-di* 4 *nig-lá-ZI.ZI* / *ma-lik-tum* / ÉxPAP, which records her death and where she is mentioned by her royal title. Since she “is never mentioned in other administrative documents, except for her own funeral and on the occasion of some funerary ceremonies for members of the royal house, when female ancestors were also invoked” (see ARCHI 2016a: 7), then she might have died of childbirth, according to ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 9.

kù-gi / *I-ti-mu*\*-ud<sup>7</sup> / 6 3-NI gín-DILMUN kù-gi / *Ter*<sub>5</sub>-*maš-da-mu*<sup>8</sup> (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*<sup>9</sup>, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, undated).

[7] TM.75.G.1379<sup>10</sup> obv. VI 16–21: tar-4 kù: babbar / 4 giš-DU / *Da-bi* / *Dag-mul-da-mu* / *Dar-maš-da-mu* / *Ma-ù-ud* (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM).

[8] TM.75.G.5251 = ARET XII 828 I' 1–II' 4: *Ra-ù-tum* / *Ra-péš-tum-2* / *Šar-du-du* / 5 gu-dùl-TÚG 3[+2] i[b- (column broken) // *ˀDar*ˀ-[*maš*]-*da-mu* / *Ma-ù-ud* / *Dag-mul-da-m[u]* / [...] (possibly king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).

[9] TM.75.G.1701<sup>11</sup> rev. VIII 5–IX 1: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 *bu-di* / šu-ì<sup>12</sup> / *Du-si-gú*<sup>(ki)</sup> / 5 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / šu-ì / *Ti-rí-in-da-mu* / *En-na*-<sup>d</sup>Utu / *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu* / *Ter*<sub>5</sub>-*maš-da-mu* / *Ma-ù-ud* / *dumu-mí* // en (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu* or king *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*).

[10] TM.75.G.10049<sup>13</sup> obv. XIV 8–rev. I 5: 6 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 16 TÚG-NI.NI *Du-si-gú Kir-su-ut En-na*-<sup>d</sup>Utu *Da-bi Ma-ù-ud Ter*<sub>5</sub>-*maš-da-mu Ga-na-sum Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-rí*<sup><ki></sup> *Zi-mi-ni-kù: babbar A-ba-da-at Tin-wa-rúm Na-am*<sub>6</sub> *Si-za Ti-iš-ga-du Ma-ga-ra*<sup><at></sup> *Téš-má-da-mu Maš-ga-sa-at Ra-péš-tum Ra-péš-tum-2 Ra-zu-ud Ra-ù-tum* (king *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*, 10<sup>th</sup> month).

There are a few considerations, which are worth pointing out:

a) Passages [5] and [9] clearly record *Ma-ù-ud* as *dumu-mí en*, along with the names of some of her sisters, or half-sisters, such as: *Dag-mul-da-mu*, *Dar-maš-*

<sup>7</sup> Previously read “*i-ti*-<sup>d</sup>utu” in PETTINATO 1980: 93; collated on the photograph.

<sup>8</sup> I thank Alfonso Archi for this collation.

<sup>9</sup> This text has been dated to the reign of *Ìr-kab-da-mu* in ARCHI 2010a: 7 and in ARCHI 2019b: 147.

<sup>10</sup> I would like to thank Alfonso Archi for kindly informing me of this passage. This text has been dated to *Ìr-kab-da-mu*'s reign by ARCHI 2010a: 7 n. 30, ARCHI 2019b: 147 and ARCHI 2019a: 22.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in ARCHI 1996a: 103. For the dating of this text to *Ìr-kab-da-mu*'s reign see BIGA 1996: 64, while ARCHI 1998b: 45 dates it “to Arrukum, or possibly to the very first years of Ibrium”. More recent studies dates to a period in which *Ib-rí-um* was already minister, see ARCHI 2016b: 41 and ARCHI 2020a: 46.

<sup>12</sup> Rather than a personal name “*Šu-NI*” (see ARCHI 1996a: 103), this term is more possibly to be interpreted as a common noun (“*šu-ni*” in BIGA 1996: 64), most probably to be read *šu-ì*. This term is attested in the bilingual lexical list, VE 502: *šu-ì* = *ba-ša-šu-um*, *ba-ša-šúm*, *bi-sum*, (semite glosses from \**pšš*); mostly found in the texts of the archive L.2712, it is interpreted as “unzione” in MILANO 1990: 406 and as “oil ration” in CONTI 1990: 143–144.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in BIGA 2000: 70: “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*”. For the dating of this text see ARCHI 2020b: 7.

*da-mu*, *En-na-dUtu*, *Ti-ni-ib-da-mu*, *Ti-ri-in-da-mu* and *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri*<sup>ki</sup> 14. It is precisely the presence of these names in all the other lists quoted above, which mention *Ma-ù-ud* but omit the qualification *dumu-mí en*, that allows us to deduce that, in these same lists, “daughters of king” are recorded as well.

b) It is therefore possible to single out princess *Ma-ù-ud*, the subject of this study, from other contemporary namesakes, as in the case provided by passage [2], in which the name *Ma-ù-ud* is recorded twice, shared by two different women. It is evident that the second of the two names recorded in this passage refers to the princess, given the sequence *Da-bí*, *Dag(DAGxPAP)-mul-da-mu* and *Dar-maš-da-mu*, names of the sisters or half-sisters of the princess. Instead, it may be proposed that the homonym *Ma-ù-ud* listed in [2] after *Du-si-gú* might be identified as one of the dams of king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*<sup>15</sup>. This same dam en might be the woman recorded in TM.75.G.1568 = ARET XV 30 rev. IV 11–V 3: 5 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 10 *bu-di* / GÁxLÁ // 1 ma-na ŠA.PI kù: babbar / *Ma-ù-du* / *dam-dam-sù*. In fact, being listed immediately after *Du-si-gú*, this proposed dam of *Ìr-kab-da-mu* must have enjoyed sufficient importance at court to have a group of dams under her control.

c) The disappearance of the names of the princesses from the lists of the *dumu-mí en* was due to a change of *status* that, in addition to death, could only occur by marriage.

Upon marrying, women officially became part of the husband’s family and therefore, in the case of princesses, they were no longer listed with the other *dumu-mí en*<sup>16</sup>. This is necessarily true of Ebla’s princesses who were given in marriage to kings of other kingdoms. After the wedding, these princesses left their homeland to travel to the country of which they became queens. In some cases the texts record gifts for their departure<sup>17</sup>. Thus, no longer residing in Ebla, these princesses involved in inter-dynastic marriages disappear definitively from the lists of *dumu-mí en*. From the day of their wedding, they are recorded

<sup>14</sup> These are well-known names, some of which have already received in-depth analyses, as for the cases of *Dag-mul-da-mu* and *Dar-maš-da-mu* (see ARCHI 1996a: 105–107), *En-na-dUtu* (see BONECHI 2018: 95ff.), *Ti-ri-in-da-mu* (see ARCHI 1998b: 43–46, ARCHI 2020c: 60–63) and *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri*<sup>ki</sup> (BIGA 1996: 69).

<sup>15</sup> Other distinctions are easier: TM.75.G.2496 obv. III 6–10 (ARCHI 2010b: 37) records *Ma-ù-du* dam *Ib-ri-um* of *Ne-a-ù*<sup>ki</sup> (regarding the connections of the family of minister *Ib-ri-um* with this toponym see BONECHI 2016b: 31ff.); TM.75.G.1891+ARET III 31 (= TM.75.G.3035+TM.75.G.3039) obv. III 3’–6’ (for this join see BIGA 2009: 39) records *Ma-ù-ud* dam *En-na-BAD*; TM.75.G.1443 = ARET I 3 rev. VII 1–10 records *Ma-ù-du* 1 dam *I-bí-zi-kir* lú *Sá-gú-šum*.

<sup>16</sup> This administrative practice matches what is shown by the lists of women in Old Babylonian Mari, see ZIEGLER 1999: 14 n. 6.

<sup>17</sup> This is the case, for instance, of princess *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* who became queen of *Na-gàr*<sup>ki</sup>: TM.75.G.1633 obv. II 3–6: DIŠ mu DU.DU *ma-lik-tum Na-gàr*<sup>ki</sup>, see ARCHI 1998a: 5. See also BIGA 1996: 72 and BIGA 1998a: 21.

in the texts only on the occasion of the birth of their children or of their deaths and in both cases they are qualified as queens of the kingdoms they moved in. Even when these women returned home to participate in other important events, they are referred to by their royal title and no longer as daughters of the king of Ebla<sup>18</sup>. This was also the case for princesses given in marriage to members of the Ebla élite. As in the inter-dynastic marriages, these princesses joined the families of their husbands, they also moved to the residences of their new households<sup>19</sup>, which most probably were located in the Ebla countryside and they were no more qualified as *dumu-mí en*, (see §2 below). Thus, this implies that as long as a princess was listed on the king's daughters lists, she was still un-married<sup>20</sup>.

This holds true for *Ma-ù-ud* as well, who disappears from the *dumu-mí en* lists after her wedding, which is recorded in the following text:

<sup>18</sup> A fitting example could be that of princess *Da-ti-dTu*, one of *Ma-ù-ud*'s sisters, or half-sisters. She is documented in the lists [4] and TM.75.G.1779 = ARET XV 34 rev. XI 2–5. According to BIGA 1996: 65: “C'est peut-être justement à son arrivée à la nouvelle cour de Lumnan que *Dati-dTU* offre deux pendants d'oreilles-*budi* à la mère du roi de Lumnan” as recorded in the annual account of metal TM.75.G.1904+. Later on, she is always recorded as *ma-lik-tum*, “queen”, of *Lum-na-an<sup>ki</sup>*, see: TM.75.G.1337 = ARET XIX 13 rev. VII 2–8; TM.75.G.1351 rev. VIII 5–10 (BIGA 1996: 66); TM.75.G.1705 = MEE 7 29 = ARET XXI 3 (see ARCHI 2019b: 150) obv. III 6'–8'; TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34 obv. XI 16–XII 8; TM.75.G.2333 = ARET XXI 2 (see ARCHI 2019b: 150) obv. III 11–13 (BIGA 1996: 66); ARET III 627 (= TM.75.G.3697+TM.75.G.3722) rev. IV 3'–9'; TM.75.G.3900 = ARET III 798 rev. I' 2'–5', which together with TM.75.G.2359 obv. XV (ARCHI 1996b: 82, BIGA 1996: 66) mentions a son of *Da-ti-dTu*. Finally, TM.75.G.2502 rev. IV (BIGA 1996: 66) and TM.75.G.2632 obv. IV 6–V 3 (BIGA 2008: 297) record her death. This same pattern applies also for other princesses such as *Zi-mi-ni-kù-babbar*, who will become *ma-lik-tum* of *Bur-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>* (on this princess see BIGA 1996: 66–69 and BONECHI 2018: 97–98), *Zú-ga-LUM ma-lik-tum* of *Ha-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>* (see ARCHI 1988a) or again *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu*, who will become *ma-lik-tum* of *Na-gàr<sup>ki</sup>* (see ARCHI 1998a, BIGA 1998a). For *Zi-mi-ni-kù-babbar* and *Zú-ga-LUM* see also the attestations collected for “The Prosopography of Ebla” project of the University of Florence forthcoming in <https://www.sagas.unifi.it/CMpro-v-p-359.html>.

<sup>19</sup> This is, for instance, the case of princess *I-ti-mu-ud*, studied in BIGA 1996: 64. She is attested in the lists [4], [6], in the list [7] in obv. VI 15 (according to ARCHI 1996a: 103) and probably also in the list [2] by the variant spelling *I-ti-u<sub>9</sub>-ud*. She most probably joined the family of minister *Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM* marrying *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* (as recorded in TM.75.G.1567 = ARET XV 29 obv. X 3–8 and probably also TM.75.G.3008 = ARET III 6 rev. IV 4'–6'), who possibly was one of the sons of the minister. After her wedding *I-ti-mu-ud* enters *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik*'s house, as recorded in TM.75.G.1631 = ARET II 31 obv. I 1–IV 7: *I-ti-mu-ud in u<sub>4</sub> é Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik*. The same applies to *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu*, attested in the lists [4–6], [9] and by the spelling *Ti-in-ib-da-mu* in the lists [1] and [3]; then, she is no longer mentioned after her wedding with a certain *Du-lu* of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-u<sup>ki</sup>* (attested in TM.75.G.1935 obv. VIII 1–10, see ARCHI 1980: 21). The same applies for other Ebla princesses as well.

<sup>20</sup> That is why one could assume that *Ma-ù-ud* was still unmarried at the time of her recording in [10], along with the other *dumu-mí en*. For BIGA 2000: 70, “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)”.

[11] TM.75.G.1326<sup>21</sup> = ARET XIX 10 obv. I 1–II 10: 1 <sup>2</sup>à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb-III-TÚG sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il / dumu-nita / Dur-du-lum / in u<sub>4</sub> / ì-giš / si-in / sag / Ma-ù-ud / níg-dé / <1><sup>22</sup> du-ru<sub>12</sub>-rúm / 1 PAD-TÚG <sup>giš</sup>ir-zú / 10 lá-2 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG / Ma-ù-ud / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / é / Dur-du-lum // 2 <sup>2</sup>à-da-um-TÚG 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb-III-TÚG sa<sub>6</sub> / 2 dumu-nita / Dur-du-lum / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 bu-di ŠÚ+ŠA kù:abbar / Si-ù-du / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 bu-di 10 kù:abbar / dumu-mí-sù / dam-dingir / in u<sub>4</sub> / níg-mu-sá (beginning of king Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu's reign, minister Ib-rí-um, possibly iti 'a<sub>5</sub>-nun = 8<sup>th</sup> month).

This passage is very interesting and provides many prosopographical details which are important in order to reconstruct a part of the family of *Dur-du-lum*, father of the groom of *Ma-ù-ud*.

Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il<sup>23</sup>, son of *Dur-du-lum* and most probably groom of *Ma-ù-ud*, receives a set of textiles “on the occasion of the pouring of oil on the head of *Ma-ù-ud*” (in u<sub>4</sub> / ì-giš / si-in / sag / Ma-ù-ud / níg-dé), an act that denotes the proper wedding ceremony. *Ma-ù-ud* thus officially becomes part of the family of *Dur-du-lum* and a rich set of textiles for her is delivered to the residence of her father-in-law (é *Dur-du-lum*) to celebrate the event<sup>24</sup>. Other members of *Dur-du-lum*'s family receive goods “on the day of the payment of the price of the bride” (in u<sub>4</sub> níg-mu-sá), i.e. at a time that must have taken place before the wedding ceremony. On this occasion, in fact, the family of *Dur-du-lum* must have presented the king's family with the goods negotiated in the marriage agreement between the two households. Contextually, the family of the king gives sets of textiles and jewels for two of the sons of *Dur-du-lum*<sup>25</sup>,

<sup>21</sup> For the dating of this text at the beginning of Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu's reign, see SAMIR 2019: 12, while for a dating rather chronologically near the end of Ír-kab-da-mu's, when Ib-rí-um became minister, see BIGA 1998b: 216. As a working hypothesis, the monthly account of textiles TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 might be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> month. In fact, obv. VII 5–9 records the formula in u<sub>4</sub> / zi-ga / en / é / <sup>4</sup>KU-ra. As pointed out in BIGA 1998b: 217–218, this formula is recorded in various texts, whose monthly dating is always iti 'a<sub>5</sub>-nun, the 8<sup>th</sup> month.

<sup>22</sup> See CATAGNOTI in print.

<sup>23</sup> The name Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il is also attested in TM.75.G.4905 = ARET XII 560 III' 6'–10', while its variant spelling Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-NI occurs in TM.75.G.1236 = ARET VII 41 obv. I 1-rev. I 1 and TM.76.G.529 = ARET VIII 539 = MEE 5 9 rev. VI 6'–14'. Unfortunately, for each of these cases there is insufficient evidence to lead to an identification with the husband of princess *Ma-ù-ud*. Another person, a certain Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-NI of Kiš<sup>ki</sup>, is recorded in TM.75.G.1945, see ARCHI 2018a: 27.

<sup>24</sup> Different interpretations in SAMIR 2019: 92 and PASQUALI 2020: 400. The du-ru<sub>12</sub>-rúm and the PAD-TÚG textiles were delivered and used primarily in ceremonial settings and were part of a bride's wedding dress, see PASQUALI 1997: 225ff.; PASQUALI 2009; PASQUALI 2010: 175–179.

<sup>25</sup> In addition to Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il, three other sons of *Dur-du-lum* are known: Na-ga-šu, who is recorded in [34] and by the spelling Na-ga-sum in [36] (quoted below in § 3), I-<sup>2</sup>à-ak-da-mu in TM.75.G.1727 = ARET XV 33 rev. II 1–4 (king Ír-kab-da-mu, minister Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM) and I-ti-<sup><d></sup>Aš-dar in TM.75.G.1522 rev. I 3–9 (king Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu, minister Ib-rí-um, iti i-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa = 10<sup>th</sup> month, quoted in BIGA 2010b: 154).



for *Si-ù-du*, a feminine name that might identify *Dur-du-lum*'s wife<sup>26</sup> and finally an unnamed daughter of theirs who held the role of dam-dingir, “priestess”<sup>27</sup>.

Talking about kinship ties with the household of *Dur-du-lum*, the following passage is probably also to be taken into account:

[12] ARET XIV 57<sup>28</sup> rev. VIII 1'–IX 1: ] en / *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup> / wa / dumu-nita / *Dur-du-lum* / in u<sub>4</sub> / níg-mu-sá / 'Da'-bí // *Ma-ù-ud* [... (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*'s year 3, minister *Ib-ri-um*).

This passage records the wedding of *Da-bí*, one of the sisters, or half-sisters, of *Ma-ù-ud* already recorded in various lists quoted above ([2], [7] and [10]). *Ma-ù-ud*, as can be seen, attended her sister's wedding and *Da-bí*, in turn, attended *Ma-ù-ud*'s wedding as the only one among her sisters. As documented by passage TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 obv. IX 7–X 6, precisely on the occasion of *Ma-ù-ud*'s wedding textiles were delivered to *Da-bí* and to her mother-in-law<sup>29</sup>: thus, *Da-bí* was, by then, already married. Both texts TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 and ARET XIV 57 share three elements: 1) the presence of *Da-bí* and *Ma-ù-ud* at each other's weddings; 2) the attendance, to both weddings, of *Dur-du-lum* him-self, or of members of his family; 3) the attendance, to both weddings, at least of the king of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>30</sup>. These three elements are, most probably, to be put in relation to each other and they contribute to create a complex and intertwined picture of the family ties in which the two princesses were involved. As a working hypothesis, it may be supposed that [12] records

<sup>26</sup> Since the passage [11] records members of the family of *Dur-du-lum*, it is very probable that *Si-ù-du* was one of his dams. Unfortunately, based on the attestations available so far, we have no other information about her except that she had a sister (TM.75.G.2267 obv. I 12–16: *Ù-wa-tum* nin-ni *Si-ù-tum*, see ARCHI 2020c: 61 n. 22).

<sup>27</sup> The term níg-mu-sá most probably refers to the wedding of *Ma-ù-ud*, see differently ARCHI 2020c: 61.

<sup>28</sup> I would like to thank Alfonso Archi for kindly notifying me of this passage. In ARCHI 2015: 168 this mu-DU text has been dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of minister *Ib-ri-um*.

<sup>29</sup> TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 obv. IX 7–X 6 records: 5 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG / *Da-bí* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 *bu-di* ŠÚ+ŠÁ kù:babbar // níg-ba / Ú.MU.SÁ.SAL / *Da-bí* / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / in u<sub>4</sub> / níg-mu-sá. As for the Ebla term spelled Ú.MU.SÁ.SAL, “mother-in-law”, see BONECHI 2016c: 14–15 and SAMIR 2019: 267.

<sup>30</sup> In addition to passage [12], which records the attendance of the king of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup> at *Da-bí*'s wedding, passage TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 obv. VIII 13–IX 6 mentions the king of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul*<sup>ki</sup>, together with his brother *Ab-ri* and six “elders” (*ábba*), most probably attending *Ma-ù-ud*'s wedding. They are recorded just before passage TM.75.G.1326 = ARET XIX 10 obv. IX 7–X 6, which mentions deliveries of textiles for *Da-bí* and her mother-in-law, as already said above.

*Da-bi*'s wedding with the unnamed son of *Dur-du-lum*: consequently, *Ma-ù-ud* might have been the second Ebla princess who entered *Dur-du-lum*'s family<sup>31</sup>.

Going back to *Ma-ù-ud*, her wedding marks a change in her *status* and being now part of the family of *Dur-du-lum*, she will be recorded as *é-gi<-a>* or *gal<-la>-tum*<sup>32</sup> *Dur-du-lum*, “daughter-in-law of *Dur-du-lum*”:

[13] TM.75.G.1522<sup>33</sup> obv. VII 7–13: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG babbar 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG ú-ḥáb 2 *bu-di* ŠÚ+ŠA gin-DILMUN *Ma-ù-ud* dumu-mí en *gal<-la>-tum* *Dur-du-lum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*, iti *i-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa* = 10<sup>th</sup> month).

[14] TM.76.G.122<sup>34</sup> rev. I' 2'–4': *Ma-ù-du* *é-gi<-a>* *Dur-du-lum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*).

[15] TM.75.G.10150<sup>35</sup> obv. IX 9–XII 9: 23 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Du-si-gú* *Da-bur-da-mu* *Di-ne-ib-du-lum* *Ter<sub>5</sub>-bù-da-mu* *Ra-ù-tum* *Kir-su-ut* *En-na<sup>d</sup>Utu* *Maš-ga-ša-du* *Ma-ga-ra-du* *Ra-péš-tum* *Téš-má-da-mu* *A-ba-da-du* *Da-ba-a-du* *I-šar-tum* *Kir-su-ut-2* *Maš-gú-du* *Da-ḥu-šum* *Tal-du-du* *Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* dam en SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> *wa* *I-da-du* *wa* *A-NI-a-lu-du* *Da-dub* *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>* *'wa'* *Da-a-zi-kir* *'Á-za-an<sup>ki</sup>* 5 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 4 nin-ni ama-gal en *wa* *Ma-ù-ud* *é-gi<-a>* *Dur-du-lum* 14 TÚG-NI.NI *Da-sa-ru<sub>12</sub>* *Mi-na-du* *Ri-péš* *I-šar-tum* *Gi-ša-du* *Iš-lu-NI-la* *A-bù-ma* *Ba-zi-da* *Da-gi-iš-ša-ḥa-ru<sub>12</sub>* AN-NE *En-na<sup>d</sup>Utu* *Ì-lum-NI-da* *Mi-nu-NI-la* *Dab<sub>6</sub>-ri-da-mu* *ábba-mí-ábba-mí* *wa* *ga-du<sub>8</sub>-ga-du<sub>8</sub>* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*, iti *i-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa* = 10<sup>th</sup> month).

<sup>31</sup> As for the king of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>* attending to the weddings of *Da-bi* and *Ma-ù-ud*, his presence might have been due by kinship ties with the family of the king of Ebla. As already seen, *Ti-ne-ib-da-mu*, another sister, or half-sister, of *Da-bi* and of *Ma-ù-ud*, married a certain *Du-lu* of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>*, as mentioned in TM.75.G.1935 obv. VIII 1–10, see ARCHI 1980: 21. Unfortunately, *Du-lu* seems to be attested only in this unpublished text and actually it is not really known whether *Du-lu* was part of the royal family of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>*. Anyway, the hypothetical kinship between the royal lineage of *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>* and the family of the king of Ebla alone does not seem a sufficiently good reason to justify the attendance of a foreign king at two weddings among members of the Ebla élite. Most probably some other reasons should be taken into account, therefore further investigations are certainly needed.

<sup>32</sup> See the lexical list VE 322: *é-gi-a* = *gal-la-tum*, *gal-la-du*, *gal-tum*. On this term as “daughter-in-law” see FRONZAROLI 1984: 168 and CONTI 1990: 118. This term is also attested with the variant spelling *é-gi<sub>4</sub><-a>*, see the passages [24–25].

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1996: 65. For the dating of this text see BIGA 2010b: 160.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1996: 65. According to Biga, TM.76.G.122 is more or less contemporary to TM.75.G.1522.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1997: 39–40 n. 16; see also TONIETTI 1989: 103 and BIGA 2000: 72 n. 27. For the dating of this text see BIGA 2008: 307 and ARCHI 2011: 46–47.

[16] TM.75.G.2257<sup>36</sup> obv. III 6–V 6: 25 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG *Du-si-gù Da-bur-da-mu Di-ni-ib-du-lum Ters-bù-da-mu Ra-ù-tum Kir-su-ut maḥ Gi-ša-du En-na-<sup>d</sup>Utu* [...] [...] [...] [x]-du // *Da-ba-a-du I-šar-tum Kir-su-ut tur Ba-gù-du Da-ḥu-šum Tal-du-du Nu-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut I-du-NI-a dam-dam en lú SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> I-da-du A-NI-a-lu-du Da-dub A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup> wa Da-a-zi-kir* [...] [...] [...] 4 nin-ni // ama-gal en wa *Ma-ù-ud é-gi<-a> Dur-du-lum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*, 11<sup>th</sup> month).

[17] TM.75.G.1728<sup>37</sup> rev. II 1-6: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 10 KIN siki / *Ma-ù-ud / dumu-mí / en / é-gi<-a> / Dur-du-lum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-rí-um*, month lost).

As can be seen from the two lists [15–16]<sup>38</sup>, *Ma-ù-ud* is no longer recorded along with the *dumu-mí en*, but she is listed after four sisters of the *ama-gal en*, following a list of *dam en* led by *Du-si-gú*.

*Ma-ù-ud* is again recorded, after a long time, in the following two passages, which have been dated to the year 14 of king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, i.e. the year of the wedding of the king with queen *Da-bur-da-mu*<sup>39</sup>:

[18] TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34 rev. XIII 24–XIV 26: 5 ma-na ŠA.PI kù: babbar / [10]+\*8\* [bu]-di [?] \*ŠÚ+ŠA\* / [...] / *Ra-ù-tum / Kir-su-ut / En-na-<sup>d</sup>Utu* // [*Ra-pé]š-tum / Maš-ga-sa-du / Ma-ga-ra-du / Téš-má-da-mu / Ra-péš-tum / dam / en / wa / Ma-ù-ud / Za-ni-ḥi<sup>i</sup>(ḪI<sub>x</sub>MAŠ)-Ma-rí<sup>ki</sup> / 2 dumu-mí / en / wa / ama-gal / *Ib-rí-um / wa / A-zi-mu / Ti-lu-du / Ti-a-da-mu / Kir-su-ut / dam-sù / wa / Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut / nin-ni / Du-si-gú / Ki-sa-du* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*'s year 14, minister *Ib-rí-um*, before iti *gi-NI* = 4<sup>th</sup> month in rev. XV 19).*

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in BIGA 2000: 74. For the dating of this text see ARCHI 2011: 46–47.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1987: 47 n. 29; see also BIGA 1996: 65. For the dating of this text see ARCHI 2020c: 65. Passage TM.75.G.1728 obv. I 8–12 records the rite of “purification of the house of the king” (a-tu<sub>22</sub> é en), which was held always in the 1<sup>st</sup> month of the Ebla’s calendar, see again ARCHI 1996c: 45 and 54. On this ritual see also BONECHI 1989: 141ff.

<sup>38</sup> An interesting feature of these two lists is the recording of queen *Da-bur-da-mu* by her personal name rather than by the title *ma-lik-tum*, because she is not married to the king yet. There are also other lists that follow this same pattern: TM.75.G.1794+TM.75.G.3534 (= ARET III 469) obv. VI 17–VII 8 (for this join see BIGA 2006: 30 n. 54), TM.75.G.1885 obv. III 15–IV 16 (see BIGA 1987: 43), TM.75.G.2233 obv. II 9ff. (see ARCHI 1998b: 46 and BIGA 2000: 72), TM.75.G.2527+TM.75.G.2528 rev. I 23–III 9 (see BIGA 1987: 43) and TM.75.G.10153 obv. IX 15–X 15 (see ARCHI – BIGA – MILANO 1988: 259), in which again *Da-bur-da-mu* is recorded, after the *ama-gal en Du-si-gú*. Instead, the lists in TM.75.G.1770 = ARET XX 6 obv. X 1–13 and in TM.75.G.1731+TM.75.G.2498 = ARET XX 7 rev. XIII 5–XIV 13 record her as *ma-lik-tum*, again after *Du-si-gú*. These lists are probably to be placed after the royal wedding.

<sup>39</sup> The annual metal account TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34 and the monthly textile account TM.75.G.2417 are parallel to the ritual TM.75.G.1939+ = ARET XI 2 which records the wedding between *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu* e *Da-bur-da-mu*, see BIGA 1992 and BIGA 1996: 48. For its most recent dating proposal see ARCHI 2015: 168 and ARCHI 2016c: 6.

[19] TM.75.G.2417<sup>40</sup> rev. XI 1–XIII 4: 8 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 8 gíd-TÚG / 8 bu-di / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / GÁxLÁ-sù / Ra-ù-tum / Kir-su-ut / En-na-<sup>d</sup>Utu / Maš-ga-ša-du / Ra-pěš-tum maḥ / Ma-ga-ra-du / Ra-pěš-tum-2 / Téš-má-da-mu / dam / en / 2 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 bu-di ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / Ma-ù-du / wa / Za-ni-ḥi-Ma-r<sup>ki</sup> / 2 dumu-mí maḥ / en / 2 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG // 2 'bu`-di 10 gín-DILMUN 10 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / Ar-za-du / wa / Zú-ga-LUM / dumu-mí / en / tur / 5 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG '10` bu-di ŠÚ+ŠA-ŠÚ+ŠA / ama-gal / Ib-rí-um / wa / A-zi-mu / wa / Ti-lu-du / Ti-a-da-mu / Kir-su-ut / dam-dam / Ib-rí-um / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 1 bu-di ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut / 3 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 3 bu-di 10 gín-DILMUN 10 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar // 3 nin-ni-sù / nin-ni / ama-gal / en (king Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu's year 14, minister Ib-rí-um, most probably 5<sup>th</sup> month).

As an exception, *Ma-ù-ud* is here recorded, even though already married<sup>41</sup>, as dumu-mí en in [18] and dumu-mí maḥ en in [19], along with her sister, or half-sister, *Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-r<sup>ki</sup>*. The designation dumu-mí en maḥ most probably, referred to their rank as much as to their age compared to the other “daughters of king”. Her recording in these passages as dumu-mí en seems to be an exception, which could be perhaps explained considering that *Ma-ù-ud* is participating in the royal wedding, consequently prominence has been given to her royal lineage. Moreover, *Ma-ù-ud* is not properly included here in a list of king's daughters<sup>42</sup>.

Going back to passages [13–17], it is striking that *Ma-ù-ud* is never qualified as dam *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il* but always and only as *gal<-la>-tum* or *é-gi<-a> Dur-du-lum*. The choice of this particular title does not seem to be due to the death of her husband, a scenario that has been considered but remains hypothetical, given the impossibility of tracing the presence of *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-il* in other attestations. This choice might have been as well an administrative practice that most probably responded to social and political reasons.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in BIGA – CAPOMACCHIA 2012: 28–29. See also BIGA 1996: 65. Discussing the wedding ritual TM.75.G.1939+ = ARET XI 2, the annual account of metals TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34 and the monthly account of textiles TM.75.G.2417, BIGA – CAPOMACCHIA 2012: 21 state: “I paralleli tra i due testi [i.e. TM.75.G.1939+ = ARET XI 2 and TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34] rendono evidente che il testo mensile di tessili [i.e. TM.75. G.2417], il cui nome di mese è purtroppo perduto, è stato sicuramente scritto in un mese in cui si è svolto il rituale, perché vi sono registrati i tessuti destinati ai personaggi che compaiono nel rituale”. TM.75.G.2417 should be dated most probably to the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the year of the wedding of Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu and Da-bur-da-mu. It records “the rite of ‘purification of the goddess Ganana on the occasion of the opening (of the temple)’” (see ARCHI 2013: 233) an event that was held in the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the year (iti ḥa-li-NI), see PASQUALI 2013: 50.

<sup>41</sup> See BIGA 1996: 65, “Elle est présente, avec Zaneḥi-Mari, à la cérémonie de mariage du roi Iš'ar-Damu avec la reine (75.G.1730 v. XIV 26); elle est sûrement, comme Zaneḥi-Mari, déjà mariée depuis quelque temps, mais étant restée à la cour, elle participe directement à l'événement”.

<sup>42</sup> However, it is not found entirely convincing here that the already married *Ma-ù-ud* would be recorded in [18–19] again as dumu-mí en and dumu-mí maḥ en, rather than as daughter-in-law of *Dur-du-lum*. Therefore, further studies on this matter are in progress and are forthcoming.

## 2. É-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a, fathers-in-law and important households

In the administrative texts of Ebla *Ma-ù-ud* is not the only woman qualified as “daughter-in-law” (é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a). Also other women are designated by this kinship term. It may be of interest to carry out a brief overview on this matter, discussing the following passages<sup>43</sup>:

[20] TM.75.G.1435 = ARET IV 13 rev. II 1–5: ...] *Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* / *dumu-mí* / en / é-gi<-a> / *Ib-’à-ra* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, iti *ḥa-li-NI* = 5<sup>th</sup> month).

[21] TM.75.G.5888 = ARET XII 1293 rev. III' 1'–6': 1 *zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG* 2 *bu-dī ŠÚ+ŠA* gín DILMUN kù:babbar / *Ter<sub>5</sub>-maš-da-mu* / *dumu-mí* / en / é-gi<-a> / [... (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, month lost).

[22] TM.76.G.529 = ARET VIII 529 = MEE 5 9 obv. VIII 24–IX 4: 1 *zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG* / *Da-mur-da-šè-li* / *dumu-mí* / *Ri-ti* // é-gi-a / en / 1 *zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG* / 4 *ábba:mí-sù* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*, month lost).

[23] TM.75.G.1255 = ARET IV 1 obv. IX 8–15: 1 *’à-da-um-TÚG-II* 1 *aktum-TÚG* 1 *íb-II-TÚG* *sa<sub>6</sub>* / *I-ti-’l-lam* / níg-mul-an / en / in *u<sub>4</sub>* / é-gi-a / en / tu-da (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*, iti *gi-NI* = 4<sup>th</sup> month).

[24] TM.75.G.2241<sup>44</sup> obv. 8–14: *Ti-a-i-šar* *dumu-mí* en é-gi<sub>4</sub><-a> *Ir-bí si-in ’Á-za-an<sup>ki</sup>* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*, iti *gi-NI* = 4<sup>th</sup> month).

[25] TM.75.G.2247 rev. III 13–16<sup>45</sup>: *Ti-a-i-šar* *dumu-mí* en é-gi<sub>4</sub><-a> *Ir-bí si-in ’Á-za-an<sup>ki</sup>* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*).

A couple of features can be noted in these attestations:

1) The names of the women qualified by the title é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a are almost all Ebla’s princesses. These are: *Ma-ù-ud* (as seen in passages [13–17]); two of her sisters, or half-sisters, such as *Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* ([20]) and *Ter<sub>5</sub>-maš-da-mu* ([21]), who are repeatedly attested along with her in the *dumu-mí* en lists mentioned above (see §1); and *Ti-a-i-šar* ([24–25]), probably one of the daughters of king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*. The only exception is *Da-mur-da-šè-li*<sup>46</sup> ([22]), daughter of a certain *Ri-ti*, probably to be identified with the unnamed é-gi-a en of passage [23].

<sup>43</sup> Besides the passages listed above, another text recording *gal-la-tum* is TM.75.G.756+TM.75.G.771+TM.75.G.815 = ARET X 57 obv. II 6–III 7, obv. III 8–V 8 and rev. I 6–II 4. In this text the term *gal-la-tum* is translated as “wife” (see BIGA 2003b: 57 and the discussion in 64) and as “sister-in-law” (see FRONZAROLI 2012: 165–166).

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in ARCHI 2002a: 163 n. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in ARCHI 2002a: 163 n. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Da-mur-da-šè-in* daughter of *Ri-ti* is not to be confused with the namesake daughter of *In-ma-lik*, brother of the minister *Ib-ri-um* (TM.75.G.2329 obv. I 14–II 4: *Da-mur-da-šè-li* *dumu-mí* *In-ma-lik ma-lik-tum* DU-*lu<sup>ki</sup>*, see ARCHI 1984: 244 and BIGA 2014: 74). She married the king of DU-*lu<sup>ki</sup>*, see BIGA 2014.

2) The qualification *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* is always followed by a masculine personal name and this fact is actually very important in the understanding of this administrative practice.

When dealing with high levels of society, a qualification also carries within itself a political and social meaning: it does not appear that the Eblaite princesses married to foreign kings are ever indicated as dams of their husbands, nor as *é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a* of their fathers-in-law. Rather, they are referred to as queens, because their role in foreign policy is certainly what most deserved prominence and attention.

Therefore, the choice to qualify some of the Eblaite princesses as daughters-in-law lies in the type of weddings in which they were involved, or rather in the type of people to whom they were given in marriage.

The fathers-in-law were the heads of the households of the princesses' grooms. Thus, highlighting the kinship of some of the princesses with their fathers-in-law was intended most probably to underline and at the same time to record in the Palace documents, the families that the royal household had been established new relationships with: most probably family ties formed the foundation on which Eblaite social and political cohesion was based on.

In fact, a prosopographical analysis of the names of these fathers-in-law shows that they were at the head of high ranking families:

a) The name *Ir-bi*<sup>47</sup>, father-in-law of princess *Ti-a-i-šar* ([24–25]), is quite frequent in the documentation of Ebla and is shared by more than one person<sup>48</sup>. He is most probably to be identified with a *lugal*<sup>49</sup> attested during the reign of king

<sup>47</sup> It might be, as already stated in ARCHI 2002a: 163, that this *Ir-bi* has to be identified with *Ir-bi* son of *I-ib-ma-lik*, brother of *Du-si-gú* (as attested in TM.75.G.1731+ TM.75.G.2498 = ARET XX 7 rev. IV 7–10; TM.75.G.1771 = MEE 7 47 obv. II 14–18). Most probably the attestations TM.75.G.2507 rev. X 8–26 and rev. XII 15–25 mention the wedding of *Ti-a-i-šar* with a son of *Ir-bi* (see ARCHI 2018b: 154). In this text *Ir-bi* receives some gifts, together with one of his sons, *I-ti<sup>d</sup>-Á-da* (see ARCHI 2002a: 163 n. 6). The passage TM.76.G.534 = ARET VIII 534 = MEE 5 14 rev. XIV 2'–12' records *Á-ba-ti*, another son of *Ir-bi*.

<sup>48</sup> A certain *Ir-bi* son of the king of *Ma-nu-wa-at<sup>ki</sup>* is recorded in TM.75.G.1761 obv. VI 7–VII 1 (see BIGA 2008: 292, BIGA 2010b: 162) and TM.75.G.2281 obv. XIII 3–14 (BIGA 2008: 292); a certain *Ir-bi* *lú Iš<sub>11</sub>-gú-ma* is recorded in TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7 34 rev. XIX 21'–27', TM.75.G.1860 = MEE 10 20 rev. VIII 1–6 and rev. IX 19–X 7, probably the *Ir-bi* *lú Iš<sub>11</sub>-gú-mu* recorded in TM.75.G.2248 obv. XIII 6ff. (see ARCHI 2002b: 52). Then again, an *Ir-bi* “cook” (*muḥaldim*) is recorded in TM.75.G.564 = ARET IX 95 obv. II 8–3. These three men are most probably to be distinguished from the *Ir-bi* discussed in the present article. The name *Ir-bi* identifies also a *pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš* of the *ama-gal en*, *Du-si-gú* (see TM.75.G.2439 obv. II 3 in ARCHI 1996c: 67) and an *ugula ká* in TM.75.G.5432 = ARET XII 952 rev. III' 1'–7', who may be identified with the *lugal* referred to in this article, since in the same TM.75.G.5432 = ARET XII 952 rev. III' 1'–7' he is listed along with *Ú-ba-an*, an official recorded with him also in TM.75.G.1362 = MEE 2 40 = ARET XIX 15 rev. VII 9–13, a text mentioned above in a).

<sup>49</sup> See TM.75.G.2519+ (ARCHI 2000: 44) and TM.75.G.3851 = ARET III 763 II' 1'–6', which record “incomes” (*mu-DU*) to the Palace by *Ir-bi*.

*Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu* and, at the same time, he held the role of *ugula engar*<sup>50</sup>, overseeing the work of groups of “farmers” (*engar*). In fact, *Ir-bi* had at his disposal considerable amounts of wool: 1,400, 900, 600, 440 and 80 KIN-measures in TM.75.G.1264 = MEE 2 2 = ARET I 15 rev. X 2–5; TM.75.G.1362 = MEE 2 40 = ARET XIX 15 rev. VII 9–13<sup>51</sup>; TM.75.G.1265 = MEE 2 3 = ARET IV 4 rev. IX 1–2; TM.75.G.5254 = ARET XII 831 rev. V' 2'–3' and TM.75.G.1743 = ARET XX 9 rev. X 17–XI 2 respectively. He probably used this wool to pay the personnel he managed. Moreover, the attestation TM.75.G.2627<sup>52</sup> = ARCHI 1982: 184 rev. VIII 1–4: *šu-nigin 2 ma-i-at 4 ri-bab 2 li-im 80 še gú-bar e<sub>11</sub> / lú 2-šu / Ir-bi / iti ga-sum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, *iti ga-sum* = 7<sup>th</sup> month), records 242,080 *gú-bar*-measures of barley at *Ir-bi*'s disposal (*lú 2-šu*, lit. “in his two hands”), probably received by him as the productive amount of the agricultural workforce which he superintended. Therefore, the reconstruction of the background of *Ir-bi* suggests that he was a high-ranking official at the top of the Eblaite administration, like the much more documented *Ip-du-ra*, with whom *Ir-bi* is sometimes recorded. In addition, according to TM.75.G.1992<sup>53</sup>, *Ir-bi* owned 10,100 measures of arable land in a territory that included villages, making him a landowner important enough to enter into a marriage agreement with the family of the king.

b) *Ib-`à-ra* is the name of the father-in-law of *Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* ([20]). The wedding of *Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* is attested in TM.75.G.1776 obv. I 1–9<sup>54</sup>: (textiles) / *Ib-du-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš / šeš / I-ib-ma-lik / níg-dé / i-giš / si-in / sag / Za-ne-ḥi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, 12<sup>th</sup> month). Unfortunately *Ib-du-<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš* is only recorded in this passage<sup>55</sup>; thus no further information is available to propose an identification. However, he is recorded as brother of *I-ib-ma-lik*, which is a name frequently mentioned in the Eblaite texts. Even though would be tempting to identify the latter as the well-known brother of *Du-si-gú*, the *ama-gal en*, he should be distinguished. Rather, this *I-ib-ma-lik* could be confidently enough identified

<sup>50</sup> See TM.75.G.1389 obv. VIII 13–18 (quoted in ARCHI 1980: 25); TM.75.G.1525 = ARET IV 18 obv. III 9–11; TM.75.G.1775 = MEE 7 48 obv. III 2–7; TM.75.G.5019 = ARET XII 659 I' 1'–5'. Above all, the passage TM.76.G.528 = ARET VIII 528 = MEE 5 8 rev. VIII 9–17, in which *Ir-bi* is recorded together with *Ip-du-ra*, one of the most important official of the Palace administration, shows that the *lugal* can be identified with the *ugula engar*.

<sup>51</sup> For this attestation see also BONECHI 2020a: 109.

<sup>52</sup> See also ARCHI 1993: 14.

<sup>53</sup> See MILANO 1996: 150: “Liste de surfaces arables (ki) faisant référence à des villages: 36 800 mesures sont attribuées à Ibdulu, 10 100 à IrNE et 12 400 à Šura-Damu”. To TM.75.G.1992, text TM.75.G.1826+ has to be added: the total of this text, recorded in rev. X 1–9 (quoted in ARCHI 2019c: 45), mentions fields for feeding the mules managed by *Ir-bi*. Moreover, the recording of a “house of *Ir-bi*” (*é Ir-bi*) in TM.75.G.2507 rev. X 29–XI 1 (see ARCHI 2002a: 163 n. 6) can only confirm his high-ranking status.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1987: 45 n. 18. See also BIGA 1996: 69.

<sup>55</sup> See ARCHI 2020b: 17: “the only reference to *Ibdu-Kamiš* is to a man who married *Zaneḥi-Mari*, a ‘daughter of the king’, surely of *Irkab-damu*.”

with a homonym person recorded in connection with 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup> 56, a centre of the territory of Ebla<sup>57</sup> where *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>*'s father-in-law, *Ib-à-ra*, owned an estate, as attested in TM.75.G.1776 obv. II 9–III 11<sup>58</sup>: (textiles) / *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* / 2 gumug-TÚG / 2 dam-sù / *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / é / *Ib-à-ra* / 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup> / in u<sub>4</sub> / níg-mu-sá. Unfortunately, based on the texts known so far, there are no other occurrences of *Ib-à-ra*. In any case, TM.75.G.1776 clearly documents the presence of a family well established in the 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup> area of the territory of Ebla. Here *Ib-à-ra* and his two sons, *I-ib-ma-lik* and *Ib-du<sup>d</sup>Ga-mi-iš*, had an estate, here they may also have owned lands and carried out productive and commercial activities and here is where most probably *Za-ne-ḫi-Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* moved in after her wedding.

The rank of the household that would join the royal family with a marriage was also important in the opposite case in which one of the sons of the king married a girl of other lineage, who, as a result, became é-gi/gi<sub>4</sub>-a en, “daughter-in-law of the king”: this is the case of *Da-mur-da-šè-li* (**22–23**). Her father, *Ri-ti*<sup>59</sup>, is probably to be identified with the ugula *ir-a-núm*<sup>60</sup>, charged to superintend large groups of workers. Like *Ir-bí*, *Ri-ti* received significant amounts of wool and cloths in order to perform his duty as an overseer, see: TM.75.G.1273 = ARET IV 5 rev. VII 10–14; TM.75.G.1770 = ARET XX 6 rev. XI 19–XII 5; TM.75.G.2240 = ARET XX 21 rev. IV 7–9; TM.75.G.4227 = ARET XII 102 II' 1'–4'. In addition to all these passages, TM.75.G.2282 = ARET VII 145 rev. II 3–4 is most probably to be taken into consideration as well. *Ri-ti* also superintended groups of women, as recorded in TM.75.G.2631<sup>61</sup> and supplied them, as recorded in TM.75.G.459 = ARET X

<sup>56</sup> See TM.75.G.1743 = ARET XX 9 obv. II 5–9: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG / *Bir<sub>3</sub>-zi-na-du* / dam / *I-ib-ma-lik* / 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup>; TM.75.G.1256 = ARET IV 2 obv. IX 21–24: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-2 1 ib-II-TÚG sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / i-giš sag / *I-ib-ma-lik* / 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup>; TM.75.G.6046 = ARET XII 1414 II' 1'–6': kù-] 'gi' / 4 dib 10 / *I-ib-ma-lik* / 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup> / [l-]z[i] / [...]; TM.75.G.10161 = ARET I 32 obv. VI 1–10: ŠA.PI kù-gi / 4 dib 10 / *I-ib-ma-lik* / 'Á-šú<sup>ki</sup> / [l-]z[i] / A-sa-lu<sup>ki</sup> / *Du-bí* / *Sar-bù<sup>ki</sup>* / *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik* / *Da-sa-du<sup>ki</sup>*. As can be seen in two of these passages, *I-ib-ma-lik* is recorded with *l-zi*, who is not to be identified with the more well-known *l-zi* BAD é en, the “major-domo of the house of the king”, singled out in the prosopographical study by BONECHI 2016c: 9 n. 36.

<sup>57</sup> See ARCHI – PIACENTINI – POMPONIO 1993: 135–136 and BONECHI 1993: 26.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1987: 45 n. 19.

<sup>59</sup> This name is also shared by other people: a *Ri-ti* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* in TM.75.G.1860 = MEE 10 20 obv. XXIV 19–24; a diviner named *Ri-ti* in TM.75.G.2598 rev. III 16–24 (quoted in ARCHI 2017: 296); a lugal in TM.75.G.1353 = MILANO 1980: 12–15 rev. I 1–4. Finally, passage TM.75.G.1520 = ARET IV 17 obv. IV 17–V 2 records the death of a *Ri-ti*, who is most probably another homonym of the father of *Da-mur-da-šè-li*.

<sup>60</sup> See TM.75.G.1321 = MEE 2 19 = ARET I 11 rev. V 10–VII 2; TM.75.G.1435 = ARET IV 13 rev. VII 13–15; TM.75.G.3827 = ARET III 744 rev. III' 1'–3'; TM.75.G.10218 + TM.75.G.12113 obv. VI 2–VII 5 (see ARCHI 2018b: 212–213 and ARCHI 2019a: 28).

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in ARCHI 2018b: 225: “[x] minas of silver: [x] women, 3 shekels each. [x] minas [of silver: x women, <3 shekels each, who went> (to) Nag]ar. (Overseer:) *Ri-ti*”; *ibid.*: 224: “TM.75.G.2631 records the value in silver of (not itemized) goods given to groups of women, each under an overseer. The total for the first four sections (o. II 13–III 1) refers all these issues to the zag-ús: ‘150;14 minas (70.61 kg.) of silver of the regular troops’, although this silver did not concern these men directly, but their women. Moreover and strangely enough, part of these women are said to ‘have been gone to Nagar.’”



94<sup>62</sup>, a duty also shared by important officials such as *Ip-du-ra* and *Íl-zi*<sup>63</sup>. *Ri-ti* is actually recorded together with *Ip-du-ra* in TM.75.G.2255 = ARET VII 129 rev. I 1–2, which mentions an “estate” (é) owned by *Ri-ti* himself, exactly like *Ib-’à-ra*. All these elements clearly sketch the portrait of a high-ranking administrative official whose household was worth tying bonds with that of the king.

To sum up, what we are going to picture as a model for the Ebla society is a similar scenario as the one proposed for the family of *Ib-ri-um*<sup>64</sup>: the latter interfaced with the royal family in a complementary but independent way, owning his own lands for agricultural production, a considerable number of mules and, above all, consolidating his family ties with the most important families of Ebla as well as with foreign courts<sup>65</sup>. That applies for the families of *Ib-’à-ra*, *Ir-bí* and *Ri-ti* as well as for that of *Dur-du-lum*, father-in-law of princess *Ma-ù-ud*.

### 3. The father-in law of *Ma-ù-ud* and relevant internal political ties

As already discussed<sup>66</sup>, *Dur-du-lum* was an important member of the Ebla élite at the time of king *Ír-kab-da-mu*. However, before reconstructing his *status* by means of the most useful attestations, it is convenient to distinguish him from his contemporary namesake of the reign of *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>:

[26] TM.75.G.1358 = MEE 2 37 = ARET XV 10 obv. II 13–III 3: 1 *gu-zi-tum* 1 íb-III sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / *En-da-N[E]* // šu-du<sub>8</sub> / *Dur-du-lum* / *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup> (king *Ír-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti *i-si* = 1<sup>st</sup> month).

[27] TM.75.G.1358 = MEE 2 37 = ARET XV 10 rev. XI 7–9: 5 KIN siki / <sup>gis</sup>gígir-2 / *Dur-du-lum* (king *Ír-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti *i-si* = 1<sup>st</sup> month).

The occurrence, in the same text, of the name *Dur-du-lum* recorded twice, one of them qualified by the toponym *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, closely reminds us of the case of *Du-bí-šum* lugal and ur<sub>4</sub> of Ebla, well distinguishable from the homonymous and contemporary ur<sub>4</sub> of *Kak-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> See BIGA 2014: 76: “The text ARET X 94 registers 17 unnamed women, supplied by 17 important functionaries, destined to go to Dulu possibly in the service of the princess Damurdasinu. Some of the names of the 17 functionaries are broken; Ennanil, Ennamalik, Baza, Riti, Azi, Sumalik, Kundaban, Ilti, Barzamau, Ignadar, Dabdar, Iti, Uti quoted in the text are quoted also in several texts of the principal archive L.2769, some of them as ‘ugula’ and some as Lords (lugal)”.

<sup>63</sup> About *Íl-zi* see BONECHI 2016c: 9–16. A study about *Ip-du-ra* by the author of this article is forthcoming.

<sup>64</sup> For the family of *Ib-ri-um* see BONECHI 2016b: 76.

<sup>65</sup> As the cases of the wedding of *Da-mur-da-šè-li*, niece of *Ib-ri-um*, with the king of DULU<sup>ki</sup> (see BIGA 2014) and of the wedding of *Za-’à-šè*, daughter of *I-bí-zi-kir*, with *Ír-’à-ag-da-mu*, the throne heir of Ebla (ARCHI – BIGA 2003a: 26 n. 68), attest.

<sup>66</sup> See BIGA 1987: 47 n. 29: “*Dur-du-lum* est un haut fonctionnaire de la cour qui apparait deux fois dans des listes d’attribution d’objets, immédiatement après Arennum et reçoit de la laine pour un char, toujours après Arennum.”

<sup>67</sup> See CIANFANELLI 2020: 129.

*Dur-du-lum* father-in-law of *Ma-ù-ud* is the one documented in [27]. The mention here of a chariot in his possession is in agreement with other attestations that record decorative “bridle jewelry” (*kù-sal*) and “donkeys” (IGI.NITA), in connection with him:

[28] TM.75.G.2161 = ARET XV 45 rev. VIII 1–3: 1 ½ siki KIN / *kù-sal* / *Dur-du-lum* (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).

[29] TM.75.G.3261 = ARET III 225 rev. I 2'–3': ...] IGI.NITA / *Dur-du-lum* (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).

In addition to the chariot, a typical mark of those who belonged to the élite of Ebla, *Dur-du-lum* also possessed an “estate” (*é Dur-du-lum*) mentioned in [11].

In particular, one group of three attestations highlights his rank and his political prominence:

[30] TM.75.G.1555 = ARET VII 3 rev. V 3–VI 2: 42 ma-na *kù:babbar* / 5 ma-na *kù-gi* / *níg-ba* / *lugal* / *Ìr-ku-ut*<sup>ki</sup> // *Dur-du-lum* / *šu-mu-taka*<sub>4</sub> (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).

[31] TM.75.G.2592 = ARCHI 1981: 135–136 = MEE 12 38 rev. I 2–II 4: 34 ma-na *kù:babbar* / 5 ma-na *kù-gi* / *níg-ba* / *lugal* // *šu-mu-taka*<sub>4</sub> / *Ìr-ku-ut*<sup>ki</sup> / *Dur-du-lum* / *šu-mu-taka*<sub>4</sub> (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, month lost).

[32] TM.75.G.1299 = ARCHI 1981: 137–139 = MEE 2 16 obv. I 1–V 1: 40 ma-na *kù:babbar* / 1 *giš-šú kù-gi* / 1 ma-na 12 *gín-DILMUN kù-gi* / 1 *níg-bànda* // 50 *gín-DILMUN kù-gi* / 1 *ma-ra-tum* / 3 *gín-DILMUN kù-gi* / *níg-ba* / NI-zi / 3 ma-na ŠA.PI-5 *gín-DILMUN kù:babbar* // *níg-ba* / *ábba-ábba* / *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM / *Dur-du-lum* / *Ti-ti-nu* / *La-da-ad* / *di-ku*<sub>5</sub> // *Du-bi-zi-kir* / *lú* / *Du-nu* / *Il-da-mu* / *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*'à-da-mu* “ur<sub>4</sub>” / 1 *šu-mu-taka*<sub>4</sub> // *Ìr-ra-ku*<sup>ki</sup> (king *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti *ga-sum* = 7<sup>th</sup> month).

These passages record “gifts” (*níg-ba*) “delivered” (*šu-mu-taka*<sub>4</sub>) by Ebla to the kings of *Ma-r*<sup>ki</sup> *Ib-lul-il* (in [30–31])<sup>68</sup> and his successor NI-zi (in [32])<sup>69</sup> at *Ìr-ra-ku*<sup>ki</sup><sup>70</sup>. The gifts were delivered by an Ebla delegation including some of the most representative members of the élite, such as *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, the most influential *lugal* of the final phase of the reign of *Ìr-kab-da-mu* and two judges, *Ti-ti-nu*<sup>71</sup> and

<sup>68</sup> Text TM.75.G.2592 = ARCHI 1981: 135–136 = MEE 12 38 stands as a shorter redaction of the text TM.75.G.1555 = ARET VII 3 and consequently both record the same event, see ARCHI 2016a: 4.

<sup>69</sup> See also ARCHI 2016a: 5–6.

<sup>70</sup> For *Ìr-ra-ku*<sup>ki</sup> see ARCHI – PIACENTINI – POMPONIO 1993: 310–311 and BONECHI 1993: 210. On the spellings *I-ra-ku*<sup>ki</sup>, *Ìr-ku-u*<sup>ki</sup> and *Ìr-ra-ku*<sup>ki</sup> as variants see ARCHI 1988b: 198.

<sup>71</sup> On *Ti-ti-nu* see CATAGNOTI – FRONZAROLI 2010: 157 with bibliography.

*La-da-ad*<sup>72</sup>, recorded in passage [32]. Among them, immediately following *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, is also recorded *Dur-du-lum*, who alone, on an earlier occasion, is entrusted with delivering the gift for king *Ib-lul-il* ([30–31]).

Another text records *Dur-du-lum* receiving gifts for the ì-giš sag ritual<sup>73</sup>, which was performed after the death of an individual<sup>74</sup>:

[33] TM.75.G.2165 = ARET XV 47 obv. V 14–16: 1 *gu-zi-TÚG* 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb-III sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / ì-giš sag / *Dur-du-lum* (king *Ír-kab-da-mu*, minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, iti *i-si* = 1<sup>st</sup> month)

All these elements lead to the conclusion that the family of *Dur-du-lum*<sup>75</sup> was one of the many households that represented the highest levels of the Ebla society. These households had their own “estates” (é), their own lands, which probably *Dur-du-lum* owned as well and they carried out their business by interacting with each other, creating family ties between them and with the royal household.

The evidence concerning *Dur-du-lum* and the members of his family clearly shows the family contacts that the latter, making use of his sons, had established with at least other two very important families:

- a) the already discussed wedding of the son *Ru*<sub>12</sub>-*zi-il* with princess *Ma-ù-ud* (in [11]).
- b) the marriage of another of his sons, *Na-ga-šu*, with *Mah-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*du*, one of the sisters of *Du-si-gú*.

<sup>72</sup> On *La-da-ad* see ARCHI – BIGA – MILANO 1988: 263ff.

<sup>73</sup> For this ritual see BIGA 2007–2008: 265, BIGA 2010c: 10–11 and BONECHI 2020b: 341.

<sup>74</sup> TM.75.G.2165 = ARET XV 47 obv. IX 13–X 3, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> month (iti *i-si*), records textiles and metal objects for the death of minister *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, happened the same year of king *Ír-kab-da-mu*'s death, recorded in TM.75.G.1796 = MEE 10 4 obv. VIII 8–11 (on this matter see POMPONIO 2008: 100 and ARCHI 2015: 167). It has been suggested that *Dur-du-lum* received gifts for the ì-giš sag ritual due to the minister's death (see POMPONIO 2013: 114). Anyway, it may not be excluded, given that [33] is a passage recorded before TM.75.G.2165 = ARET XV 47 obv. IX 13–X 3, that *Dur-du-lum* might have received gifts for the ì-giš sag ritual following the death of one of his relatives.

<sup>75</sup> In addition to these attestations, TM.75.G.3465+ (= ARET III 401+) = ARET XX 5 rev. IV 4–12: 1 sal-TÚG / mu-ti / sag / *Dur-du-lum* / a-lu / ká / *Ti-zàr*<sup>ki</sup> / si-in / ÉXPAP (king *Iš*<sub>11</sub>-*ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, iti *i-ri-sá* = 6<sup>th</sup> month) has to be considered as well. This passage presents many thorny problems, beginning with lexical issues, such as the various interpretations proposed for the terms mu-ti (interpreted as “ricevere”, see PETTINATO 1992: 183ff. and FRONZAROLI 1993: 74 and more recently as ‘nähern, heranbringen’ in SALLABERGER 2008: 99) and sag (cf. ARCHI 2018b: 23 and BONECHI 2020b: 324; for the uses of sag cf. ARCHI 1998c: 388 ff., ARCHI 2019b: 171 n. 38 and 182, TONIETTI 2013: 160 ff., with reference to the severing of heads and see FRONZAROLI 2003: 142, CATAGNOTI – FRONZAROLI 2010: 261, SALLABERGER 2018: 126, with reference to the meaning “property, possession”).

This latter family connection is attested in the following passages:

[34] TM.75.G.5836 = ARET XII 1243+TM.75.G.5831 = ARET XII 1247 rev. IV' 1'-6': [... n íb+x-TÚG]-'sa<sub>6</sub>-gùn' / *Na-ga-šu* / *dumu-nita* / *Dur-du-lum* / *Du-si-gú* / *in-na-sum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, month lost).

[35] TM.75.G.5888 = ARET XII 1293 rev. VI' 1'-6': [...] '10<sup>2</sup>' gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / ì-giš sag / *nin-ni* / *Du-si-gú* / é-gi<-a> / *Dur-du-lum* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *Ib-ri-um*, month lost).

[36] TM.75.G.10088+TM.75.G.10182<sup>76</sup> rev. XIX 7–XX 5: 2 ma-na tar kù: babbar / *šu-bal-aka* / *tar kù-gi* / 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *A-ma-ga* / *A*-[...] / *šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub>* / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *Ra-ù-tum* / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut* / *dam* / *Šu-ra-da-mu* / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *Maḥ-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud* / *dam* / *Na-ga-sum* / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *Dab<sub>6</sub>-dur-<sup>d</sup>Utu* // *dam* / *Ì-lum-bal* / 3 *nin-ni* / *ama-gal* / *en* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*, 7<sup>th</sup> month).

The sister of *Du-si-gú* and daughter-in-law of *Dur-du-lum* recorded in [35] is clearly *Maḥ-ru<sub>12</sub>-du*. In fact, she is mentioned in [36]<sup>77</sup> as *dam* of *Na-ga-sum*, a variant spelling for *Na-ga-šu*, who is recorded as son of *Dur-du-lum* in [34].

Therefore, the family of *Dur-du-lum* created direct ties with the royal family and with the family of *Du-si-gú*, who certainly came from an equally prominent household. Probably, due to these extensive family ties, in the lists [15–16] *Ma-ù-ud* is listed immediately after the four sisters of the *ama-gal en*. It should also be remembered that a daughter of *Dur-du-lum* was appointed priestess (*dam-dingir*, see [11]) at a temple unfortunately not specified and this certainly granted great political prestige to the family she belonged to<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in BIGA 1996: 49–50. This text is dated to the year of the death of *Du-si-gú*: “DIŠ mu ug<sub>7</sub> ama-gal en iti *ga-sum* ug<sub>7</sub>-sù «année de la mort de la mère du roi; vii<sup>e</sup> mois, (celui) de sa mort»”, see ARCHI 1996b: 11.

<sup>77</sup> In this passage some *dam en* and three sisters of *Du-si-gú*, *Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*, *Maḥ-ru<sub>12</sub>-ud* and *Dab<sub>6</sub>-dur-<sup>d</sup>Utu* respectively, receive gifts for the ì-giš sag-ritual following the death of *Du-si-gú* herself. The same is recorded in the parallel annual account of metals TM.75.G.1962 rev. IV 7'–V 10': 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG / 2 *bu-di* tar kù-gi / ì-giš sag / *A-ma-ga* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar 2 *bu-di* / ì-giš sag / *Ra-ù-tum* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 *bu-di* ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar // ì-giš sag / [*Iš-ru<sub>12</sub>-ut*] / [1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 *bu-di* ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar] / ì-giš sag / *Maḥ-ru<sub>12</sub>-du* / 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-TÚG 2 *bu-di* ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar / *Dab<sub>6</sub>-dur-<sup>d</sup>Utu* / 3 *nin-ni* / *ama-gal* / *en* (king *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, minister *I-bí-zi-kir*, quoted in BIGA 1996: 49–50).

<sup>78</sup> Most of the priestesses attested in the Ebla texts belonged to the royal family, being sisters or daughters of king. However, there are also some examples of priestesses coming from other families, such as, besides the daughter of *Dur-du-lum*, a few daughters of ministers *Ib-ri-um* and *I-bí-zi-kir* and also others, see ARCHI 2020c: 60ff.

In conclusion, relationships and connections between various groups of people, between families and between individuals, were what really shaped the economic, administrative, social and political structure of the Ebla kingdom. Thus, there is confidence that further in-depth prosopographical studies focusing on the people within the Ebla kingdom and their relationships could be full of interesting results.

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