
The King-Lists from Ebla

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EBLA HAS BEQUEATHED TO US a unique document (composed in fact at Mari), which uses past events as a means of justifying a political action. The source in question is a letter of Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, which is addressed, most probably, to Irkab-Damu, the penultimate king of Ebla. In this letter Enna-Dagan enumerates the victorious deeds of his predecessors in order to intimidate Ebla and to force her to continue paying tribute to Mari. The most glorious of those earlier kings was Iblul-Il, who raided the entire valley of the Middle Euphrates, subduing part of it. The phrase that occurs in this letter most frequently has a threatening tone: "Iblul-Il, the king of Mari, conquered the city X, and left (there) seven mounds of ruins."¹ It was precisely during the reign of Enna-Dagan, however, that Ebla's tribute to Mari noticeably decreased, eventually ceasing altogether. Irkab-Damu succeeded in drawing Emar, which Iblul-Il had repeatedly destroyed, into his sphere of influence, turning it into Ebla's port on the Euphrates. To seal this new political relationship, a princess of Ebla was given in marriage to the king of Emar. With Išar-Damu, the last king of Ebla, Ebla's relations with Mari became those between equals.

A similar use of historical events is found in the inscriptions of Eannatum ("Stela of the Vultures") and Enmetena (Ent. 28, 29), which appear to be a few decades earlier than the Mari letter, and in the historical introductions to Hittite treaties of roughly a millennium later.

¹ For an interpretation of this letter, TM.75.G.2367, see D.O. Edzard, *SEB* 4 (1981), pp. 89–97. For the relations between Ebla and Mari, see Archi, *SEB* 4 (1981), pp. 129–66; *idem*, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985), pp. 63–83 (in these two articles the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-Zikir are still considered to have been kings!). For an evaluation of the geographical data of this document, see M.C. Astour, *Eblaïtica* 3 (1992), pp. 26–51; J.-W. Meyer, *AoF* 23 (1996): 155–70.

There is still another type of document that preserves memories of the past, but without, however, making any historical inferences. These are the Eblaite dynastic lists.

The first of them, *ARET VII 150*,² records ten names, forming an introduction to a text concerned with cultic matters. That royal names are meant there is clearly stated in obv. III 6: en-en (Sumerian en = Eblaite *mal(i)kum*). Each name is preceded by a Sumerian word for "god," dingir, the latter always written in a separate case: "god of / PN." Therefore, these are deceased, hence deified, rulers.

Of the rulers listed there, only the first two, Irkab-Damu and Igriš-Ḫalab, are also mentioned in administrative documents.³ The fourth, Kun-Damu, appears only in two accounts summarizing the quantities of silver and gold deposited in the palace over three generations (Adub-Damu, the third person in the list, is ignored by economic documentation, since he clearly reigned only briefly).⁴ It is clear that the list follows a regressive chronological order. The first eight kings must belong to a period that predates the archives, that is, before 2400 B.C.E.

The second section of the text is concerned with the offerings for three couples of gods: Idabal and his consort, "the Lady" (^dBE.MÍ = *ba^cltum*); Rašap and Adamma; Agu and Gulatu; followed then by those for a deity of the town of Darib, who seems to be attested only here: [^dx-r]a-ru₁₂, and for Išhara, "beloved(?) of the king" (lú *da-da* en). Since each deity is presented a single sheep, it seemed reasonable, at the time of the original publication of this document, to restore in the first case of the tablet a total of [10 udu], "[10 sheep]." The small fragment filling the break has now been identified; it shows that the first case is actually blank (Fig. 1). However, the cultic nature of the document is evident. Its final section states that these are dingir-dingir-dingir en-en in *Da-rí-ib^{ki}* "gods of the (deified) kings (resident) in Darib."⁵

The second list, TM.74.G.120, belongs to a lot of thirty-two lenticular tablets that were excavated in a storeroom (L.2586) of the royal palace.

² Archi, *ZA* 76 (1986): 213–17.

³ Archi, *MARI* 5 (1987): 37–43; *idem*, *Amurru I* (1996), pp. 13–14 (in funerary contexts).

⁴ Archi, *Amurru I* (1996), pp. 15–16. The documents that mention Kun-Damu are TM.77.G.23+80.G.207 and TM.75.G.2286.

⁵ An alternative reading of this geographic name is *Da-rí-tum^{ki}*. The writing *Da-rí-bu^{ki}* (see *ARES II*, p. 193) points, however, to the suggested reading, although it is not possible, at the moment, to prove the identity of the two places.



Fig.1: ARET VII 150 (TM.75.G.2628)+new fragment, obverse.

These texts appear to have been written by a single scribe, not noted for his style, who never worked for the Central Archive. The list, containing seventy-two names, is composed of two parts. The first part begins with a living person, Išar-Damu, the last king of Ebla, son and successor of Irkab-Damu.⁶ Listed next are the ten kings of the other list (ARET VII 150), also in inverted order, followed by fifteen personal names that, in turn, are followed by the toponym *Ib-la* (without the geographic determinative KI, obv. IV 5), plus an additional six names. The second part of the text (beginning with obv. IV 3) lists thirty-nine personal names, ordered according to the initial element: *Du-bí*, *Du-bù-ḫu-*, *En-na-*, etc.⁷ which is apparently a mnemonic device. This is the only school text that does not come from the

⁶ M.G. Biga and F. Pomponio, *N.A.B.U.* (1987): 106.

⁷ The second section of the text has been discussed by G. Pettinato, *Or NS 44* (1975): 369–71. The whole text has been published by Archi, *ARES I*, pp. 212–14.

Central Archive. The reason it was included with some of the most mundane administrative texts cannot be explained. Possibly, we find here a test exercise, which was prepared by an apprentice scribe to impress the masters of Ebla's scribal school.

The surviving examples of king-lists usually proceed from the earliest-known ruler to the most recent one.⁸ However, it is not surprising that a list of ancestors stemming from oral tradition should have a reverse chronological order. This is the order we ourselves follow, when we are unable to aid our memory with written information. The *Assyrian King-List* contains, in its second section, ten ancestors of Šamši-Addu listed in exactly the same manner, apparently because that genealogy had derived from a different tradition than that of the other two sections.⁹ The Ugarit list of kings in the cultic text *KTU 1.113* follows the same order.

In chronological sources produced outside of scribal schools the subjective concept of time prevails. The past represents that portion of time that one has in front of him, before his eyes (*igi, pānū*): *pāna* "preceding," *pānātu* "past." This concept is not an Akkadian (or, more generally, Semitic) *Eigenbegrifflichkeit*, for it is shared also by the Indo-Europeans. From I.E. *per* (Hittite *peran*, "in front"; Greek *peran*, "on the other side"), comes Latin *prior, primus, pristinus*, Ahd. *furi, furiro*, "former, early." The future follows the individual and, in this way, lies behind him: Sumerian *egir*, Akkadian (*w*)*arkitum*, Latin *posteritās*.¹⁰

The twenty-six names of the second list constitute the dynasty of Ebla. Not only the first eleven (though the last chronologically), but also the other fifteen names are those of kings. This is proved by the fact that some of these persons (the ones who had left the greatest mark in memory) receive, on more than one occasion, various offerings. Several of these dead, deified kings (*dingir PN*) are invoked in the marriage ritual for the royal couple, together with the tutelary deities of the dynasty: Kura, the head of the Ebla pantheon, his consort Barama, Išhara, and (Nin.)tu, the mother-goddess.

Two parallel versions of this ritual have been preserved, one for the wedding of Irkab-Damu and the other for that of his son, Išar-Damu (*ARET XI 1* and *2* respectively). Right at the beginning of the ritual, before the wedding procession leaves the palace, a sheep is sacrificed to the sun-

⁸ For a survey of the king-lists of the Ancient Near East, see *RIA* 6, pp. 77–135.

⁹ See B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954): 33ff. The list can now be consulted in M.T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies* (Copenhagen: 1976), pp. 34–40.

¹⁰ See Archi, *N.A.B.U.* (1998): 86.

goddess and to Ibbini-Lim (the 10th king; 1 [2]). At dawn on the fourth day, just before the procession reaches Irad, a sacrifice is made to Abur-Lim (the 16th king; 1 [37] // 2 [40]); at dawn on the following day, in the vicinity of Uduḥudu, sacrifices are offered to Amana (the 5th king; 1 [40] // 2 [43]). Near NEnaš, the procession (which includes also the deities Kura and Barama) enters the mausoleum, É *ma-tim/dim* (/bayt-i-mawt-im/).¹¹ There, during the various phases of the ritual and on different days, sacrifices are made and offerings presented to Ibbini-Lim, Sagisu, and Išrut-Damu (the 10th, 8th and 11th kings respectively; 1 [60] // 2 [63], 1 [86] // 2 [90], 1 [89] // 2 [93], 1 [92] // 2 [96]). At the conclusion of the ritual, and before leaving the mausoleum, sacrifices are once again made to Sagisu, Amana, and Igriš-Ḥalab, Irkab-Damu's immediate predecessor (1 [97] // 2 [107] [108]).¹²

It was in NEnaš, where a "house of the dead" (É *ma-tim*) is said to have been situated, that Sagisu, Ibbini-Lim, and Išrut-Damu must have been buried, since these three rulers were, according to other sources, more than once the object of worship at this particular location. However, this did not apply to Igriš-Ḥalab, who is worshipped, at the end of the ritual, as the predecessor of Irkab-Damu. The same was true of Amana, the fifth king, who was associated with the small settlement Uduḥudu. This is confirmed by a list of sheep offerings dating to the last year of the archives, TM.75.G.10147 rev. II 20–III 2: 2 udu dingir ³E_x(EN)-*ma-nu* in *U-du-ḥu-du*^{ki}.¹³ *A-bur-GIM* (= *A-bur-li-im*), the sixteenth king, was connected with Irad, a place that is otherwise unknown.

We do not know whether the last ten kings were really buried in Darib, as is suggested by ARET VII 150 (section [3]): dingir-dingir-dingir en-en al₆-tuš in *Da-rí-ib*^{ki}, "the gods of the kings (i.e., the deified kings) living in Darib."¹⁴ Darib is probably to be identified with *Tá-ra-b* of the geographic list of Thutmosis III, and with present-day Atareb, a village 30 km north of Ebla and 27 km NNW of Aleppo, from which came a nearly life-size stone

¹¹ P. Fronzaroli, *ARET XI*, p. 144.

¹² The (former) kings, en-en, are mentioned in 1 (94), a fragmentary context.

¹³ Also the god Kura receives an offering in Uduḥudu, together with another deity whose name is not preserved (perhaps dingir EN-*ma-nu* again), according to another offering list, TM.75.G.2517 rev. IX 6ff.

¹⁴ The Hittites venerated the gods called Zawalli, a term that means "spirit of the deceased,"^d *Zawalli* PN. It appears sometimes in place of *akkant-* "dead, spirit (of a deceased person)," *GIDIM*. The Zawallis of the royal house were venerated in various towns where the court formerly resided, see Archi, *AoF* 6 (1979): 81–94.

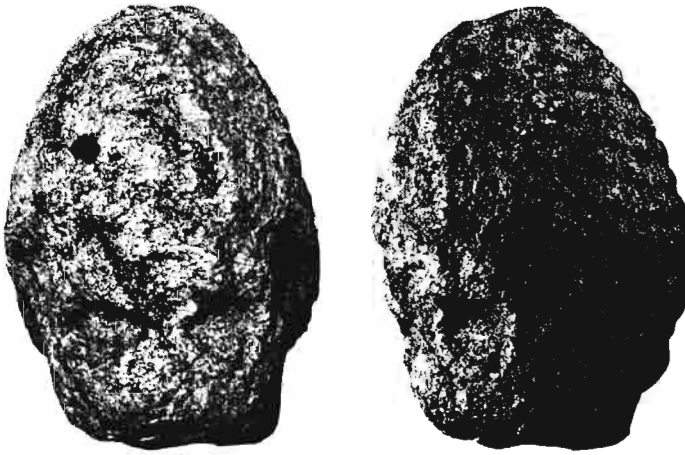


Fig. 2: Head from Atareb (limestone).

head, probably belonging to a royal statue (Fig. 2).¹⁵ A more likely possibility is that they were interned in Ebla itself. Thus, we have records of unnamed deceased rulers (“kings,” logographically en-en, corresponding to *malikūm*, as in Ugaritic) who received food offerings in the palace on the occasion of the king’s meal.¹⁶ It is only in a document concerned with the “regular offerings for the dead” (lú *ma-wa-tim* lú *sá-du₁₁-ga*) that some of those deified kings are mentioned by name: Ba(ga)-Damu, Enar-Damu, and Išar-Malik (the 19th, 20th, and 21st kings respectively): *ARET IX* 17 (20)–(22), (25). Interestingly, Samiu (dingir *Sa-mi-ù*, the third king of the great list!) even appears among the gods of the Ebla pantheon, in section (13). These ancient rulers of Ebla also received sacrifices of sheep in the palace, but only occasionally.¹⁷

¹⁵ See already Archi, *ZA* 76 (1986): 217. The head of the statue has been published by P. Matthiae, *SEB* 2 (1980): 41–47.

¹⁶ See en-en in the Glossary of *ARET IX*, p. 384. In the *kispum*-ritual from Mari, the former kings are called *šarrānu*; see the texts quoted by A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), p. 57 nn. 224–26.

¹⁷ dingir *Sa-mi-ù*: TM.75.G.2397 obv. IX 5–6; 2403 obv. XII 22–23. dingir *En-ār-damu*: TM.75.G.1764 obv. X 20–21; 2075 obv. VI 3–4; 2238 rev. I 8–9; 2397 obv. VIII 22–23. dingir *I-šar-ma-lik*: TM.75.G.2598 obv. XII 3–4; see also TM.75.G.1318 rev. II 6–7.

One would expect the kings to be buried near the palace, in accordance with the Syrian and Mesopotamian traditions. No epigraphic or archaeological data, however, suggest such a possibility. In the years 1993–96, while deepening the excavations under the part of the royal palace extending towards the acropolis, the excavators uncovered, *ca.* 5.9 m below the floor of royal palace G, two large, communicating rooms, each roughly 5.2 × 4 m in size, and built of well-cut blocks of calcareous stone (subsequently



Fig. 3: The hypogeum of the royal palace.

sacked to a great extent), and with a fine lime floor (Fig. 3).¹⁸ Incidentally, this kind of very hard stone is otherwise never used in buildings of the Early Bronze Age, nor is it employed later, during the Middle Bronze Age. Given its position and refined construction techniques, this building complex is most probably to be related to palace G. The two rooms were found completely empty. Since it is unlikely that not even a single fragment of funerary furnishings should have survived the later sacking (had such in fact been deposited), we can safely conclude that this hypogeum was built—but never actually used—by the last king, Išar-Damu, who also restored and enlarged the royal palace.

What emerges from all this evidence is that the cult of ancestors was practiced throughout the original core of the Ebla state: it was thanks to the continued “presence” of ancient rulers that their descendants could claim the throne of Ebla for themselves. This is typical of an archaic society. Since some of the ancestors bore names identical with toponyms, these individuals may have originated in the places in question. KUL-*ba-nu*, the name of the first king, is the same as that of a well-known village: KUL-*ba-an*^{ki}; for *Zi-a-lu*, the name of the fourth king, see *Zi-a-LUM*^{ki}, *Zi-ʾà-ar/ru*¹²^{ki}. The list names *Ib-la* without the geographic determinative (obv. IV 5), preceded (in chronological order) by *Bir*₅-*bí-la-nu*, which is also a geographic name, and *La-da-ù*, a personal name derived from *La-da*^{ki}. It is fairly common for Eblaite personal names to correspond to geographic names,¹⁹ in agreement with both ancient and modern name-derivation principles. As regards these particular royal names, we may rightly ask ourselves if “the lack of the determinative indicates that these names were perceived as relating not to the towns as such but to their eponyms that were used to lengthen the royal pedigree beyond the earliest remembered name of an authentic king.”²⁰

However, the fact that the cult of these ancient kings manifested itself in several localities does not mean that the urban tradition of the state was a recent development. Rather, the beginnings went back at least to the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. Deeper excavations in the northern quarter of palace G revealed an intermediate phase between EB III and EB IVA, whose buildings are partly associated with the foundations of the

¹⁸ P. Matthiae, *CRAIB* 1995, pp. 655–57. [See also, *idem*, *AoF* 24 (1997): 268–76].

¹⁹ See the list in *ARES* II, pp. 26–29. For *Bir*₅-*ba-la/ra-nu*^{ki}, see *ibid.*, p. 396 sub *NAM-NE-la/ra-nu*^{ki}. KUL-*ba-an*^{ki} is read *Bal*¹-*ba-an*^{ki} by M. Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, p. 73.

²⁰ M.C. Astour, *Eblaïtica* 3 (Winona Lake, Ind.: 1992), p. 22.

palace itself. Perhaps also related to these structures is a large silo, S.4843, 3 m in diameter and preserved to a height of 1.5 m, which was dug into the EB III levels. All these data suggest the presence of a palatial building prior to palace G.²¹

Moreover, the excavations on the southern slope of the acropolis have brought to light numerous rooms of EB III date (building G2), divided by thick walls and used as storerooms.²² Without any doubt, this structure formed part of a palatial administrative center. Archaeological data show, therefore, that from at least the middle of the third millennium, Ebla was the seat of a major urban settlement.

Although the royal list of Ebla is particularly long, it is not, by any means, unique in this respect. Orally preserved tribal genealogies usually comprise five to seven generations,²³ and rarely if ever extend beyond ten to fourteen generations. R.R. Wilson has noted that

in those societies having a developed lineage system, the lineage is expressed in genealogical terms so that the genealogy is a mnemonic of the lineage. The genealogy thus has the same form as the lineage it represents.... Genealogies that exceed twelve generations in depth are frequently linear rather than segmented genealogies. They trace only one line of descent between a living person and a person in the past. Therefore, they are not mnemonics of the lineage and do not serve to relate living members of the tribe to each other. The most common examples of this type of genealogy are the king lists that are presented

²¹ On the most ancient urban phases of Ebla, see S. Mazzoni, *La Parola del Passato* 46 (1991): 163–94. For the excavation data, see P. Matthiae, *CRAIB* 1993, pp. 618–25 and fig. 8. The terrace wall M.3905, which divides in half the northern section of the so-called Central Unit, where food was processed, was probably built over an earlier wall: M. 4472 (M. 3905 runs lengthwise in the middle of fig. 8, cited above). These structures below this part of the Central Unit of palace G might belong to a palatial structure, and are dated by Mazzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 175, to EB IV A1. For the silo, see the photo in Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 620 fig. 5; P. Matthiae *et al.*, *Ebla. Alla origine della civiltà urbanan* (Milano: 1995), p. 99. The terrace wall of unbaked bricks adjacent to the hypogeum cuts an earlier floor that belongs to phase EB III/EB IV (A1); see the photo in *op. cit.*, Matthiae *et al.*, p. 101 (this floor is the lower one in the upper part of the photo).

²² P. Matthiae, *CRAIB* 1987, pp. 136–38.

²³ In reference to the tribes of the Zambia/Zaire territory, I. Cunnison, "History and Genealogies in a Conquest State," *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957): 22, notes as follows: "These lineages have genealogies up to seven generations in depth."

in genealogical form, although any person who wishes to anchor in the past his claim to power, authority, or status may also preserve a long linear genealogy. Such specialized genealogies may stretch back as far as thirty or more generations and may exist even in tribes where genealogies normally do not exceed five generations in depth.²⁴

Many, if not all, of the king-lists stemming from the ancient Near East had a political or propagandistic intent. The *Sumerian King-List*, a learned document used by several dynasties, "asserts," in the words of W.G. Lambert, "the notion of the legitimacy of a city to hold kingship at the will of the gods for a certain period, not the legitimacy of a particular family."²⁵

Political ambitions are also reflected in various types of sources concerned with the cult of ancestors. The *kispum*-ritual of Mari lists, following the offerings for Šamaš, those for Sargon and Narām-Sîn, as well as those for the Haneans *yaradu* and the Haneans Numhā, from whom the family of Šamši-Addu had stemmed.²⁶ In this way, the Šamši-Addu dynasty presented itself as having descended from the great kings of Akkad, a tradition that was later adopted in some way also by the Hurrians.²⁷ As the *kispum*-ritual of Ammi-šaduqa makes clear, the kings of Babylon thought themselves to be heirs of all the great dynasties of the past: "the ancestors of Ḫammurabi, the dynasty of the Amorites, the dynasty of the Haneans, the dynasty of Gutium, (any) dynasty that is not recorded on this tablet, and (any) soldier who fell while on his lord's service, princes, princesses, all

²⁴ R.R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (YNER 7; New Haven: 1977), pp. 18–26 (quotations are from pp. 19 and 25–26).

²⁵ W.G. Lambert, in *Le Palais et la royauté*, ed. P. Garelli (Paris: 1974), p. 434. For this interpretation of the list, see further P. Michalowski, "History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 237–48; Cl. Wilcke, "Die sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit," in *Vergangenheit im mündlicher Überlieferung*, eds. J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau (Colloquium Rauricum 1; Stuttgart: 1988), pp. 114–40; *idem*, "Genealogical and Geographical Thought in the Sumerian King List," in *Studies Å. W. Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M.T. Roth (Philadelphia: 1989), pp. 537–71.

²⁶ M. Birot, in *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. Alster (Copenhagen: 1980), p. 142, I 15–20.

²⁷ KUB XXVII 38 = V. Haas and I. Wegner, *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen SAL-ŠU.GI* (ChS I, 5; Rome: 1988), pp. 385–90, a ritual in which the images of ancient kings are made of wool: "and they are called (ancient) kings" (Hurrian: *šarre-na*). The kings of Akkad are Sargon, Maništuš, Šarkališarri, and Naram-Sin; they are mentioned together with the kings of Elam and Lullubu, and with Arišen of Urkiš.

humanity, from the East to the West, who have no one to care for them or to call their names, come, eat this, drink this, (and) bless Ammi-šaduqa, son of Ammi-ditana, king of Babylon."²⁸

No such desire to claim the inheritance of other dynasties is found in the royal lists of Ebla. These sources reveal an exclusively local horizon. The first list (*ARET VII 150*) is plainly related to a ritual. In the second list, the memory of ancient kings is preserved only because these were venerated in cult (at least some of them, according to our documentation). This reminds us of Ugarit, where the tradition of preserving the names of ancient kings (there are sixteen names preserved in the fragmentary list *KTU 1.113*) was motivated by purely cultic reasons as well.²⁹

The remembrance of ancestors has its roots in man's yearning for divine protection, and, of all tutelary deities, ancestors were always closest to him and his family. This deep need of the human psyche is documented from earliest times.³⁰

We know that at Ebla the throne passed from father to son during the last three generations. It is unknown, however, if this rule held also for the former kings or if, as in certain dynasties, the crown passed instead from an elder brother to a younger brother, and only later to a younger generation. Išar-Damu, the last king, ruled for at least thirty-five years; his father, Irkab-Damu, ruled for five to seven years. We have no information on Igriš-Ḫalab, the third before the last king. It would seem reasonable to attribute to each of the twenty-six rulers of Ebla an average rule of fifteen years, if one bears in mind that initially Eblaite society seems to have lacked well-consolidated institutions. If we date the fall of Ebla to roughly 2350 B.C.E.,

²⁸ This translation follows W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 22 (1968): 1–2. For the complete text, see J.J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 20 (1966): 95–118. For a connection between the dynasty of Babylon and the Haneans, see D. Charpin and J.M. Durand, *RA* 80 (1986): 166–70.

²⁹ For RS 25.257 = *Ugaritica* V 5 = *KTU* 1.113, see especially K.A. Kitchen, *UF* 9 (1977): 131–42; D. Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)* (Paris: 1988), pp. 165–78; for further bibliography, see G. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea* (Barcelona: 1992), pp. 121–23.

³⁰ See, e.g., the early neolithic statues from Ain Ghazal (Jordan), discussed by G. O. Rollefson, *MDOG* 116 (1984): 185–92, which may represent the ancestors of that community. On this topic, see G. Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Leiden–New York–Köln: 1995). For the protective powers of ancestors for the following generations, see recently K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel* (Leiden: 1996), pp. 62–65.

and assign a reign of fifteen years to each of the twenty-six kings, this takes us back to *ca.* 2750 B.C.E. Thus, the royal list of Ebla appears to preserve the tradition of a Syrian dynasty whose origins belonged to the time of Gilgamesh, the famous hero of Uruk.³¹

ADDENDUM

Four tablets, which duplicate each other, contain, in syllabic script, the complete list of the kings of Ugarit found in the fragmentary *KTU* 1.113, which is in alphabetic script (see D. Arnaud, *SMEA* 41/2 [1999], pp. 153–73). We know now that there were twenty-six kings, curiously the same number as in the major king-list from Ebla. The syllabic texts contain only the list of names, whereas in *KTU* 1.113 the names are embedded within a ritual. Each name is preceded by the dingir-sign (beginning with dingir ¹Ú-ga-ra-na), which corresponds to *il* in the alphabetic writing—therefore, the “god of PN,” exactly as at Ebla, where dingir is written usually in the case preceding the PN. *ARET* VII 150 rev. 1–2 has (as mentioned above): dingir-dingir-dingir en¹-en¹, which can be translated only as “the gods of the (former) kings.”

I still prefer to interpret this expression as “the deified spirit of the departed,” instead of “the patron deity of PN,” because I think that, in the Semitic world of that time, the tutelary action derived from the ancestors themselves and not from their tutelary gods (see above, note 31).

³¹ In July 1998, during the RAI at Harvard University, I had an opportunity to read the article by W.T. Pitard, “The Meaning of EN at Ebla,” in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of M.C. Astour* (Bethesda, Md.: 1997), pp. 399–416. His statement that “there can be little doubt that they [i.e., the en-en of *ARET* VII 150] were living people” (p. 406) is untenable today, after twenty years of classification and dating of the documents, not to mention prosopographic studies. He also claims that dingir PN, “the god of PN” (with dingir and PN appearing in two separate cases), cannot mean, all things considered, “the deified spirit of the departed,” but “the patron deity of PN.” For the latter interpretation, cf. “the god of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob,” as I suggested in *FUCUS. A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of A. Ehrman*, ed. Y.L. Arbeitman (Amsterdam–Philadelphia: 1988), pp. 103–12, and where I also quoted passages mentioning dingir a-mu, “the god of the father (of the king),” and dingir en, “the god of the king” (which could in fact favor my former interpretation). We face the same dilemma in the case of *il* PN in the Ugaritic document *KTU* 1.113. Notice that, in TM.75.G.570 = *ARET* IX 17, dingir is found in the same case as the PN: ^dSa-mi-ù, [^dBa-da-]mu, [^dEn-]àr-[da-]mu, ^dI-šar-ma-lik.

THE RULERS OF EBLA

TM.74.G.120	ARET VII 150 (dingir in the preceding case)	Other Sources (ARET IX: dingir in the preceding case)	
<i>Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu</i>	(26)		
[<i>Îr</i>]- <i>kab-[d]a-mu</i>	(25)	<i>Îr-kab-da-mu</i>	
[<i>Îg-ri-[i]iš-[h]a-lab_x</i>	(24)	<i>Îg-ri-iš-<ĥa->lab_x</i>	<i>Îg-ri-iš-ĥa-lab_x</i> ARET XI 2
[<i>A-d</i>] <i>ub-da-mu</i>	(23)	<i>A-đub-da-mu</i>	
[<i>Kùn</i>]- <i>da-mu</i>	(22)	<i>Kùn-da-mu</i>	
<i>I-šar-ma-lik</i>	(21)	<i>I-šar-ma-lik</i>	^d <i>I-šar-ma-lik</i> ARET IX 17 (22) ^a
<i>En-âr-da-mu</i>	(20)	<i>En-âr-da-mu</i>	[^d <i>En</i>]- <i>âr-[da-]mu</i> ARET IX 17 (21) ^b
<i>Ba-ga-da-mu</i>	(19)	<i>Ba-<ga->da-mu</i>	[^d <i>Ba-<ga->da</i>]- <i>mu</i> ARET IX 17 (20)
<i>I-bí-da-mu</i>	(18)	<i>I-bí-da-mu</i>	
<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	(17)	<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	
<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	(16)	<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	<i>A-bur-GIM</i> ARET XI 1
<i>Tal-da-li-im</i>	(15)	(en-en;	
<i>Îg-su-ud</i>	(14)	dingir-dingir-dingir	
<i>Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-ĥa-lab_x</i>	(13)	en-en	
<i>ʾT-si-du</i>	(12)	alg-tuš	
<i>Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	(11)	in <i>Da-ri-îb^{ki}</i>)	<i>Iš / Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i> ARET XI 1, 2
<i>I-bí-ni-li-im</i>	(10)		<i>I-bí-ni-li-im</i> ARET XI 1, 2
[<i>D</i>] <i>a-NE-n[u]</i> ²	(9)		
<i>Sa[-gi]-s[u]</i>	(8)		<i>Sa-gi-iš/su</i> ARET XI 1, 2
<i>Da[-x]-'x'</i>	(7)		
<i>Na-ma-nu</i>	(6)		
<i>En-ma-nu</i>	(5)		^ʾ <i>Ā-ma-na</i> ARET XI 1 ^c
<i>Zi-a-lu</i>	(4)		
[<i>Sa</i>]- <i>mi-ù</i>	(3)		^d <i>Sa-mi-ù</i> ARET IX 17 (13) ^d
<i>Aš-sa-nu</i>	(2)		
<i>KUL-ba-nu</i>	(1)		
<i>Îb-la</i>			
<i>Du-mu-dar</i>			
<i>Bir₅-bí-la-nu</i>			
<i>A-bù-gâr</i>			
<i>La-da-ù</i>			
<i>Š[u²]-'x'-[...]</i>			
<i>Sa-kùn-e</i>			

(a) dingir *I-šar-ma-lik* is also attested in the offering list TM.75.G.2598 obv. XIV 3–4 and in TM.75.G.1318 rev. II 6–7.

(b) dingir *En-âr-da-mu* is also attested in the offering lists TM.75.G.1764 obv. X 20–21; 2075 obv. VI 3–4; 2238 rev. I 8–9, see *OA* 18 (1979): 136, 150, 169; 2397 obv. VIII 22–23.

(c) dingir *EN-ma-nu* is also attested in the offering list TM.75.G.10167 obv. II 21–III 2; the cultic action takes place in *Û-du-ĥu-du^{ki}*, a place that is mentioned together with ^ʾ*Ā-ma-na* also in the ritual for the marriage of the royal couple, nos. 1 (40), 2 (43).

(d) dingir *Sa-mi-ù* is also attested in the offering lists TM.75.G.2397 obv. IX 5–6; 2403 obv. XI 22–23.

