

Dugurasu (see, e.g., *ARET* XIV 69 rev. VII:7–14). The other was the ^{gis}ŠU₂, some kind of open vessel, possibly a bowl (WAETZOLDT 2001: 66, PASQUALI 2005: 44, BIGA & STEINKELLER 2021: 41), attested in imports from Gablul (see, e.g., *ARET* XIV 66 obv X:2–8) and Dugurasu (see, e.g., *ARET* XIV 69 rev. VII:7–14).

Nonetheless, a question arises as to whether the terminology used to describe these imported objects reflects the Ebla scribes' perspective—namely, a standardized lexical categorization of foreign products that may in fact have had distinct characteristics—or whether it genuinely indicates that these items were produced abroad in a similar manner and had the same features.

Note

1. This note summarizes results presented at the ARWA Online Conference (October 25, 2024), building upon an earlier article published in the *Festschrift Catagnoti* (Gori 2024), that examined the import of gold ornaments (*ti-gi-na*) at Ebla, primarily sourced from the city of Armi, with occasional contributions from two related locations: *Gamu-mu*^{ki} and *ḪAR-da-gum-LUM*^{ki}.

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93) A Prosopographical Focus on *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, with Consequences for the Relative Chronology of Ebla¹⁾

— While carrying out a prosopographical analysis on *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, the mother of the last Ebla queen, *Da-bur-da-mu*, I noticed several peculiarities. *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is documented as being alive in various texts which, according to the current understanding of Ebla's relative chronology, date from the reign of the second-to-last king, *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* (Irk-D.), with *Ar-ru₁₂-LUM* (Arr.) as minister, to the 7th year of minister *I-bi₂-zi-kir* (I-Z.), during the reign of the last king *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* (Iš-D.). The following passages ([1–6]) are presented according to this chronological order:²⁾

[1] ARCHI 1996a, 113-117 = MEE 12 20 rev. V:1-VII:5: 25 tug₂-NI.NI / *Sar-du-ud* / *Za-li* / *Ar-dum* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-ud* / *I-da-d[u]-[...]* / *Kir-su-ud* / *Ti-ḫa-bu₃* / *Ḫu-za-u₃* / *Ma-a-du* / *Mi-da-a-nu* // *Sag-[g]i-[d]u-ud* / *En-nu-NI* / *Gu-zi-du* / *Da-du-bu₃* / [*Ra**]¹-*u₃*¹-tum³* / [*Za¹-na-ma-al₆* / *Gu₂-li-ša-du* / *Ḫe₂¹-si-bu¹-ud* / *Ra-peš₂-tum* / *Ra-peš₂-tum* // *Ra-su-ud* / *Li-mu-ud* / *Da-a-šar* / *Da-ti-[...]-x-su* / [...]] / [...] (Irk-D., Arr., month lost, ARCHI 2019, 11).

[2] *ARET* XX 9 obv. VI:18-21: 1 zara₆^{tu_g2} / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / *dam* / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 5, ⁱⁱⁱ*Ga-sum* = 7th month, ARCHI 2018, 63).⁴⁾

[3] MEE 10 29 rev. IX:3-9: 10 gin₂-DILMUN kug:babbar / 2 *bu-di* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / *dam* / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* / *a-mu* / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 6, ⁱⁱⁱ*Ga-sum* = 7th month).

[4] MEE 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 obv. II:14-17: 1 zara₆^{tu_g2} / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / *ama-gal* / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 7, ⁱⁱⁱ*Ig-za* = 2nd month).

[5] *ARET* IV 7 obv. IX:4-10: 1 zara₆^{tu_g2} 15 <gin₂> kug:babbar / 2 *bu-di* / *Zar₃-peš₂-du* / *dam* / *En-na-da-mu* / *ama-gal* / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 7, ⁱⁱⁱ*Ig-za* = 2nd month).

[6] TM.75.G.2504 (unpublished, quoted in ARCHI & SPADA 2023, 159) rev. VII:10-15: 2 *bu-di* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / 1 *dam* / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* / a-mu / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z., ⁱⁱⁱ*Ga-sum* = 7th month).

However, two passages from the MAT (Monthly Account of Textiles) texts *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24 and the unpublished TM.75.G.1335 record the deaths of *Gi-mi-NI-za-du*, the sister of queen *Da-bur-da-mu* ([7a]), and *A-a-gi-du*, probably a daughter of king *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* ([7b]), both occurring in the 1st year of minister *I-bi₂-zi-kir*. In fact, both texts are parallel to the MMAM (Multi-Monthly Account of Metals) text *MEE* 10 20 (rev. V:8-VI:7 for *Gi-mi-NI-za-du*'s death and rev. XII:11-17 for *A-a-gi-du*'s death) written the same year as the death of *Ib-ri₂-um*, who was then succeeded by his son *I-bi₂-zi-kir*:

[7a] *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24 obv. VII:9-IX:14: 1³ *tug₂-NI.NI u₂-hab₂* / 1 *gid₂^{lug₂}* 1 *du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂* / *šušana_x(ŠU₂+ŠA)-4* <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / 10 ^{ges}*geš₂tug-la₂* / 7 <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / *du-ru₁₂-gu₁₂* / 16 <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / 1 *mi-at* // 20 *gur-gu₂-ru₁₂* / *wa* / 2 *al₆-la-nu* / 1 ½ <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / 1 *kug-sal* / 2 <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / 1 *ša-mu* / 1 *a-na-bu₃-bu₃-tum* / 2 <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / *NU₁₁-za* 1 *gu₂-li-lum a-gar₅* / *šušana_x(ŠU₂+ŠA)* <gin₂> *kug:babbar* / '2' *bu-di* / '10' <gin₂> *kug:babbar* / *šu bala-aka* / 2 <gin₂> *kug-sig₁₇* / *NU₁₁-za* 2 *sag-SU₃* / *Gi-mi-NI-za*-du*⁵ // *si-in* / *E₂xPAP* / *šu mu-taka₄* / 2 *zara₆^{lug₂}* 2 *gudul₃^{lug₂}* / *Keš₂-du-ud* / *wa* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / 3 *'a₃-da-um^{lug₂}-2* 3 *ib₂+3^{lug₂}* *sa₆ gun₃* / *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x(LAM)* / *wa* / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* / *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* / *E₂xPAP* / *šu mu-taka₄* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, ⁱⁱⁱ*Gi-'a₅* = 4th month).

[7b] TM.75.G.1335 (unpublished, quoted in BIGA & POMPONIO 1990, 184; ARCHI 2012, 23) obv. IX:7-X:1: 1 *zara₆^{lug₂}* / 10 <gin₂> *kug:babbar* / 2 *bu-di* / *A-a-gi-du* / *si-in* / *E₂xPAP* / 3 *'a₃-da-um^{lug₂}-2* 3 *ib₂+4^{lug₂}* *gun₃ sa₆* / *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x(LAM)* / *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* / *Ib-ri₂-um* / 2 *gid₂^{lug₂}* / *Keš₂-du-ud* / *wa* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* // *šu mu-taka₄* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, month lost, see PETTINATO 1979, 51, but suggested to be ⁱⁱⁱ*Ĥa-li-NI* = 5th month, see BIGA 2016a, 703).

As highlighted by A. Archi and M. G. Biga (BIGA 2007-2008, 263-264; ARCHI 2012, 23-25), on the occasion of the death of high-ranking individuals, gifts were also presented to the ancestors of the deceased's family, typically members of both the royal and the minister's family. In the case of *Gi-mi-NI-za-du*'s death, the gifts delivered to the royal ancestors are recorded following this order: first *Keš₂-du-ud* and *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, then *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x(LAM)* and *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* ([7a]).

As summarised in the table below, according to their mirroring positions stressed by the use of the coordinating conjunction *wa*, *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* corresponds to *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* – in fact, they were the mother and father of the last queen of Ebla. Similarly, *Keš₂-du-ud* aligns with *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x(LAM)*. It seems to me that this is a strong clue for identifying *Keš₂-du-ud* as the third-to-last queen.⁶ The penultimate king *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* is also mentioned following *Ir₃-ib-da-mu*, but his wife is not included among the royal ancestors. In fact, her identity is still unknown.⁷

[7a] <i>ARET</i> IV 19 = <i>MEE</i> 7 24				
obv. IX:5-7	<i>Keš₂-du-ud</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>Ne-ti-bu₃-du</i>	–
obv. IX:9-12	<i>Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x(LAM)</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>Ir₃-ib-da-mu</i>	<i>Ir₃-kab-da-mu</i>

The same deceased ancestors received gifts in the case of *A-a-gi-du*'s death, with the exception of *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* and the addition of *Ib-ri₂-um* ([7b]).

Since *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is listed among the deceased members of the royal family in both cases, all the texts in which she is recorded as still alive must be dated before the parallel texts *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24, TM.75.G.1335, and *MEE* 10 20, which is to say, before the 1st year of minister *I-bi₂-zi-kir*. This seemingly simple prosopographical detail affects the relative chronology of the texts from which passages [2-6] are drawn. Particularly, it affects MMAM *MEE* 10 29 ([3]), which had previously been dated to the 4th, 5th, or 6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*.⁸ This text should now be backdated to at least the final year of *Ib-ri₂-um*'s life, in agreement with what Archi had once suggested (18th year of *Ib-ri₂-um*, see ARCHI 2020b, 72). Similarly, this revised dating significantly affects MAT *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 ([4]), which had been assigned to the 7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir* (ARCHI 2021a, 24-25). In this text, *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is recorded as having received a *zara₆*-textile on the occasion of her daughter, queen *Da-bur-da-mu*, giving birth to a baby boy. Similarly, the chronological change also affects MAT *ARET* IV 7 ([5]), which dates to the same month and year as *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15, as shown by BIGA & POMPONIO (1993, 109). In this passage *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, referred to as *ama-gal ma-lik-tum*, presents the usual female dressing set (one *zara₆*-textile and two toggle pins), to an unidentified *Zar₃-peš₂-du*, likely in celebration of the birth of her grandson. So far, *Zar₃-peš₂-du* is recorded only in another text, TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXI:16 (BIGA 1996, 53). I propose that the term *ama-gal* in [5] refers not to *Zar₃-peš₂-du* but to *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*.

Based on this new premise, the backdating not only affects the events recorded in these specific texts, but also all those documented in their parallel texts. For instance, *MEE* 10 29 has numerous parallel MAT texts,⁹⁾ while *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 and *ARET* IV 7 are parallel to the unpublished MMAM TM.75.G.10074 (BIGA 1996, 50-53), currently dated to the 6th, or 7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*.¹⁰⁾ Since all these texts are interconnected, this backdating has significant consequences for the ongoing debate surrounding Ebla's relative chronology.¹¹⁾ The present investigation results in a chain reaction of backdatings that seems to favour a shorter reign for *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* than previously believed.¹²⁾

The new dating proposal is summarised in the following table:

Texts	Date
[1] <i>MEE</i> 12 20	Irk-D., Arr., month lost
[3] <i>MEE</i> 10 29	Iš-D., last year of Ibr. (<i>Ib-ri₂-um</i>), 7 th month
[2] <i>ARET</i> XX 9	
[6] TM.75.G.2504	
[4] <i>MEE</i> 2 2 = <i>ARET</i> I 15	Iš-D., last year of Ibr. or I-Z.'s year 1, 2 nd month
[5] <i>ARET</i> IV 7	
[7a] <i>ARET</i> IV 19 = <i>MEE</i> 7 24	Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, 4 th month
[7b] TM.75.G.1335	Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, month lost

Notes

1. I will present some new aspects on the relative chronology of Ebla in a forthcoming study.
2. *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is also mentioned in *ARET* XII 199 I':1'-5': *Keš₂-du-ud* / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / šu mu-taka₄ / [...]. This sequence of names suggests a funerary context, where gifts are presented to the ancestors of the deceased. Cf. *ARET* III 240 III':3'-6' and *ARET* XX 25 obv. III:18-IV:16.
3. Considering the list of women recorded in *ARET* XV 59 obv. IX:3-11, this suggestion seems likely.
4. This text and – I suspect – also the unpublished text TM.75.G.2504 run parallel to *MEE* 10 29 (ARCHI 2018, 63); therefore, both are affected by the backdating to minister *Ib-ri₂-um*'s last year.
5. Collated on photograph. Also cf. *MEE* 10 20 rev. IV:19 and rev. VI:2 and *ARET* XX 25 obv. IV:6.
6. *Keš₂-du-ud* was initially proposed to be the wife of king *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ĥa-lab_x*(LAM) (ARCHI 1996a, 105; BIGA 2016b, n. 9) and subsequently as the wife of *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* (ARCHI 2016, 6; ARCHI & SPADA 2023, 250 n. 1; BIGA 2024, 4).
7. Since the texts dated to *Ir₃-kab-da-mu*'s reign seldom mention the penultimate queen and the fifty-nine texts published in volumes *ARET* XV,1 and XV,2 apparently never once record her, Archi and Biga suggested that she died early in the first years of her husband's reign. The texts *MEE* 7 31 rev. II:5-III:4 (BONECHI 2021) and the unpublished TM.75.G.2410 rev. III:5-7 (quoted in ARCHI 2023, 12 n. 5) could keep track of her death; and most probably also text *ARET* XII 298 should be added to them, since it records the *ma-lik-tum*'s death (obv. IV:7-9). Even so, having passed away, the penultimate queen's absence from the deceased listed in [7a–7b] is puzzling.
8. On these dating see e.g. ARCHI 1996b, 99 (4th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2020a, 12 and BIGA & STEINKELLER 2021, 53 (5th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2024, 2 (6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*).
9. The almost complete tablet TM.75.G.1224+*ARET* III 441+*ARET* III 458 (on this join, BIGA 2009, 38); then, *ARET* I 6; *ARET* IV 6; *ARET* IV 9; *MEE* 2 3 = *ARET* IV 4; *MEE* 2 8 = *ARET* I 16; *MEE* 2 17 = *ARET* I 10. The parallelism between the MAT texts *MEE* 2 17 = *ARET* I 10, *MEE* 2 8 = *ARET* I 16, and the MMAM *MEE* 10 29 has already been shown in BIGA & POMPONIO 1990, 179; for all the other parallelisms see also BIGA & POMPONIO 1993, 123; BIGA 1996, 43-44.
10. On these dating see e.g. ARCHI 1996b, 99, ARCHI 2020a, 15, BIGA 2020, 115 (6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2024, 2 (7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*).
11. In the reconstruction of Ebla's relative chronology, two main views have been proposed. One suggests that the Ebla written documentation covers from forty-five to fifty years before the archives' destruction (ARCHI 2022, 29-30). The other view proposes a much shorter timeframe around twelve years (BONECHI 2020, 106), with the reign of *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* lasting no more than ten years (BONECHI 2020, 150).
12. At present, a thirty-five-year reign is attributed to *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, with *Ib-ri₂-um* serving alongside him for eighteen years, followed by *I-bi₂-zi-kir* for the remaining seventeen years (ARCHI 2021b, 3). However, the result of mine present investigation pushes the timeline of events back by at least seven years.

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94) More on the continuity of the Ebla royal personal names after the fire of Palace G — Recent studies¹⁾ on the seal Ashmolean Museum no. 872 have provided more information on some personal names of Ebla kings documented before and after the fire of Palace G, which occurred at the end of the 24th century BC. Below I briefly discuss again two pairs of royal PNs and propose that a third pair can be added to them: