

šeš-II-ib Priests at Ebla

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[This article describes the features of šeš-II-ib priests that emerge from an analytic study of the administrative texts of Ebla. First of all, the two categories of šeš-II-ib are distinguished: šeš-II-ib kěš-da and simple šeš-II-ib. Then, the ceremonies celebrated by the šeš-II-ib are described: the šu-mu-nigin ^a*i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{kl}* and the connected ceremony níd-ba 2 dingir, the ceremony *ir-mi*, and all the others. In addition, an attempt is made to set the chronological order of the texts in which šeš-II-ib priests are mentioned. After the description of the ceremony nì AN.AN.AN.AN, occasionally celebrated by a simple šeš-II-ib, the article ends with a list of all the šeš-II-ib.]

1. Introduction¹

In the Royal Eblaite archives, the term šeš-II-ib points middle level priests celebrating in every year's month but, at least in the texts edited so far, the seventh (*ga-sum*) and the eight (*i-nun*) one.

Two categories of šeš-II-ib can be told apart:

1) šeš-II-ib kěš-da.

2) Simple šeš-II-ib.

The difference between these two categories will be discussed in paragraph 2.

The ceremonies officiated by šeš-II-ib were the following:

1) The ceremony šu-mu-nigin ^a*i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{kl}* called sometimes á-nigin ^a*i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{kl}* and the ceremony (níd-ba) 2 dingir, likely related to it.

2) The ceremony *ir-mi*.

3) All the other ceremonies.

These three kinds of ceremonies will be discussed in paragraphs 3, 4 and 5. Sometimes, for simple šeš-II-ib, the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN was officiated. We will talk about this ceremony, as far as it concerns the subject of this paper, in paragraph 6.

2. šeš-II-ib kěš-da and simple šeš-II-ib

The etymology and the meaning of the term kěš-da, that so often qualify some of šeš-II-ib priests, could be the following:

1. The term is also written šeš-ib-II (see i.e. ARET 8, p. 66).

In Sumerian, *kešd(a)* has the meaning "to bind".² Such a word, likely, ends with the phoneme *dr* (*kéš.dr*). Then, the pronunciation of the Sumerian term *kéš-DU* should be *kéš.dr.a*, because the sign *DU* has to be read either *rá* or *re*, when pointing the adding of the morpheme [a] or [e] to a stem ending with the phoneme *dr*.³

It is likely that Eblaite scribes used the signs *kéš-da* to render the pronunciation *kéš.dr.a*. If we identify *kéš-da* with the Sumerian term *kéš-DU*, we can translate it as "vertraglich binden".⁴ *kéš-da* should identify hence, as its equivalent Sumerian term, some workers, (priests in our case), that performed their duties because of contractual obligations. Similar conclusion is drawn by G. Pettinato, MEE 2, p. 43, who translates *kéš-da* "ad sensum" with "in servizio". *kéš-da* was, hence, a qualification peculiar to some *šeš-II-ib*. Eblaite scribes were very precise in distinguishing this kind of priests: a *šeš-II-ib kéš-da* had always his qualification. The only exceptions were the lists of *šeš-II-ib* celebrating the ceremonies *šu-mu-nigin* ⁴*i-da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki} *nídba 2 dingir* and *ir-mi*. In such lists, because these ceremonies were officiated by both kinds of *šeš -II-ib*, *šeš-II-ib kéš-da* lost their qualification.

As an example, we report the following three texts:

ARET 4, 4, 25:

2 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG

in-ma-lik

lú KA-ma-na-an

i-dè-ni-ki-mu

lú GIBIL-ma-lik

šeš-II-ib kéš-da

dag_x (LAK 457)

⁴AMA-ra

en

ARET 4, 7, 39:

2 íb+IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG

má-za-gú

lú bu-ma-NI

gú-la-la-kul^{ki}

⁴*à-da-ša*

lú *ir-am₆-da-mu*

šeš-II-ib

¹*dag_x* (LAK 457)

⁴BARA₇-ra

en

MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4:

2 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG

⁴*à-da-ša*

lú *ir-am₆-da-mu*

du-bí-šum

lú GIGIR-ra-ar

šeš-II-ib

dag_x (LAK 457)

⁴BARA₇-i^š

en

Because the texts ARET 4, 7, 39 and MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4 are very close to each other, it is likely that the *šeš-II-ib* celebrating the ceremony *dag_x* (LAK 457) ⁴BARA₇-ra(i^š) en have no *kéš-da* qualification because they were simple *šeš-II-ib* rather than because of scribes' forgetfulness.

In ARET 4, 4, 25, the *šeš-II-ib* celebrating the ceremony *dag_x* (LAK 457) ⁴AMA-ra en are qualified as *kéš-da*. In fact, both *in-ma-lik* lú KA-ma-na-an and *i-dè-ni-ki-mu* lú GIBIL-ma-lik are defined *šeš-II-ib kéš-da* in an other text⁵ and never simple *šeš-II-ib*. The only case, in which a *šeš-II-ib kéš-da*, not included in a list concerning also simple *šeš-II-ib*, has not his qualification, is the text ARET 1, 13, 8. However, in this case, the lack of the term *kéš-da* in the very common expression *šeš-II-ib kéš-da* SA.ZA_x^{ki} is due to a scribe's forgetfulness, as the comparison with the text ARET 1, 13, 34 shows:

ARET 1, 13, 8:

2 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG

⁴*à-da-šè* lú *ga-ba-am₆*

du-bí lú *za-ḫa-lí-a*

ARET 1, 13, 34:

2 íb+II-sa₆-dar

⁴*à-da-šè* lú *ga-ba-am₆*

du-bí lú *za-ḫa-lí-a*

2. M.L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, Mesopotamia 10, Copenhagen 1984, p. 308.

3. M.L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, cit, p. 44.

4. J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagash*, Studia Pohl 9, Rome 1972, p. 615.

5. TM.75.G.1775, r. V 1-9. (M. G. Biga's courtesy).

šeš-II-ib	šeš-II-ib
SA.ZA _x ^{ki}	kéš-da
in u ₄	SA.ZA _x ^{ki}
nídba	in
⁴ utu	nídba
	⁴ ku-ra

Beside contractual obligations, there were other differences between šeš-II-ib kéš-da and simple šeš-II-ib:

a) The ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN was never celebrated for a šeš-II-ib defined as kéš-da in whatever text. The seeming exceptions are due to homonymies.⁶

b) šeš-II-ib kéš-da are almost always connected with places (29 times out of 39).⁷ That shows that their contractual obligations were likely related to places. In the texts edited so far, simple šeš-II-ib are never, but by the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN, in connection with places.⁸

The places in connection with šeš-II-ib kéš-da were: the SA.ZA_x^{ki} (never in connection with simple šeš-II-ib) and towns of the Eblaite state. The sentences used by Eblaite scribes to point this connection were always: 2 íb+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG / NP₁ / NP₂ / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} and 2 íb+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG / NP₁ / NP₂ / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / in / NL / šu-ba₄-ti. We list below the towns in connection with šeš-II-ib kéš-da:

a-a-du ^{ki}	ARET 4, 3, 63
'â-da-NI ^{ki}	ARET 4, 4, 45
a-rí-gú ^{ki}	ARET 1, 10, 38
ĤAR-ba-du ^{ki}	ARET 4, 8, 19
úr-lu ^{ki}	TM.75. G. 1775, r. V 1-9

c) The ceremonies officiated by šeš-II-ib kéš-da were usually different from those celebrated by simple šeš-II-ib. The only exceptions, as reported above, were the three ceremonies: šu-mu-nígin ⁴i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} nídba 2 dingir and ir-mi in which, however, šeš-II-ib kéš-da lost their qualification, and the ceremony ⁴AMA-ra / ⁴BARA₇-ra(iš) en, mentioned in the examples given at the beginning of this paragraph. Of course, because the number of explicit mentions of ceremonies celebrated by šeš-II-ib is very small, this statement must be accepted with care.

6. Three simple šeš-II-ib, for which the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN was celebrated, are namesake of šeš-II-ib kéš-da. They are:
a) du-bí (MEE 2, 25, v. IV 7-8), namesake of du-bí lu za-ĥa-li-a, a šeš-II-ib kéš-da that lived when Ibbi-zikir was minister (at the time of MEE 2, 25 Ibrium was minister). His patronymic is very likely i-ti-⁴ga-mi-iš (MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10).

b) EN-zi-ma-lik (ARET 8, 540, 40 and ARET 8, 540, 41); his patronymic should be i-bí-zi-kir, because EN-zi-ma-lik lu i-bí-zi-kir is mentioned just before him (ARET 8, 540, 39), in connection with the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN. He is namesake of the šeš-II-ib kéš-da EN-zi-ma-lik (ARET 4, 20, 20) and EN-zi-ma-lik lu ra-i-zu (ARET 4, 21, 18).

c) il-ti lu ĥa-ra-NI a simple šeš-II-ib in connection with the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN in ARET 4, 9, 5, namesake of il-ti a šeš-II-ib kéš-da mentioned without his patronymic in a tablet written few years later (ARET 4, 18, 64; see note 11). Note that in these years, a šeš-II-ib called il-ti (mentioned without his patronymic too), celebrated the ceremony šu-mu-nígin ⁴i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} (ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 4, 5, 1).

7. The occurrences of šeš-II-ib kéš-da not connected with any place are: ARET 4, 4, 25; ARET 4, 6, 6; ARET 4, 7, 33; ARET 4, 18, 64; ARET 4, 21, 18; ARET 8, 523, 16; ARET 8, 524, 9; ARET 8, 524, 39; ARET 8, 533, 35; MEE 2, 39, r. VII 4-11.

8. As shown in paragraph 5, in the two seeming exceptions:

a) 2 udu / šeš-II-ib / in / 'â-da-ni-du^{ki} (OrAnt 18, p. 183-184, [T.M.75.G.11010+], v. III 4-7)

b) 1 udu / sur₄-bar-an / šeš-II-ib / in / a-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} (OrAnt 18, p. 184, [T.M.75.G.11010+], v. IV 1-5)

the gods ⁴a-dam-tum (point a) and ⁴i-da-bal (point b), mentioned in the passages preceding these texts, are omitted for shortness. The šeš-II-ib mentioned are hence connected to gods and not to places.

We list below the ceremonies celebrated by šeš-II-ib kēš-da and simple šeš-II-ib:

– Ceremonies celebrated by šeš-II-ib kēš-da:

dag _x ⁴ AMA-ra en	ARET 4, 4, 25
níd _{ba} ⁴ utu	ARET 1, 13, 8
níd _{ba} ⁴ ku-ra	ARET 1, 13, 34
níd _{ba} ⁴ Ti-(mu)-du	ARET 4, 7, 33; MEE 2, 39, r. VII 4-11
šu-du ₈ dumu-nita-dumu-nita SA.ZA _x ^{ki}	ARET 4, 13, 46

– Ceremonies celebrated by simple šeš-II-ib:

dag _x ⁴ BARA ₇ -ra en	ARET 4, 7, 39
dag _x ⁴ BARA ₇ -i _š en	MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4
níd _{ba} ⁴ i-da-bal 'à-ma-du ^{ki}	ARET 1, 12, 10
(níd _{ba} [...] x šeš-II-ib) ⁴ ra-sa-ap 'à-da-NI ^{ki}	OrAnt 18, p. 139-140, v. V 14-21; OrAnt 18, p. 168, r. XII 17-20
níd _{ba} ⁴ ra-sa-ap SA.ZA _x ^{ki}	OrAnt. 18, p. 177-178, r. II 12-18
ùsan ⁴ ku-ra	ARET 3, 105, V 2-8
X ₁₃ 2 na ₄ en	ARET 8, 529, 52
(cerimony for) ⁴ a-dam-tum 'à-da-ni-du ^{ki}	OrAnt 18, p. 183-184, v. II 17-III 7
(cerimony for) ⁴ i-da-bal a-ru ₁₂ -ga-du ^{ki}	OrAnt 18, p. 184, v. III 20-IV 5
(cerimony for) ⁴ ga-mi-iš	OrAnt 18, p. 158, v. VI 16-18

At any rate, usually, apart from the three ceremonies šu-mu-nigin ⁴i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}, ir-mi and (níd_{ba}) 2 dingir, that will be discussed in next paragraphs, regardless šeš-II-ib' qualification, the number of šeš-II-ib that celebrated a ceremony was two⁹ and šeš-II-ib' reward for celebrating a ceremony was one belt íb+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG.¹⁰

Some of šeš-II-ib kēš-da, as well as of simple šeš-II-ib, had a lay origin. Note, i.e., the following three texts, in which some šeš-II-ib kēš-da are also called lú-kar and maškim:

2 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / GIGIR-ra-ar / lú / íb-ga-iš-lu / wa / du-bí-ab / lú-kar / šeš-II-ib / kēš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} (ARET 1, 14, 30)
 2 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / hu-ma-ra / wa / UR-ni / lú-kar / šeš-II-ib / kēš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} (ARET 1, 17, 35)
 2 íb+II-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-da-ša / lú du-bí-zi-kir / a-bu_x-x / maškim / i-bí-zi-kir / šeš-II-ib / kēš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} (ARET 3, 459, v. I 8-16)

9. The exceptions are:

a) ARET 1, 16, 14: only one šeš-II-ib kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} mentioned.

b) ARET 1, 12, 29 and MEE 2, 25, r. X 10-12: only one simple šeš-II-ib mentioned.

c) Five šeš-II-ib' lists: ARET 1, 2, 14; ARET 1, 11, 1-3; ARET 4, 5, 10; ARET 4, 20, 20; MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10 (see paragraph 6).

In ARET 3, 119, v. III 1-3; ARET 3, 265, II 1-2; ARET 3, 466 r. V 1-3 and ARET 3, 811, II 1-3, because the tablets are damaged, the presence of (at least) one šeš-II-ib in addition to the mentioned one, cannot be stated. For the same reason, it is not clear which kind of šeš-II-ib (simple, kēš-da, šu-mu-nigin ⁴i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} or ir-mi) were the priests reported in the lists: ARET 3, 203, II 1-8 and ARET 3, 508, III 1-8.

10. The exceptions are:

a) The list of šeš-II-ib kēš-da: ARET 1, 2, 14, in which some of the šeš-II-ib mentioned received two belts íb+IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG each.

b) The list of simple šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 11, 1-3, in which all the priests received two belts íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG (one of them a garment gada-TÚG, too).

c) The list of simple šeš-II-ib MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10, in which all the šeš-II-ib received a complete made up by the three clothes gu-zi-tum-TÚG, aktum-TÚG and íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG.

d) ARET 1, 12, 29, in which en-da-za maš-bar-rá² received one 'à-da-um-TÚG, one aktum-TÚG, one íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG and one gada-TÚG.

In paragraph 3, examples of simple šeš-II-ib, qualified also as dam-gār or āga-ús, will be shown.

3. šeš-II-ib priests and the ceremonies šu-mu-nígin ^dì-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} and (nídba) 2 dingir

A) The ceremony šu-mu-nígin ^dì-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} took place in the last month (MAXGÁNA-tenû-gudu₃). It was one of the most important ceremonies celebrated by šeš-II-ib, as the number of priests taking part in it and šeš-II-ib' pay for this ceremony show. In fact, the number of šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dì-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} although variable every year, was always bigger than the number of šeš-II-ib celebrating whatever else ceremony. Besides, in this occasion, in addition to the high quality belt íb+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG, their usual reward for simpler ceremonies, šeš-II-ib took also the two clothes 'à-da-um-TÚG-II and aktum-TÚG. Sometimes, for celebrating this ceremony, a šeš-II-ib could receive also a bar of not specified metal, weighting half a mine (dīb TAR). In such a occasion, šeš-II-ib were never qualified as kéš-da. This ceremony was sometimes called á-nígin ^dì-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}.

For a better comprehension of this ceremony and the people that celebrated it as šeš-II-ib, we reported four texts below: the first two (ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 4, 5, 1) belong to the period of MEE 10, 29 (ARET 4, 9 was written in the same year of MEE 10, 29; ARET 4, 5 few years later)¹¹ and hence must be dated some years after Ibrum's death; the other two (ARET 8, 541, 1 and ARET 8, 521, 9) were written just before the destruction of palace G of Ebla.¹²

(For a better comprehension of the texts, the names reported in the lists on the right columns are not in the same order as in the original texts. The original order can be reconstructed by the numbers on the right of the names).

ARET 4, 9, 1:

[10+] 4 ['à]-da-[um]-TÚG-II
[10+] 4 aktum-TÚG
[10+] 4 íb+IV-[sa₆]-dar-TÚG
𐎠'à-zi lú 𐎠lá-a-𐎠lum
en-na-NI lú en-mar
da₅-da-ar lú gaba(vertical)-[d]a-mu
a-m[ur]-da-mu
kum-da-ba-an
ib-dur-i-šar
en-na-NI lú MI-ga-NI
EN-zi-da-mu
ir-ti
bù-da-NI lú ti-la-NI
'à-daš
il-ti
šu-ga-lum
iš-la-NI lú en-na-NI
šeš-II-ib šeš-II-ib

ARET 4, 5, 1:

10 lá-1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II
10 lá-1 aktum-TÚG
10 lá-1 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG
'à-zi lú lá-a-lum (1)
da₅-da-ar (6)
a-mur-da-mu (8)
kum-da-ba-an (9)
ib-dur-i-šar (4)
ir-ti lú ib-rí-um (2)
'à-das (7)
il-ti (3)
iš-la-NI (5)
šeš-II-ib

11. Cf. F. Pomponio, NABU 1994, 53.

12. Cf. ARET 8, preface.

šu-mu-nígin	šu-mu-nígin	
^a i-da-bal	^a i-da-bal	
lu-ba-an ^{ki}	lu-ba-an ^{ki}	
ARET 8, 541, 1:	ARET 8, 521, 9:	
10 lá-1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II	12 'à-da-um-TÚG-II	
10 lá-1 aktum-TÚG	12 aktum-TÚG	
10 lá-1 íb+III-sa ₆ -dar-TÚG	12 íb+III-sa ₆ -dar-TÚG	
'à-da-ša ù-kul ^{ki}	'à-da-ša ù-kul ^{ki}	(1)
EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir	EN-zi-ma-lik	(4)
	EN-ti lú i-bí-zi-kir	(5)
ib-du-NI	ib-du-NI	(2)
ir-ba-šu á-lu ^{ki}	ir-ba-šu á-lu ^{ki}	(3)
i-ti- ^a aš-dar (erasure) lú en-na-NI-il	i-ti- ^a aš-dar lú en-na-NI-il	(7)
bù-ga-núm lú du-bí-zi-kir	bù-ga-núm lú du-bí-zi-kir	(6)
ib-gi-da-mu lú i-lul-in-ma-lik		
ba ₄ -da-lim		
[....]		
	kum-da-ba-an lú du-bí	(8)
	'à-da-ša lú a-ti	(9)
	iš ₁₁ -da-mu lú lá-a-lum	(10)
	ib-gi-da-mu lú ká ki-ti-ir	(11)
	'à-a-mi-šum lú iš-má-da-ba-[an]	(12)
	šeš-II-[ib]	
	šu-mu-n[ígin]	
	^a i-d[a-bal]	
	lu-ba-a[n] ^{ki}	

The end of ARET 8, 541, 1 is lost. However, by comparison with the other texts, we can identify this text as a delivery of clothes to šeš-II-ib priests in occasion of the ceremony šu-mu-nígin ^ai-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}. Reading the four examples above it can be noted that:

a) Some families had, during the whole period covered by the Eblaite archives, some of their members, or some of the people at their service, among šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^ai-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}. Ibrium and Ibbizikir's family, i.e., had, as its representatives, *ir-ti* in ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 4, 5, 1, *EN-zi-ma-lik* in ARET 8, 541, 1 and ARET 8, 521, 9, and *EN-ti* in ARET 8, 521, 9; *lá-a-lum*'s family, instead, had *'à-zi* in ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 4, 5, 1, and *iš₁₁-da-mu* in ARET 8, 521, 9.

b) Some of the šeš-II-ib mentioned in the four texts above, are mentioned as šeš-II-ib kéš-da in other texts (see List A in paragraph 7). They are: *'à-zi* in ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 4, 5, 1, *ib-du-NI* in ARET 8, 541, 1 and ARET 8, 521, 9, and *'à-mi-šum* and *iš₁₁-da-mu* in ARET 8, 521, 9. On the other hand, many šeš-II-ib kéš-da on service did not celebrate the ceremony šu-mu-nígin ^ai-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}. In fact, in the same tablet including the text ARET 4, 5, 1, there is the following list:

10 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-zi / du-bí / 'à-da-šè / íl-ba-gú-nu / en-na-ma-gú / NI-NI-ba / i-lum-bal / i-ti-lum / ir-az_x-zé / du-ur-NI / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} (ARET 4, 5, 10).

Comparing this list with that of ARET 4, 5, 1, it should be noted that, between the šeš-II-ib kéš-da, only *'à-zi* celebrated the ceremony šu-mu-nígin ^ai-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} too. In some texts, dated some years later (see Table 1), *du-bí*, *'à-da-šè* and *en-na-ma-gú* took part in it, too.

Usually, only very important šeš-II-ib kéš-da could celebrate this ceremony.

c) Some of the šeš-II-ib celebrating the šu-mu-nígin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} in ARET 8, 521, 9 received by the en, in the same occasion, one complete more:

2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-sa₆-TÚG / iš₁₁-da-mu / lú lá-a-lum /
'à-mi-šum / lú iš-má-da-ba-an / si-in / šu-mu-nígin / ^di-da-bal / en / nì-gú-du (ARET 8, 521, 15)

d) For some of the šeš-II-ib celebrating a šu-mu-nígin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} and never mentioned as šeš-II-ib kéš-da, a ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN could be celebrated, usually in the some month (see ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1 and ARET 8, 521, 9):

1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / i-bí-šum / nì-AN.AN.AN.AN / iš-la-NI / lú en-na-NI / dam-gàr / šeš-II-ib / áš-da / ^di-da-bal / lu-ba-an^{ki} / in 'à-za-an^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti (ARET 4, 9, 27)
1 mí-TÚG / su-ma-NI / nì-AN.AN.AN.AN / kum-da-ba-an / in / á-nígin / ^di-da-bal / lu-ba-an^{ki} / šeš-II-ib (ARET 4, 5, 35)

2 mí-TÚG 2 íb+III-dar-TÚG / za-a-nu / lú wa-ad-zi-kir / ma-NI / lú iš-la-NI / nì-AN.AN.AN.AN / EN-ti / 1 dumu-nita / i-bí-zi-kir / šeš-II-ib (ARET 8, 521, 3)

1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / du-bí / lú a-zi-kir / ma-lik-tum / ì-na-sum / nì-AN.AN.AN.AN / EN-zi-ma-lik / lú i-bí-zi-kir / šeš-II-ib (ARET 8, 521, 30)

In ARET 4, 9, 27 and ARET 4, 5, 35, the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN was doubtless celebrated for a šu-mu-nígin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}.

e) In ARET 4, 9, 27, the scribe qualifies the šeš-II-ib as a merchant. In paragraph 2, we reported examples in which some šeš-II-ib kéš-da were qualified as maškim or lú-kar. Other occurrences of šeš-II-ib priests that had at the same time a lay profession are in ARET 4, 23. In this text there is a list (ARET 4, 23, 8), not complete because the tablet is damaged, of šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin [...], in which bù-ga-núm is mentioned. This man, qualified several times as šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} (see Table 1), is defined soldier (àga-ús) in occasion of a ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN taking place in the town of ar-u₉-gí^{ki} (ARET 4, 23, 20). At the same time, two ceremonies nì-AN.AN.AN.AN were celebrated for ir-ti. During the first one (ARET 4, 23, 18), ir-ti was defined àga-ús in the town of ù-ra-mu^{ki} in the other case (ARET 4, 23, 21), he was defined šeš-II-ib in the town of ar-u₉-gí^{ki}. It is likely that both bù-ga-núm and ir-ti became šeš-II-ib by the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN.

These are the passages of ARET 4, 23 mentioned above:

ARET 4, 23, 8:

[...] / du-bí / 'à-daš / 'à-da-ša / NI-zi / ʾen na -NI / bù-ga-núm / šeš-II-ib / šu-mu-nígin / [...]

ARET 4, 23, 18:

1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I
1 aktum-TÚG
1 íb+IV-dar-TÚG
i-bí-šum

nì-AN.AN.AN.AN
ir-ti
àga-ús
in
ù-ra-mu^{ki}

ARET 4, 23, 20:

1 mí-TÚG
1 íb+III-dar-TÚG
ḫar-ra-ma-lik
lú ib-da-u₉

nì-AN.AN.AN.AN
bù-ga-núm
àga-ús
in
ar-u₉-gí^{ki}

ARET 4, 23, 21:

2 'à-da-um-TÚG-I
1 aktum-TÚG 1 mí-TÚG
2 íb+IV-dar-TÚG

šu-bí
lú i-ba-zi-mi-nu
EN-zi-da-ar
lú ib-dur-i-šar
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN
ir-ti
šeš-II-ib
in
ar-u₉-gí^{ki}

In Table 1, we report all the lists of šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ⁱ*da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki}. The number of missing šeš-II-ib in a list is written in the last line. The lists are ordered, from left to right, according to a chronology that is based on the assumption that a šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ⁱ*da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki} was in charge without any interruption. As a matter of fact, in Table 1, the crosses, that show the presence of a šeš-II-ib in a list, are displaced all along horizontal continuous lines; the seeming exceptions are due to the fact that some lists are not complete. In the incomplete lists, the supposed (because of our assumption about the continuity of šeš-II-ib' career) presence of a šeš-II-ib is pointed by the sign [?]. Summing up, for each list, the number of crosses and the number of missing šeš-II-ib or, when this cannot be stated, the number of signs [?], we obtain the following sequence for the number of priests celebrating the ceremony šu-mu-nigin ⁱ*da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki}: 14-12-9-9-12-[8+?]-[8+?]-12-9-[9+?]-12. It is likely that the usual numbers of such priests were nine and twelve.

In Table 1 we mention the qualifying term of a šeš-II-ib only in case of homonymy.

TABLE 1 (šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ⁱ*da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki})¹³

	ARET 4, 9, 1	ARET 3, 203, IV 1- V 9	ARET 4, 5, 1	ARET 1, 3, 45	ARET 1, 2, 11-12	ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10	ARET 4, 23, 8	ARET 1, 4, 63	ARET 8, 541, 1	ARET 8, 527, 4	ARET 8, 521, 9
'à-da-ša							X	X			
'à-da-ša lú a-ti											X
'à-da-ša									X	[?]	X
ù-kul ^{ki}											
'à-da-šè					X						
'à-daš	X	[?]	X	X	[?]	X	X				
a-gú-šum						X	[?]	X			
'à-mi-šum										X	X
a-mur-da-mu	X	X	X	X							
'à-zi	X	X	X	X	X	[?]					
ba ₄ -da-lim									X		
bù-da-NI	X	X									
bù-ga-núm				X	[?]	X	X				
bù-ga-núm									X	X	X
lú du-bí-zi-kir											
bù-zi				X	[?]	X					
da ₅ -da-ar	X	X	X	X	[?]	[?]	[?]	X			
du-bí				X	[?]	X	X	X			
du-bù-ḫu-								X			
'à-da											
dumu										X	
SAG-ba-da											
en-na-ma-gú								X			
en-na-ma-lik				X							
en-na-NI							X				

13. The months of ARET 1, 4, ARET 3, 203, ARET 3, 457, ARET 4, 23 and ARET 8, 527 are lost; all the other texts were written in the twelfth month. The šeš-II-ib of ARET 8, 527, 4 are not qualified as šu-mu-nigin ⁱ*da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki}. However, as ARET 8, 527, 4 is very close to ARET 8, 521, 9 and ARET 8, 541, 1, we think that it is a list of such priests.

<i>en-na-NI</i>	X	X								
<i>lú en-mar</i>										
<i>en-na-NI</i>	X									
<i>lú MI-ga-NI</i>										
<i>EN-ti</i>										X
<i>EN-zi-da-mu</i>	X									
<i>EN-zi-ma-lik</i>								X	X	X
<i>i-ti-^aaš-dar</i>							X	X	X	X
<i>ib-du-NI</i>								X	X	X
<i>ib-dur-i-šar</i>	X	X	X							
<i>ib-gi-da-mu</i>								X		
<i>lú i-lul-in-ma-lik</i>										
<i>ib-gi-da-mu</i>										X
<i>lú ká ki-ti-ir</i>										
<i>ib-HAR^a'à-da</i>							X			
<i>il-ti</i>	X	{?}	X							
<i>il-zi</i>							X			
<i>ir-ba-šu</i>							X	X	{?}	X
<i>ir-ti</i>	X	{?}	X	X	X					
<i>iš-la-NI</i>	X	{?}	X							
<i>lú en-na-NI</i>										
<i>iš_u-da-mu</i>									X	X
<i>kum-da-ba-an</i>	X	X	X	X	{?}	X				
<i>kum-da-ba-an</i>										X
<i>lú du-bí</i>										
<i>NI-zi</i>							X	X		
<i>šu-ga-lum</i>	X	X								
missing		4			8	?	?	1	1	?

B) The ceremony *šu-mu-nigin* ^a*i-da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki} was likely connected also to the ceremony (*nídba*) 2 dingir. Only three occurrences of it exist:

ARET 1, 3, 64:	ARET 3, 457, v. IV 1-6:	ARET 1, 4, 79:
2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II		2 'à-II
2 aktum-TÚG		2 aktum-TÚG
2 íb+IV-sa ₆ -dar-TÚG	x íb-sa ₆ -dar-TÚG	2 íb+III-sa ₆ -dar
1 gír mar-tu zú-ak		
'à-zi	'à-zi	'à-da-ša
<i>du-bí</i>	<i>du-bí</i>	<i>du-bí</i>
šeš-II-ib	šeš-II-ib	šeš-II-ib
<i>nídba</i>	<i>in u₄</i>	
2 dingir <i>a-gúm</i>	2 dingir <i>a-gúm</i>	2 dingir 2 <i>a-gú</i>

All the *šeš-II-ib* *nídba* 2 dingir celebrated, at the same time, the ceremony *šu-mu-nigin* ^a*i-da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki} (see Table 1).

4. *šeš-II-ib* priests and the ceremony *ir-mi*

The ceremony *ir-mi* was an important celebration, too. It was always officiated in the homonym month of the religious calendar (the ninth one), called *za-lul* in the lay calendar. For it, *šeš-II-ib* were delivered one high quality complete, made up by the three clothes 'à-da-um-TÚG-II aktum-TÚG and

ib+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG. Very often, they were given some ceremonial tools, too: one javelin ¹³gu-kak-gíd-šub, one (in one example¹⁴ ten) tablet ¹⁵banšur, one amorrite dagger gír mar-tu (zú-ak), and copper (urudu-ne-giš). šeš-II-ib priests celebrating this ceremony were never qualified as kēš-da. Their number could vary from three to six. There are no occurrences of ceremonies nì-AN.AN.AN.AN celebrated in occasion of a ceremony *ir-mi*. In Table 2, we report all the lists of šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*. We tried, as in Table 1, to put the lists in a chronological order (from left to right). However, because the number of the lists, as well as of the šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* is very small, this was a hard job. What we could doubtless stated was the following:

a) ARET 1, 6, 34, ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14 and ARET 1, 8, 69 must be dated some year after Ibrium's death. In fact, the first two lists were written in the same year of ARET 4, 9, and in the third one *en-na-NI lú EN-mar* and *ib-dur-i-šar* are mentioned. These two people, that were later šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ¹⁶i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} (see point b below), never appear after ARET 4, 5, 1 (see Table 1), written few years after ARET 4, 9⁽¹¹⁾.

b) ARET 1, 7, 71, ARET 1, 5, 49 and ARET 8, 523, 1 were written just before the destruction of the palace G of Ebla. In fact, many šeš-II-ib mentioned in them appears as šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ¹⁶i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} in ARET 8, 521, 9 and ARET 8, 541, 1.

It is possible to state that šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* as šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ¹⁶i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} were in charge without any interruption (that is, we can order the lists in Table 2 in such a way that the crosses form continuous lines). It is also possible to state that šeš-II-ib celebrated the ceremony *ir-mi* at the beginning of their career. As a matter of fact, *en-na-NI lú EN-mar*, *ib-dur-i-šar* and *da₅-da-ar* were mentioned as šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* in ARET 1, 8, 69 and ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14. In the same year in which the second list was compiled, they left this position to become (ARET 4, 9, 1) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ¹⁶i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}. Moreover, ¹⁷a-da-šè, ¹⁸du-bí and *en-na-ma-gú*, who were šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* in ARET 1, 6, 34, became šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ¹⁶i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} only in a later stage of their career. As a matter of fact, they had not yet this position in ARET 4, 5, 1 written few years after ARET 1, 6, 34 (see Table 1 and note 11). Only one šeš-II-ib celebrated the ceremony *ir-mi* until the end of his career. It was ¹⁹a-zi who was (one of) the most important šeš-II-ib. This is proved by the fact that he is almost always the first šeš-II-ib mentioned in the lists.¹⁵

In Table 2, ARET 1, 1, 47 can be placed after ARET 3, 36, v. II 2-6; the position of ARET 3, 754, I 1-4 is arbitrary. By Table 2, it can be asserted that the usual number of šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* was four. In the last part of the period covered by the royal archives, it was changed to six (ARET 1, 5, 49) and three (ARET 8, 523, 1).

TABLE 2 (šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*)¹⁶

ARET 1, 8, 69	ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14	ARET 1, 6, 34	ARET 1, 1, 47	ARET 3, 36, v. II 2-6	ARET 3, 754, I 1-4	ARET 1, 7, 71	ARET 1, 5, 49	ARET 8, 523, 1
¹⁷ a-da-ša						X		
¹⁷ a-da-ša								
¹⁸ u-kul ^{ki}							X	
¹⁷ a-da-šè	X	X	[?]	X				

14. ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14.

15. The lists, in which ¹⁹a-zi is not the first šeš-II-ib mentioned, are ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9 and ARET 1, 8, 69. Both lists are to be dated at the beginning of ¹⁹a-zi's career.

16. The months of ARET 3, 36, ARET 3, 458, ARET 3, 754 and ARET 1, 7 could not be asserted. All the other texts are dated to the ninth month. In ARET 1, 1, 47, ARET 1, 7, 71 and ARET 1, 8, 69 the šeš-II-ib are not qualified as *ir-mi*. However, the comparison with the other texts and the fact that ARET 1, 1 and ARET 1, 8 were written in the ninth month (*za-lul*) make it sure that they are lists of such priests.

'à-mi-šum										X
'à-zi	X	X	X	X						
bù-ga-núm										
lú du-bí-zi-kir									X	
d[a-?]									X	
da ₅ -da-ar		X								
du-bí			X	[?]	X					
du-bí-šum		X								
en-na-ma-gú			X							
en-na-NI	X									
lú EN-mar										
i-ti- ^a aš-dar								X	X	X
ib-du-ni										X
ib-dur-i-šar	X									
il-ba-gú-nu	X									
il-e-i-šar								X		
lš-la-NI										
lú SAL				X						
[...]										
lú [x]-da-mu						X				
missing			2	?	?	?	?	2		

5. The other ceremonies

We list below the few texts in which the function celebrated by the šeš-II-ib is mentioned:¹⁷

Ceremonies celebrated by šeš-II-ib kéš-da:

ARET 1, 13, 8 (month: *i-si*): 2 ìb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-da-šè / lú ga-ba-am₆ / du-bí / lú za-ḥa-lí-a / šeš-II-ib / SA.ZA_x^{ki} / in u₄ / nídba / ^autu

ARET 1, 13, 34 (month: *i-si*): 2 ìb+II-sa₆-dar / 'à-da-šè / lú ga-ba-am₆ / du-bí / lú za-ḥa-lí-a / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / SA.ZA_x^{ki} / in / nídba / ^aku-ra

ARET 4, 4, 25 (month: *i-si*): 2 ìb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / in-ma-lik / lú KA-ma-na-an / i-dè-ni-ki-mu / lú GIBIL-ma-lik / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / dag_x (LAK 457) / ^aAMA-ra / en

ARET 4, 7, 33 (month: *ig-za*): 2 ìb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-da-šè / lú ga-ba-mu / du-bí / lú za-ḥa-lí-a / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / in u₄ / nídba / ^ati-<mu>-du

MEE 2, 39, r. VII 4-11 (month: še-gur₁₀-mìn): 2 ìb+IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-zi / 'à-da-šè / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / in u₄ / nídba / ^ati-mu-du

ARET 4, 13, 46 (month: ḥa-li-du): 2 ìb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / in-gàr / lú iš-má-da-mu / wa / i-rí-gu / lú sá-gú-šum / šeš-II-ib / kéš-da / šu-du₈ / dumu-nita-dumu-nita / SA.ZA_x^{ki}

Ceremonies celebrated by simple šeš-II-ib:

ARET 1, 12, 10 (month: MAXGÁNA-tenû-sag): 1 ìb-lá si-ti-tum gír-kun TAR kù-gi / 1 gír mar-tu kù-bar₆ / ^aì-da-bal / 'à-ma-du^{ki} / in / nídba / šeš-II-ib

ARET 3, 105, V 2-8: 2 ìb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG / 'à-da-ša lú a-ti / bù-ga-núm / lú du-bí-zi-kir / šeš-II-ib / ùsan / ^aku-ra

17. ARET 8, 541, 19, in which a ceremony celebrated by šeš-II-ib is mentioned, is not reported because it is too damaged.

ARET 4, 7, 39 (month: *ig-za*): 2 *ib*+IV-*sa*₆-*dar*-TÚG / *má-za-gú* / *lú bu-ma-NI* / *gú-la-la-kul^{ki}* / 'à-*da-ša* / *lú ir-am₆-da-mu* / *šeš-II-ib* / dag_x (LAK 457) / 'BARA₇-*ra* / en
 MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4 (month: *ig-za-mìn*): 2 *ib*+III-*sa*₆-*dar*-TÚG / 'à-*da-ša* / *lú ir-am₆-da-mu* / *du-bí-šum* / *lú GIGIR-ra-ar* / *šeš-II-ib* / dag_x (LAK 457) / 'BARA₇-*iš* / en
 ARET 8, 529, 52: 2 *ib*+I-*sa*₆-*dar*-TÚG / 'à-*da-ša* / *lú iš-má-da-mu* / EN-*zi-ma-lik* / *šeš-II-ib* / X₁₃ / 2 na₄ / en

Sometimes, *šeš-II-ib* were delivered cattle to be sacrificed to gods. In these occasions *šeš-II-ib*' names were never mentioned:

OrAnt 18, p. 139-140 (TM.75.G.1764) v. V 14-21 (month: 'AMA-*ra*): / [...] / [...] 'x x' / [zu]-*hu-a-nu* / *wa* / *zi-ib-da-mu* / *nídba* [...] 'x' / *šeš-II-ib* / 'ra-*sa-ap* / 'à-*da-NI^{ki}*
OrAnt 18, p. 158 (TM.75.G.2075) v. VI 16-18 (month: *hu-la-mu*): 2 *udu* / *šeš-II-ib* / 'ga-*mi-iš*
OrAnt 18, p. 168 (TM.75.G.2238) r. XII 17-20 (month: 'AMA-*ra*): 2 *udu* / *šeš-II-ib* / 'ra-*sa-ap* / 'à-*da-NI^{ki}*
OrAnt. 18, p. 177-178 (TM.75.G.11010+) r. II 12-18 (month: è): 2 *udu* / 'ra-*sa-ap* / SA.ZA_x^{ki} / en / *nídba* / in u₄ / *šeš-II-ib*
OrAnt. 18, p. 183-184 (TM.75.G.11010+), v. III 4-7 (month: è): 2 *udu* / *šeš-II-ib* / <'a-*dam-tum*> in / 'à-*da-ni-du^{ki}*
OrAnt. 18, p. 184 (TM.75.G.11010+) v. III 20-IV 5 (month: è): 2 *udu* / *šeš-II-ib* / 'i-*da-bal* / a-ru₁₂-*ga-du^{ki}* / 1 *udu* / sur_x-*bar-an* / *šeš-II-ib* / in / a-ru₁₂-*ga-du^{ki}*

Apart from the ceremonies described in paragraphs 3 and 4, the number of *šeš-II-ib* celebrating a ceremony was usually two. However, there are five lists in which more than two *šeš-II-ib*, not celebrating the ceremonies *šu-mu-nigin* 'i-*da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}* or *ir-mi* are mentioned. Three of them are lists of *šeš-II-ib* *kéš-da* (ARET 1, 2, 14, ARET 4, 5, 10 and ARET 4, 20, 20), the other two of simple *šeš-II-ib* (ARET 1, 11, 1-3 and MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10). In the texts that report the lists of simple *šeš-II-ib*, a ceremony *nì-AN.AN.AN.AN* is celebrated for the priests mentioned as the last ones of the lists in question (*šu-ma-lik* in ARET 1, 11, 11, and *du-bí* in MEE 2, 25, v. IV 4-8).

The lists ARET 1, 11, 1-3 and MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10, seem to be compiled for very important occasions. In the first one, all the *šeš-II-ib* received two belts *ib*+III-*sa*₆-*dar*-TÚG with the exception of the priest mentioned as first one, that got in addition one garment *gada*-TÚG. In the second list, each priest received a complete made up by the three garments: *gu-zi-tum*-TÚG, *aktum*-TÚG and *ib*+III-*sa*₆-*dar*-TÚG.

6. *šeš-II-ib* and the ceremony *nì-AN.AN.AN.AN*

Very often, for a simple *šeš-II-ib*, a ceremony *nì-AN.AN.AN.AN* was celebrated. To mention this occasion, the scribes used the sentence: clothes / NP₁ / *nì-AN.AN.AN.AN* / NP₂ / *šeš-II-ib* / (in NL); with NP₁ standing for people attending, NP₂ for *šeš-II-ib*' name and NL for the town in which the ceremony took place, very likely the place where the *šeš-II-ib* performed or would perform his duty. Sometimes, the scribes mentioned, instead of the town, the ceremony officiated by the *šeš-II-ib* (this happened only for the ceremony *šu-mu-nigin* 'i-*da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}*); the *šeš-II-ib*' lay profession could also be specified: the occurrences are all reported in paragraph 3. Usually, the ceremony *nì-AN.AN.AN.AN* was celebrated for only one *šeš-II-ib*; ARET 8, 540, 41 is the only occurrence of a ceremony celebrated for two *šeš-II-ib*.

In very rare circumstances, *šeš-II-ib* could be associated to the en or the *maliktum*, as the following examples show:

4 íb+III-dar-⁷TÚG / 4 gurus / kak-mi-um^{ki} / [n]i-AN.AN.AN.AN / en / šeš-II-ib (ARET 1, 11, 36)
 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG a-šu-ur-NI ur₁ / nì-AN.AN.AN.AN / ma-lik-
 tum / EN-zi-ma-lik / lú i-bí-zi-kir / šeš-II-ib / in / á-a^{ki} (ARET 8, 525, 17)

People that received clothes for the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN varied from one to four (the maximum number occurs in ARET 8, 540, 39). Clothes delivered changed from a simple garment mí-TÚG (i.e. ARET 1, 11, 36) to a high quality complete (i.e. ARET 8, 525, 17). The number of the clothes delivered for a ceremony, as well as their quality, seem to depend on importance of the people attending rather than on places of the celebration, or on šeš-II-ib' importance. For example, in ARET 8, 540 there are four mentions of ceremonies nì-AN.AN.AN.AN celebrated for the šeš-II-ib EN-zi-malik lú i-bí-zi-kir (two times he is mentioned without his patronymic). These ceremonies were officiated in two different towns. Two times, (sections 40 and 41), the people attending received high quality completes made up by the three clothes 'à-da-um-TÚG-II aktum-TÚG and íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG; one time (section 39) they were delivered one aktum-TÚG, one íb+III-sa₆-dar-TÚG (or one íb+III-dar-TÚG) and, with the exception of one of them, one gada-TÚG; one time (section 24), they were delivered only one mí-TÚG and one simple belt íb+III-dar-TÚG. Note also the examples given in this paragraph: in ARET 1, 11, 36, people received, for a ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN related to the en, only one belt each; in ARET 8, 525 17, where the *maliktum* was in connection with this ceremony, people were given one high quality complete.

We list below all the places in connection with the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN

á-a ^{ki}	ARET 8, 525, 17
ar-u ₉ -gí ^{ki}	ARET 4, 23, 21
ba-nu ^{ki}	ARET 8, 540, 24
mar-tum ^{ki}	ARET 8, 527, 20; ARET 8, 527, 35
ù-ga-ru ₁₂ ^{ki}	ARET 4, 9, 5
u ₉ -na-gí ^{ki}	ARET 1, 12, 26
za-ra-mi-du ^{ki}	ARET 8, 540, 39

The ceremonies nì-AN.AN.AN.AN are the only occurrences in which a simple šeš-II-ib is in connection with a town.

7. List of all the šeš-II-ib

We mention šeš-II-ib kéš-da in list A and simple šeš-II-ib in list B. In the latter one, we mention also the šeš-II-ib that appear only as celebrating the ceremonies šu-mu-nigin⁴ i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} and/or ir-mi. That could be not right: in such occasions, šeš-II-ib kéš-da lost their qualification. In list C we list the šeš-II-ib whose (possible) qualification was lost because of the bad state of the tablet.

For each šeš-II-ib we quote:

- a) the texts that mention him.
- b) The ceremonies officiated by him.
- c) The person whose family the šeš-II-ib belonged to (or whose service he worked at) or the šeš-II-ib' town.
- d) The period in which he lived (when it is possible). The period is given by the number in brackets, written after the name, according to the following rule:
 - 1) the years in which Ibrium was minister.
 - 2) The first years in which Ibbi Zikir was minister.
 - 3) The period just before the destruction of the palace G of Ebla.

List A: šeš-II-ib kéš-da.

- a-bu_x-x* maškim
i-bí-zi-kir (?)
 'à-da-ša lú *du-bí-zi-kir* (?)
 'à-da-ša NI-za-ar^{ki} (3?)
 'à-da-šè (2)
 'à-da-šè lú *ga-ba-am₆* (2)
 'à-mi-šum (3)
 'à-mi-šum lú
iš-má-da-ba-an (3)
 'à-mi-zu (3)
a-ru₁₂-lu-x (2)
 'à-zi (2)
 'à-zi lú *lá-a-lum* (2)
bù-m[a-ù (?)] (2)
du-bí (2)
du-bí lú za-ḥa-li-a (2)
- šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 3, 459, v. I 8-16.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 3, 459, v. I 8-16.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 21, 18.
 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 2, 11-12;
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 1, 6, 34; ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da *in u₄* níd^aba ^dti-mu-du: MEE 2, 39, r. VII 4-11;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 1, 10, 13; ARET 1, 10, 16; ARET 1, 16, 14; ARET 4, 5, 10; ARET 4, 20, 20;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 18, 64;
 kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 4, 18, 23.
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 3, 36, v. II 2-6;
 šeš-II-ib SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in u₄* níd^aba ^dutu: ARET 1, 13, 8;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in u₄* níd^aba ^dku-ra: ARET 1, 13, 34;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in u₄* níd^aba ^dti-<mu>-du: ARET 4, 7, 33;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 4, 18, 13; MEE 2, 39, r. II 12-19;
 MEE 2, 39, r. V 9-16.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 524, 9.
 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 8, 521, 9; ARET 8, 527, 4;
 he was delivered clothes for the šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 8, 521, 15;
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 8, 523, 1.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 533, 35.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 1, 2, 14.
 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 2, 11-12; ARET 1, 3, 45;
 šeš-II-ib níd^aba 2 dingir *a-gúm*: ARET 1, 3, 64;
 šeš-II-ib *in u₄* 2 dingir *a-gúm*: ARET 3, 457, v. IV 1-6;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da *in u₄* níd^aba ^dti-mu-du: MEE 2, 39, r. VII 4-11;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 1, 10, 13; ARET 4, 5, 10;
 kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 4, 18, 23.
 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9;
 ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1;
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 1, 1, 47; ARET 1, 6, 34; ARET 1, 8, 69; ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 4, 18, 13; ARET 4, 22, 35; ARET 4, 22, 36; ARET 4, 24, 7; ARET 4, 24, 21; MEE 2, 39, r. II 12-19.
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 1, 2, 14.
 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10; ARET 4, 23, 8;
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 1, 6, 34;
 šeš-II-ib níd^aba 2 dingir *a-gúm*: ARET 1, 3, 64;
 šeš-II-ib *in u₄* 2 dingir *a-gúm*: ARET 3, 457, v. IV 1-6;
 šeš-II-ib 2 dingir 2 *a-gú*: ARET 1, 4, 79;
 šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: ARET 4, 5, 10; ARET 4, 20, 20.
 šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*: ARET 3, 36, v. II 2-6;

	šeš-II-ib SA.ZA _x ^{ki} in u ₃ nídba ^d utu: ARET 1, 13, 8;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} in nídba ^d ku-ra: ARET 1, 13, 34;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in u ₃ nídba ^d ti-<mu>du: ARET 4, 7, 33;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 24, 7; ARET 4, 24, 21.
du-bí-ab lú-kar (1)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 1, 14, 30.
du-bí-šum lú EN-zú-mu(2)	šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 19, 28;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in' à-da-NI ^{ki} : ARET 4, 4, 45.
du-bí-zi-kir lú a-dà-gar(3?)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in a-a-du ^{ki} : ARET 4, 3, 63.
du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : MEE 2, 39, r. V 9-16;
NI-a-BE (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in a-rí-gi ^{ki} : ARET 1, 10, 38;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in HAR-ba-du ^{ki} : ARET 4, 8, 19.
du-ur-NI (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
du-ur-NI lú a-du-u ₃ -a (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 19, 44.
en-na-ma-gú (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 4, 63;
	šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 6, 34;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
en-na-NI lú en-ga-ut (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 19, 44.
en-na-NI gu-na-ù ^{ki} (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in 'à-da-NI ^{ki} : ARET 4, 4, 45.
EN-zi-ma-lik (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 20, 20.
EN-zi-ma-lik lú ra-i-zu (3?)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 21, 18.
GIGIR-ra-ar lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 1, 14, 30.
ib-ga-iš-lu (1)	
ḥu-ma-ra lú-kar (1)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 1, 17, 35.
ḥ[u]-[...] (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 14.
i-da-NE lú ga-ba-nu (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in a-rí-gi ^{ki} : ARET 1, 10, 38.
i-dè-ni-ki-mu lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da dag _x (LAK 457) ^d AMA-ra en: ARET 4, 4, 25.
GIBIL-ma-lik (2)	
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da in úr-lu ^{ki} : TM.75.G.1775, r. V 1-9.
i-gi-um (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 13.
ì-lum-bal (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
ì-lum-bal lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 4, 7.
a-bu _x -gú-ra (2)	
ì-lum-bal lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 6, 6.
ir-an-a-kéš (2)	
i-ni-lum mu-si-lum ^{ki} (3)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 523, 16.
i-ti-lum (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
i-rí-gu lú sá-gú-šum (1)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da šu-du ₃ dumu-nita dumu-nita SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 4, 13, 46.
i-rí-ik-ma-lik lú	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 6, 6.
ib-te-ma-lik (2)	
ib-du-NI (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 9; ARET 8, 541, 1;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 533, 35.
ib-du-NI á-lu ^{ki} (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 527, 4;
	šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 8, 523, 1;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA _x ^{ki} : ARET 8, 524, 23;
	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 524, 9.
ib-ḤAR- ^d à-da (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 4, 63;

<i>il-ba-gú-nu</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 20, 20. šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 8, 69; šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
<i>il-ba-gú-nu lú mu-gú</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 22, 35; ARET 4, 22, 36.
<i>il-gú-uš-ti</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 14.
<i>il-ti</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 4, 18, 64.
<i>in-gàr lú iš-má-da-mu</i> (1)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da šu-du ₃ dumu-nita dumu-nita SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 13, 46.
<i>in-ma-lik lú KA-ma-na-an</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da dag ₃ (LAK 457) ^a AMA-ra en: ARET 4, 4, 25; šeš-II-ib kéš-da <i>in úr-lu</i> ^{ki} : TM.75.G.1775, r. V 1-9.
<i>ir-az₃-zé</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
<i>iš-má-da-ba-an</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 14.
<i>iš-má-da-ba-an</i> <i>mar-tum</i> ^{ki} (3)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da: ARET 8, 523, 16.
<i>iš₁₁-da-mu lú lá-a-lum</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 9; ARET 8, 527, 4; he was delivered clothes for the šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 15; šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 8, 524, 23. šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 19, 28.
<i>iš₁₁-gi-da-mu lú</i> <i>ša-ù-um</i> (2)	
<i>ki-t[i-ir]</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 14.
NI-ba-NI (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 10, 16.
NI-NI-ba (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 10.
<i>ša-ti-lu lú ká</i> <i>bar-za-ma-ù</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 2, 13.
UR-ni lú-kar (1)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 1, 17, 35.
<i>za-zí lú ir-da-ma-lik</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da <i>in HAR-ba-du</i> ^{ki} : ARET 4, 8, 19.
<i>zé-kam₃ lú NI-ga-ma-lik</i> (3?)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da <i>in a-a-du</i> ^{ki} : ARET 4, 3, 63.
<i>zú-du lú a-a-ga-um</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA ^{ki} : ARET 4, 4, 7.

List B: simple šeš-II-ib.

<i>'à-da-ša</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 4, 23, 8; šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 7, 71; šeš-II-ib 2 dingir 2 <i>a-gú</i> : ARET 1, 4, 79.
<i>'à-da-ša lú a-ti</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 9; šeš-II-ib <i>usan</i> ^a ku-ra: ARET 3, 105 V 2-8.
<i>'à-da-ša lú ir-am₆-da-mu</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib dag ₃ (LAK 457) ^a BARA ₇ -ra(iš) en: ARET 4, 7, 39; MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4.
<i>'à-da-ša lú iš-má-da-mu</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib X ₁₃ 2 na ₄ en: ARET 8, 529, 52.
<i>'à-da-ša ù-kul</i> ^{ki} (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 9; ARET 8, 541, 1; šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 5, 49.
<i>'à-daš</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10; ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1; ARET 4, 23, 8.
<i>a-gú-šum</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10.
<i>a-mur-da-mu</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^a i-da-bal lu-ba-an ^{ki} : ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1.
<i>ar-si-a-ḥa</i> (1)	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>ar-si-a-ḥa</i> šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 12, 21; ARET 3, 137, v. II 6-9.

<i>ar-si-aḥ</i> lú NI-na-ad (1)	šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
<i>ba₄-da-lim</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 8, 541, 1.
<i>bar-zi</i> lú a-bu ₅ -lum (1)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 11, 2; MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
<i>bù-da-NI</i> lú ti-la-NI (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4, 9, 1.
<i>bù-ga-núm</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10; ARET 4, 23, 8;
	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>bù-ga-núm</i> àga-ús: ARET 4, 23, 20.
<i>bù-ga-núm</i> lú	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 8, 521, 9; ARET 8, 527, 4; ARET 8, 541, 1;
<i>du-bí-zi-kir</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 5, 49;
	šeš-II-ib ùsan ^a <i>ku-ra</i> : ARET 3, 105, V 2-8.
<i>bù-zi</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 3, 457; III 1-10.
<i>d[a ?]</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 5, 49.
<i>da₅-da-ar</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4, 5, 1.
<i>da₅-da-ar</i> lú gaba(šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 4, 9, 1.
oblique)- <i>da-mu</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 3, 458, r. IV 4-14;
<i>du-bí</i> (1)	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>du-bí</i> šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. IV 6-8.
<i>du-bí</i> lú i-ti ^a <i>ga-mi-iš</i> (1)	šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
<i>du-bí-šum</i> lú GIGAR-ra-ar (2)	šeš-II-ib dag ₅ (LAK 457) ^a <i>BARA₇-ra en</i> : MEE 2, 40, r. IV 11-V 4.
<i>du-bù-ḥu-^a</i> à-da (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 1, 4, 63.
dumu SAG-ba-da (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 8, 527, 4.
dumu-nita iš ₁₁ -gi-da-ar (?)	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN dumu nita iš ₁₁ -gi-da-ar šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 31, r. II 14-19.
<i>en-da-za maš-bar-ra^a</i> (1)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 12, 29; MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
<i>en-na-ma-lik</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 1, 2, 11-12.
┐ <i>en⁷-na-NI</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 4, 23, 8.
<i>en-na-NI</i> lú <i>en-mar</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4, 9, 1;
	šeš-II-ib <i>ir-mi</i> : ARET 1, 8, 69;
	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 811, II 1-3.
<i>en-na-NI</i> lú MI-ga-NI (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 4, 9, 1.
<i>en-na-NI</i> lú ša-ù-um (1)	šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
EN-ti (3)	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-ti šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 521, 41.
EN-ti dumu-nita	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 8, 521, 9;
<i>i-bí-zi-kir</i> (3)	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-ti 1 dumu-nita <i>i-bí-zi-kir</i> šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 521, 3.
EN-zi-da-mu (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 4, 9, 1.
EN-zi-li-im (1)	šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, r. X 10-12;
	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-li-im šeš-II-ib u ₉ -na-gi ^a : ARET 1, 12, 26.
EN-zi-li-im lú i-rí-ik (1)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 11, 1; MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
EN-zi-ma-lik (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^a <i>i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}</i> : ARET 8, 521, 9;
	šeš-II-ib X ₁₃ 2 na ₄ en: ARET 8, 529, 52;
	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 540, 40;
	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>ir-^a</i> à-ak-da-mu EN-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 540, 41;

- nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib in mar-tum^{ki}: ARET 8, 527, 20; ARET 8, 527, 35.
- EN-zi-ma-lik lú
i-bí-zi-kir (3) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 8, 527, 4; ARET 8, 541, 1;
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 521, 30;
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN ma-lik-tum EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir šeš-II-ib in á-a^{ki}:
ARET 8, 525, 17;
- nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir šeš-II-ib in ba-nu^{ki}: ARET 8, 540, 24;
- nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir šeš-II-ib in lu-ba-an^{ki} lú
šu-mu-nigin: ARET 8, 532, 12;
- nì-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-zi-ma-lik lú i-bí-zi-kir šeš-II-ib in za-ra-mi-du^{ki}:
ARET 8, 540, 39.
- i-bí-zi-mu (?) šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 265, II 1-2.
- i-ti-^daš-dar (2) šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 7, 71.
- i-ti-^daš-dar lú šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 8, 521, 9;
en-na-NI-il (2-3) ARET 8, 527, 4; ARET 8, 541, 1;
šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 5, 49, ARET 8, 523, 1.
- ib-dur-i-šar (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4,
5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1;
šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 8, 69.
- ib-gi-da-mu lú ká šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 8, 521, 9.
- ki-ti-ir (3)
- ib-gi-da-mu lú šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 8, 541, 1.
- i-lul-in-ma-lik (3)
- il-e-^Γi^Γ-šar (?) šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 7, 71.
- il-ti (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1.
- il-ti lú ḥa-ra-NI (2) nì-AN.AN.AN.AN il-ti lú ḥa-ra-NI šeš-II-ib in ù-ga-ru^{ki}: ARET 4, 9, 5.
- il-zi (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 4, 63.
- il-zi lú en-na-NI (1) šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
- ir-'à-ak-da-mu (3) nì-AN.AN.AN.AN ir-'à-ak-da-mu EN-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib: ARET 8, 540, 41.
- ir-ba-šu á-lu^{ki} (2-3) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 8, 521,
9; ARET 8, 541, 1.
- ir-ti (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 2, 11-12; ARET 1, 3,
45; ARET 4, 9, 1;
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN ir-ti šeš-II-ib in ar-u₉-gú^{ki}: ARET 4, 23, 21;
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN ir-ti àga-ús in ù-ra-mu^{ki}: ARET 4, 23, 18.
- ir-ti lú ib-rí-um (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 4, 5, 1.
- iš-la-NI (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 4, 5, 1.
- iš-la-NI lú en-na-NI (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 4, 9, 1.
nì-AN.AN.AN.AN iš-la-NI lú en-na-NI dam-gàr šeš-II-ib áš-da ^di-da-
bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 4, 9, 27.
- iš-l[a]-NI lú SAL[...] (2) šeš-II-ib ir-mi: ARET 1, 1, 47.
- iš-má-da-ba-an lú šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
- iš-má-da-mu (1)
- iš-má-da-ba-an lú šeš-II-ib: MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10.
- iš₁₁-gi-da-ar (1)
- kum-da-ba-an (2) šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^di-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki}: ARET 1, 3, 45; ARET 3, 203,
IV 1-V 9; ARET 3, 457, r. III 1-10; ARET 4, 5, 1; ARET 4, 9, 1;

	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>kum-da-ba-an in á-nigin</i> ^d <i>ì-da-bal lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki} : ARET 4, 5, 35.
<i>kum-da-ba-an lú du-bí</i> (3)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d <i>ì-da-bal lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki} : ARET 8, 521, 9.
<i>má-za-gú lú bu-ma-NI</i>	šeš-II-ib dag _x (LAK 457) ^d BARA ₇ - <i>ra(iš)</i> en: ARET 4, 7, 39.
<i>gú-la-la-kul</i> ^{ki} (3)	
NI-zi (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d <i>ì-da-bal lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki} : ARET 1, 4, 63; ARET 4, 23, 8.
šu-ga-lum (2)	šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d <i>ì-da-bal lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki} : ARET 3, 203, IV 1-V 9; ARET 4, 9, 1.
šu-ma-lik lú iš ₁₁ - <i>da-mu</i> (1)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 11, 3;
	nì-AN.AN.AN.AN <i>šu-ma-lik lú iš₁₁-da-mu</i> šeš-II-ib: ARET 1, 11, 11.
[...] lú [x]- <i>da-mu</i> (?)	šeš-II-ib i[n] [x-(x)]- ⁷ <i>mi</i> ⁷ : ARET 3, 754, I 1-4.

List C: šeš-II-ib whose qualification could be lost:

<i>bù-gú-nu</i> (?)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 508, III 1-8.
(a patronymic) (?)	
<i>hi-la-NI lú a-ma-za</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 203, II 1-8.
<i>i-in-NI a-ša-lu-gú</i> (2)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 203, II 1-8.
<i>ì-lum-bal lú sikil-šu</i> (?)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 466, r. V 1-3.
<i>il-zi</i> (?)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 508, III 1-8.
<i>iš-má-da-ba-an lú</i>	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 203, II 1-8.
<i>na-an-da-mu</i> (2)	
<i>la-a-iš₁₁-ru₁₂ lú</i>	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 508, III 1-8.
<i>zu-NI-a</i> (?)	
<i>puzur₄-ra-ma-lik lú</i>	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 119, v. III 1-3.
<i>iš₁₁-da-mu</i> (?)	
UR-ni <i>áb-su</i> ^{ki} (?)	šeš-II-ib: ARET 3, 508, III 1-8.

8. Conclusions

The term šeš-II-ib is doubtless a compound word made up by the two Sumerian words šeš (brother) and ib (chapel) and by the symbol ii (two). The last one points, very likely, the fact that the number of šeš-II-ib celebrating a ceremony was usually two, while ib is related to the religious features of šeš-II-ib. It is not clear, on the other hand, the reason of the presence of the term šeš. As a matter of fact, when a couple of šeš-II-ib celebrated a ceremony, the qualifying terms of the two priests (that were often doubtless their patronymics) were always different. Besides, the presence of two brothers in a list of šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^d*ì-da-bal lu-ba-an*^{ki} was very rare. In archaic tablets of Ur, šeš-ib is a term used as a component of personal names.¹⁸ It appears also, later, as a name of a kind of officer in pre-sargonic texts¹⁹ and (perhaps with the same meaning) in a very difficult passage of the hymn to the reed by Ur-Nanše.²⁰

18. M.E. Cohen, *Two Versions of a Fara-Period Name List in The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda 1993, pp. 81-83; D.O. Edzard, SRU, 177, Nr. 114, 5:3.

19. A. Alberti-F. Pomponio, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2 Supplement*, Studia Pohl Series Maior 13, Rome 1986, pp. 63-64, rev. I 7.

20. H. Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, Freiburger Altorientalischen Studien 5, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 111, Ur-Nanše 49, 3, 4.

Two categories of šeš-II-ib can be told apart: simple šeš-II-ib and šeš-II-ib kéš-da. If we suppose that kéš-da is the Eblaite equivalent of the Sumerian term kéš-DU (see paragraph 2), we can translate it as "vertraglich binden"⁽⁴⁾. šeš-II-ib kéš-da would have been, hence, priests that performed their duties because of contractual obligations.

These obligations, were, very likely, related to places. As a matter of fact, šeš-II-ib kéš-da were very often, (29 times out of 39), mentioned together with towns or with the SA.ZA_x^{ki}. Simple šeš-II-ib, instead, were never, but by the ceremony nì-AN.AN.AN.AN, in connection with places. The ceremonies celebrate by šeš-II-ib kéš-da and simple šeš-II-ib were different too. The reward of the two kind of priests was instead the same: one belt íb+II/III/IV-sa₆-dar-TÚG for simple ceremonies and the two garments 'à-da-um-TÚG-II and aktum-TÚG in addition for the three ceremonies: šu-mu-nígin 'i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} (nída) 2 dingir and ir-mi. These three ceremonies (see paragraphs 3 and 4), were the most important ceremonies officiated by šeš-II-ib; the first and the second one were celebrated in the twelfth month, the third in the ninth month. It is likely that the ceremony ir-mi was celebrated by šeš-II-ib at a first stage of their career.

Eblaite scribes were very precise in calling the two kind of šeš-II-ib apart: a šeš-II-ib kéš-da had always his qualification. The only exceptions were the lists in which both simple šeš-II-ib and šeš-II-ib kéš-da were mentioned: in such lists šeš-II-ib kéš-da lost their qualification. These lists were compiled in occasion of the three most important ceremonies that were celebrated by both kinds of priests.

Apart from the ceremonies šu-mu-nígin 'i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} and ir-mi the number of šeš-II-ib celebrating a ceremony was very often two (42 times out of 50). In Eblaite texts, when the number of šeš-II-ib officiating a ceremony is not larger than two, qualifying terms follow very often šeš-II-ib' personal names (64 times out of 87). These terms are patronymics, towns or professions. It is not clear the reason of that. In the lists with more than two šeš-II-ib, perhaps to make them shorter, Eblaite scribes seldom used qualifying terms: 58 out of 93 šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin 'i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} and 10 out 27 šeš-II-ib ir-mi are not qualified. There is no rule about šeš-II-ib' qualifications in long lists. All the šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin 'i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} in the list ARET 8, 541, 1 and all the simple šeš-II-ib in the list MEE 2, 25, v. VI 1-VII 10, i. e., have their qualification; on the other hand, only some of the šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin 'i-da-bal lu-ba-an^{ki} in the list ARET 4, 9, 1 and no šeš-II-ib kéš-da in the list ARET 4, 5, 10 are qualified.

šeš-II-ib existed in other states too, as the following example shows:

2 'à-da-II 2 aktum-TÚG 13 íb+II-sa₆-dar-TÚG / šeš-II-ib / ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} / in / a-bí-la-du^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti (ARET 1, 7, 53)

In Eblaite dictionaries there is no translation for the term šeš-II-ib. Two similar words occur instead:²¹ šeš-II-ib mí-du₁₁, translated as *ga-ma-lum* (to please), and šeš-II-ib mí-du₁₁-ga, translated as *r(l)a-mu-um* (to love). These two translation do not seem to fit šeš-II-ib' features.

21. MEE 4, p. 225.