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### NOTES BRÈVES

**26) Kings' ladies at Ebla's court** — The label 'dam en list' is used to refer to sections of several administrative tablets mentioning the female members of the Ebla royal family. These women appear in the documents along with other members of the court as the recipients of garments and/or precious objects. Three new, complete lists of dam en have been published since the last comprehensive study on the topic by Tonietti (1989), and several fragmentary lists appeared in Lahlou and Catagnoti (2006). In this note I shall offer an updated index of the dam en lists, providing a few general remarks which might facilitate access to this material to a non-specialist public.

The group of women mentioned in the dam en lists includes different female members of the royal family. While Sumerian differentiates between human and non-human, Eblaite and other Semitic languages have two grammatical genders. We thus translate the Sumerian term dam ("spouse") as "wife" or "(adult) woman" depending on the context. However, the scribes of the Archives used the label dam en rather inconsistently, at times including in this group women who had a different kin relationship with the king (Biga 1987). Three facts corroborate this statement. First, in some lists, such as R<sub>1</sub> (see Table 1) the scribes made a clear distinction between the king's wives, addressed as dam en (Ra'utum, Kiršūt, Ḫinna-Šamaš, Rapešum, Mašgašatu, Maqaratu, Tašma-Damu, Rapešum-II), his daughters who are called dumu-mi<sub>2</sub> en (Ma'ut, Šanī-Mari), as well as several other high ranking women. Second, as Samir (2019, 9) noticed, the ladies maintained their status upon the succession of a new king to the throne, which was also the case for other individuals related to the king (*i.e.* his sons and daughters). There is, thus, a generational stratification that is not clearly reflected in the administrative lexis. Since Eblaite scribes never mention the king's name in the administrative records, distinguishing between the wives of the living king, his predecessor's wives, and other female relatives may prove to be difficult. However, bearing in mind that the order in these lists did not experience great alterations, it is possible to observe how over the years various ladies appear and disappear from the lists. Third, documents concerning food allotment of the Small Archive L.2712 demonstrate how flexible this category was for the scribes, since among the dam en they list also the king's daughters-in-law (Milano 1990, 336 and n49). Therefore, king Yiṭgar-Damu's dam en mentioned in list D<sub>7</sub> are actually: his mother (Dusigu), his wife and queen (Tabūr-Damu), his sister (Tinīb-dūrum), his 'step-mothers' (Ra'utum, 'Aba-dādu, Ḫinna-Šamaš, Mašgašadu, Maqaratu, Rapešum-II), his actual wives (Tašma'-Damu, Ṭaba-'adu, Yišartu, Kiršūt, Maškut, Ḫišut, Tardud, Nūrut, Yidu-'ila, Šū-na'immatu), and other women such as his wet-nurse (Qišatu), and his maternal aunts (his mother's sisters).

Furthermore, the scribes of the Archives distinguished between at least four sub-groups of dam en: the dam en maḥ, the dam en tur, the dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> and the dam en GN. Checking D<sub>7</sub> against other dam en lists allows the following division: five dam en maḥ (Ra'utum, Ḥinna-Šamaš, Mašgašatu, Maqaratu, Tašma'-Damu), and six dam en tur (Ṭāba-'adu, Yišartu, Maškut, Ḥišut, Tardut, Šū-na'immatu). The dam en maḥ (list R<sub>5</sub>) were probably the eldest of the group, and in fact many among them are mentioned also in archaic documents (Pomponio 2008; 2013): on the contrary, the label dam en tur is most often adopted in the documents of the Small Archive L.2712 (all dated a few years before the destruction of the city; see 75.236 = *ARET IX 37*). It is not yet clear to me whether maḥ and tur indicate a difference in age, rank, or both: Bonechi (2018, 96) suggests that the dam en maḥ were “women of royal blood of first rank,” and the difference in food allotment pro capite suggests the presence of a hierarchy based on seniority. Moreover, dam en maḥ Ḥinna-Šamaš and Tašma'-Damu receive the same food allotment as the queen (two *KUBĀRUM* of barley, double the other ladies' allotment, in 75.537 = *ARET IX 44*). A further subdivision of this group is based on a geographical criterion. List D<sub>6</sub>, for example, differentiates between the group of ladies “those of (the) SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>” (dam en lu<sub>2</sub> SA.ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) and other women, some associated with GNs. It is still a puzzle how these ladies were related to the GNs, most of which were, by the way, important cultic centers (Tonietti 1989, 85-86; Milano 1990, 164, 336).

Since, as stated above, the order in which the dam en are mentioned is generally fixed and evolves through time, it is possible to observe the disappearance from the lists of some of the ladies as well as the inclusion of new ones: Tonietti (1989, 1990) was able to reconstruct a chronological sequence of thirty-three dam en lists attested in the documents of the Great Archive L.2769 cross-linking this data with the events mentioned in published documents. Biga (1987, 43-44), Archi et al. (1988, 255-259), and Mander (1988) were the first to publish the dam en lists. Using this material, Tonietti classified them according to the names of the women who appear on the top of each list: Kiršūt (K), Ra'utum (R), Tagmul-Damu (DA), Dusigu (M), and *MALIKTUM* (= Tabūr-Damu, M). Table 1 offers an updated index of all the known dam en lists, ordered according to Tonietti's chronology. All the lists contained in unpublished documents have been quoted by Tonietti in her study. To these we can add two new parallel Dusigu lists that were quoted by Archi (1996, 106): the documents have now been published in their entirety by Samir (2019). The lists are 75.1298 = *ARET XIX 3*, obv.V:2-VI:10, and 75.1318+ = *ARET XIX 5*, obv. XII:13-XIII:15: they are certainly to be dated prior to 75.1793 = DA<sub>1</sub>, since both mention Simin-kaspi, the king's daughter for whom a bridewealth is paid in 75.1793. She will thereafter leave Ebla to become the queen of Burman. Since lists D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>2</sub>, and D<sub>3</sub> might be dated to the same year (Tonietti 2010, 78n105), the new lists are probably close in time to D<sub>4</sub> and DA<sub>1</sub>. A third dam en list of the *MALIKTUM* series, 75.5368 = *ARET XII 909*, rev.IV':16'-V':10', has been published in Lahlou and Catagnoti (2006), along with fourteen new fragmentary lists.

**Lists attested in the Great Archive L.2769 (updated from Tonietti 1989)**

- K<sub>1</sub> 75.1321 = *ARET I 11* = *MEE 2 19*, rev.X:16-XI:5
- K<sub>2</sub> 75.1319 = *ARET XIX 6*, rev.I:15-II:8
- K<sub>3</sub> 75.1263 = *ARET XIX 2*, obv.V':7-15
- R<sub>1</sub> 75.1730 = *MEE 7 34*, rev.XIII:24-XIV:7
- R<sub>2</sub> 75.2417, rev.X:20-XI:12; extensively quoted in Biga and Capomacchia (2012), 27-30
- D<sub>1</sub> 75.10153, obv.IX:15-X:15
- D<sub>2</sub> 75.1885, obv.III:16-IV:16
- D<sub>3</sub> 75.3534 = *ARET III 469*, obv.VI:17-VII:9
- D<sub>4</sub> 75.3002+3006 = *ARET III 3*, obv.VII:1'-8'
- 75.1298 = *ARET XIX 3*, obv.V:2-VI:10
- 75.1318+ = *ARET XIX 5*, obv. XII:13-XIII:15
- DA<sub>1</sub> 75.1793, obv.VII:9-VIII:2
- DA<sub>2</sub> 75.3139 = *ARET III 119*, rev.IV:1'-9'
- D<sub>5</sub> 75.10150, obv.IX:10-XI:3
- D<sub>6</sub> 75.2527+, rev.I:24-III:9
- D<sub>7</sub> 75.1770 = *ARET XX 6*, obv.X:1-XII:2
- D<sub>8</sub> 75.1731 = *ARET XX 7* = *MEE 7 35*, rev.XIII:5-XIV:13
- 75.1860 = *MEE 10 20*, rev.VI:14-VII:2 (note that *Hi-su-ut* is wrongly omitted in *MEE 10 20*)
- M<sub>1</sub> 75.1868 = *ARET IV 22*, rev.VIII:10-X:7
- R<sub>3</sub> 75.1274 = *ARET I 13* = *MEE 2 7*, rev.XI':1-X':4

- M<sub>2</sub> 75.1890, rev.I:1-II:15  
 R<sub>4</sub> 75.1273 = *ARET* IV 5, obv.II:12-III:13  
 M<sub>3</sub> 75.1419, rev.X:17-XI:11  
 R<sub>5</sub> 75.2331 = *ARET* XX 19, rev.VII:11-17  
 M<sub>4</sub> 75.1894, rev.VI:20-VII:1  
 M<sub>5</sub> 75.3164 = *ARET* III 140 (+ 75.3168 = *ARET* III 144, see Tonietti 1990)  
 M<sub>6</sub> 75.2443 = *ARET* XX 15, rev.IX:12-X:4  
 M<sub>7</sub> 75.10170, rev.II:2-IV:2  
 M<sub>8</sub> 75.2328 = *ARET* XX 17, rev.IV:1-27  
 75.5368+ = *ARET* XII 909, rev.IV':16-V':10  
 M<sub>9</sub> 76.542 = *ARET* VIII 542 = *MEE* 5 22, rev.I:5-II:16  
 M<sub>10</sub> 76.525 = *ARET* VIII 525 = *MEE* 5 5, obv.IV:1-21  
 M<sub>11</sub> 76.527 = *ARET* VIII 527 = *MEE* 5 7, obv.VI:7-VII:5  
 M<sub>12</sub> 75.1876, rev.I:3-IV:2  
 76.533 = *ARET* VIII 533 = *MEE* 5 13, obv.VI:8-15

**Lists attested in the S(mall) A(rchive) L.2712 (Milano 1990, 141-142)**

- SA<sub>1</sub> 75.236 = *ARET* IX 37, obv.I:1-V:10  
 SA<sub>2</sub> 75.241 = *ARET* IX 38  
 SA<sub>3</sub> 75.444 = *ARET* IX 39  
 SA<sub>4</sub> 75.452 = *ARET* IX 40  
 SA<sub>5</sub> 75.455 = *ARET* IX 41, obv.I:1-III:3  
 SA<sub>6</sub> 75.537 = *ARET* IX 44

**F(ragmentary) L(ists) (updated from Tonietti 1989)**

- FL<sub>1</sub> 75.3051 = *ARET* III 40, obv.<sup>3</sup>II':1'-4' (*MALIKTUM* series, 3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>2</sub> 75.3184 = *ARET* III 158, obv.<sup>3</sup>II':2'-4' and obv.<sup>3</sup>III':2'-3' (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>3</sub> 75.3732 = *ARET* III 660 (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>4</sub> 75.3775 = *ARET* III 698, obv.<sup>3</sup>I':1'-4' (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>5</sub> 75.4093 = *ARET* III 971, obv.<sup>3</sup>V':2'-6' (4 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>6</sub> 75.4171 = *ARET* XII 59, obv.<sup>3</sup>I':4' (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>7</sub> 75.4274 = *ARET* XII 137, obv.<sup>3</sup>I':2'-7' (4 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>8</sub> 75.5101 = *ARET* XII 723, obv.<sup>3</sup>II':1'-4' (4 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>9</sub> 75.5241 = *ARET* XII 821, obv.<sup>3</sup>I':1'-5' (2 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>10</sub> 75.5251 = *ARET* XII 828 (6 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>11</sub> 75.5274 = *ARET* XII 845, obv.VI:1-VII:3 (5 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>12</sub> 75.5372 = *ARET* XII 912, obv.<sup>3</sup>II':1'-III':4' (13 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>13</sub> 75.5570 = *ARET* XII 1060, obv.<sup>3</sup>III':1'-3' (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>14</sub> 75.5856 = *ARET* XII 1262, obv.<sup>3</sup>IV':1'-5' (5 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>15</sub> 75.5847 = *ARET* XII 1253, rev.VIII':1'-4' (4 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>16</sub> 75.5848 = *ARET* XII 1254, obv.<sup>3</sup>III':1'-2' (2 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>17</sub> 75.5872 = *ARET* XII 1278, obv.<sup>3</sup>I':1'-3' (3 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>18</sub> 75.5901+5902 = *ARET* XII 1305, obv.<sup>3</sup>III':1'-5' (2 names preserved)  
 FL<sub>19</sub> 75.5920 = *ARET* XII 1321, obv.<sup>3</sup>III':1'-5' (5 names preserved)

Table 1 – Updated index of the dam en lists

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**27) Addenda et corrigenda to “Studies in Eblaite Prosopography:” the dumu-nita en** — The documents of the Great Archive L.2769 contain repeated references to the sons of the Eblaite kings (dumu-nita en) listed in groups: in most cases they are mentioned as the recipients of various goods delivered on particular occasions, such as the wedding between Tabūr-damu and Yitgar-damu ([75.1730 = M 7 34] and [75.2417], see Biga and Capomacchia 2012). Several lists of royal sons have been identified and collected by Alfonso Archi, Maria Giovanna Biga, and Lucio Milano (1988) as part of their detailed study on the members of the kings’ and viziers’ families at Ebla. Only recently newly published documents with hitherto unknown data have taken our understanding of kin relationships at the court of Palace G to a new level. In this note I intend to revise and update the data published in Archi, Biga, and Milano (1988, 222-232) concerning the dumu-nita en.

#### Royal sons: Individual mentions

Daggers (†) indicate corrections with respect to the 1988 publication. New evidence suggests that individuals marked with an asterisk (\*) might not belong to the group of royal sons. A superscript plus sign (+) marks new PNs not included in Archi, Biga, and Milano (1988). The abbreviation *EST* (*Ebla Scattered Texts*) refers to the digital edition of the tablets published on the *EbDA* database (Milano and Maiocchi 2011–).

*A-a-du-lum*: [75.1860 = M 10 20] rev.V:3; XII:27<sup>†</sup>.

\**A-bur-da-si-in*: he appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:19 (see below).

\**A-ḫu-ma-i<sub>3</sub>-lum*: he appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:18 (see below).

*Ar-wa*: [75.1731+75.2498 = A XX 7 = M 7 35] obv.V:5; [75.2240 = A XX 21] obv.VI:14. He also appears in [75.4161 = A XII 49] obv<sup>†</sup>II:2.

\**A-zi*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*.

\**Bu<sub>3</sub>-da-ma-lik*: see sub *Uš-ra-sa<sub>2</sub>-mu*.

\**Ru<sub>12</sub>(EN)-zi-da-mu*: [75.10219 = A XV 58] obv.XI:10. Based on the context I suggest that *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-mu* was a son of the king of *Mu-nu-ti-um<sup>ki</sup>*: see also [75.1361 = A XV 11] rev.II:8-11. Note, however, that one *Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-da-mu* was also son of the king of *Ma-nu-wa-ad<sup>ki</sup>* (see [75.3535 = A III 470] obv.II:9-11).

*GABA-da-mu*: [75.2331 = A XX 19] obv.XI:19. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:11.

*Tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>(GABA)-da-mu*: [75.1395 = A XV 15] obv.XI:10. He also appears in [75.1535 = A XV 26] obv.VIII:12.

*Ga-du-um*: [75.1680 = M 7 23] obv.IX:14; [75.1775 = M 7 48] obv.IV:10; [75.2328 = A XX 17] obv.VIII:3; [75.2331 = A XX 19] rev.IV:11; [75.2334 = A XX 25] obv.X:11; [75.2508 = M 12 37] obv.XII:18; [75.2452 = A VII 11] does not contain this PN.