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A mi hija Rita

I. INTRODUCTION

THE ancient site of Tell Atchana in the Turkish Hatay was excavated for seven seasons by Sir Leonard Woolley, from 1936 until 1949.¹ Although this site did not seem at first glance very promising in contributing new data to our knowledge of ancient Near Eastern civilization, documents written in Akkadian excavated in two levels of Atchana, namely, levels VII and IV, later proved to be interesting enough for choosing the site, at least in order to recover a partial history of the extreme northwestern part of Syria at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

The Atchana texts proved that in ancient times the town was called Alalakh, and since then they have become more and more important, especially for certain Assyriological fields such as West Semitic and Amorite studies and West Akkadian dialect studies, but also in connection with topics such as, for example, the problem of the first arrival of Hurrians in Syria or the role of their language in the West Semitic milieu among other subjects. One of the most interesting contributions of the Alalakh texts to Assyriological studies has been, however, the important data and references provided by their archaeology and the Akkadian archives and how they have clarified, or sometimes even complicated, the general and already long-discussed problem of chronology in the ancient Near East.²

The discussion continues, and many problems are no doubt yet to be resolved with respect not only to chronology, but also to other aspects of Alalakh studies, such as linguistics, history, hybridism, etc. (these topics generally fall into the category of *Alalakhiana* in Assyriology).

The city-state of Alalakh was founded (level XVII) during the Amorite domination of Syria, probably at the end of the nineteenth century B.C., as a part of the ancient kingdom of Yamhad, which was governed by a powerful Amorite dynasty established in Aleppo. The later kings of Amorite Alalakh (level VII, dated to ca. 1650 B.C.) belonged to the royal family of Aleppo.

¹ L. Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, no. 18 (London, 1955); idem, *A*

Forgotten Kingdom, Being a Record of the Results Obtained from the Excavations of Two Mounds, Atchana and Al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay, rev. ed. (1953; London, 1959). See also E. R. Meyers, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (New York, 1997), s.v. Alalakh.

² See the recent article by W. van Soldt, “Syrian Chronology in the Old and Early Middle Babylonian Periods,” *Akkadica* 119–20 (2000): 103–16.

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Since, with the exception of some texts from Ebla (Tell Mardikh), we still do not have Akkadian documents from Syria dated to the late Old Babylonian period, the archives from Alalakh VII are important for our understanding of conditions in Syria during the period ca. 1700–1650 B.C.

Some 175 texts recovered by Woolley in level VII of Atchana provide us with information for a period estimated to be roughly 75 years long about the population of the site, the royal family, high officials, the power of the palace and those working for this institution, as well as private and official economic activities; they also provide a number of very important geographical names, which probably can be placed in the area, and also give us information about the influence of the Hurrian language on the local Akkadian.

In recent Assyriological research, the Alalakh levels VII and IV texts are considered increasingly important for ancient Near Eastern studies, since the information they provide, which is frequently mixed with dialectal and non-Akkadian formulas and which can still be improved with new readings, is now shedding new light on problems frequently dealt with by scholars working Syrian Akkadian, Syrian Hurrian, and also Syrian history of the second millennium B.C. The archive needs to be updated not only for these specific fields, but for all those interested in Syrian and Mesopotamian history during the Bronze Age. Before a new edition of the Alalakh tablets appears, however, it seems appropriate to proceed first with accurate philological studies of these texts, in which possible new readings for certain passages and lines in different contexts may be independently discussed. The aim of the present article is to contribute to this objective.

II. COLLATIONS

My visit to the British Museum in September 1999³ allowed me to collate the Alalakh VII tablets,⁴ whereupon many readings already proposed by the editor of the texts⁵ and corrections later suggested by other scholars⁶ were confirmed. In a number of texts, however, new readings can now be proposed with brief comments. Translations have been offered as a result of discussion. In addition, a number of copies are provided.

The present material consists of administrative documents from different phases within the Alalakh VII archive.⁷ As in one of my recent articles⁸ I shall once again address the problems with the current versions of the tablets from a philological and epigraphical point of view. References to the publication of the texts up to 1987 were collected by R. S. Hess.⁹ To this, we should add the articles published by F. Zeeb in which thirty-two Alalakh VII tablets are reedited with commentaries.¹⁰

³ With the assistance of funds from the Vicerrectorado de Profesorado de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.

⁴ I am grateful to C. B. F. Walker for granting me permission to collate the Alalakh tablets in the Department of the Ancient Near East of the British Museum.

⁵ D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, no. 2 (London, 1953) (hereafter *Al. T.*); idem, "Supplementary Copies of Alalakh Tablets," *JCS* 8 (1954): 1–30.

⁶ A. Goetze, N. Na'aman, and F. Zeeb, among others.

⁷ For a new revision of the chronography of the Alalakh VII archive, see my article, "Alalakh VII Chronographica: Una revisión del archivo sobre la base de los textos de Yarim-Lim," *Aula Orientalis (AuOr)* 17–18 (1999–2000): 229–39; see also van Soldt, "Syrian Chronology," pp. 103–16.

⁸ See "Neue Kollationen und Anmerkungen zu einigen Alalakh VII-Texten," *Ugarit-Forschungen (UF)* 30 (1998): 587–601.

⁹ R. S. Hess, "A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts," *UF* 20 (1988) 69–87.

¹⁰ See F. Zeeb, "Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalakh I: Schuldscheine," *UF* 23 (1991):

*Al. T. *18 (BM 131455)*

Line 10: the reading: *šu-nu* MUŠEN.DÙ LU[GAL] proposed by N. Na'aman¹¹ (“they are the king’s fowler”) and by Zeeb: *šu-nu* MUŠEN.DÙ-<ú> *ša* LUGAL,¹² based on the information supplied by the envelope of the tablet, is confirmed instead of Eichler’s reading: [k]in MUŠEN.DÙ [],¹³ apparently based on Wiseman’s first copy.¹⁴ According to the envelope (ATT 39/184, 2+3:11), however, the restoration: *šu-nu* MUŠEN.DÙ *š[a* LUGAL], i.e., without -<ú> as a phonetic complement after DÙ, seems more likely.

*Al. T. *22 (BM 131457)*

Line 17: read PN: *Iš-me-e-ni*. The hitherto proposed readings for this personal name (Wiseman:¹⁵ *Iš-me-e-[da]*, Eichler:¹⁶ [*Iš-m*]e-ga, and Zeeb:¹⁷ *Ku-me-e*) should be abandoned. As Wiseman himself pointed out,¹⁸ the list of witnesses of this text parallels that of *Al. T. *21*: 16–18. On the basis of this reading, the sequence in *21: 17 can safely be restored as *Iš-me-e-[ni]*.¹⁹ This seems to represent a hybrid Amorite-Hurrian PN: *Išme=eni*, i.e., West Semitic preterite verbal form from ŠM^c “to hear”²⁰ plus Hurrian *eni*- “god”²¹ (“His/the god heard”).²² A West Semitic reading: *Iš-me-e-lí* (*Išme-Eli*) does not seem likely.

*Al. T. *33 (BM 131460)*

Line 7: for the reading of the two personal names, see Zeeb.²³

Line 11: read the second PN: *Ḫa-ru-ḫu!-ul-la*, instead of *Ḫa-ru-ḫa-ul-la*.²⁴

Line 13: read: *a-na* 1 ME 35 [DUG.KAŠ.LUGAL.ḪI.A],²⁵ “for 135 royal beer vessels.”

Line 19: instead of Zeeb’s reading: KÙ.BABBAR-*ap ba-al-ṭ[im-ma]*,²⁶ read: KÙ.BABBAR *ap-pa-al-l[i-im]*, in relation to the following line: *i-ip-pa-al*. Lines 17–20 should thus be translated: “One to each other will pay, as guarantors, the silver to be paid.” Standard Akkadian expressions with proclitic *ana* are well documented.²⁷ To my knowledge, however, this is the only attestation of this type of crasis in the Alalakh VII texts.

405–38; idem, “Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalakh II: Pfandurkunden,” *UF* 24 (1992): 447–80; idem, “Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalakh III: Schuldabtretungsurkunden,” *UF* 25 (1993): 461–72.

¹¹ N. Na’aman, “The Chronology of Alalakh Level VII Once Again,” *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979): 111.

¹² Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh II,” p. 452.

¹³ B. L. Eichler, *Indenture at Nuzi: The Personal tidennūtu Contract and Its Mesopotamian Analogues* (New Haven, 1973), p. 66.

¹⁴ *Al. T.*, pl. 9. For a complete edition of the text, see Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh II,” pp. 452–55 (hand-copy, p. 477).

¹⁵ *Al. T.*, p. 41.

¹⁶ *Indenture at Nuzi*, p. 68, apparently based on Wiseman’s copy (*Al. T.*, pl. 9).

¹⁷ Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh II,” pp. 461–62.

¹⁸ *Al. T.*, p. 41.

¹⁹ Instead of *Iš-me-e-[da]* or *Iš-me-e-[ga]* (see again

Al. T., p. 41 and Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh II,” p. 458). (Eichler, *Indenture at Nuzi*, p. 67).

²⁰ See I. J. Gelb et al., *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*, AS 21 (Chicago, 1980), pp. 32b, 114–15 (hereafter CAAA).

²¹ E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris, 1980), pp. 80–82 (hereafter GLH).

²² I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP 62 (Chicago, 1943), p. 210 (hereafter NPN).

²³ Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh I,” p. 414.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ I follow M. Tsevat, “Alalakhiana,” *HUCA* 29 (1958): 116; see also Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh I,” pp. 414 and 417.

²⁶ Zeeb, “Studien Alalakh I,” pp. 415 and 418.

²⁷ See especially W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Analecta Orientalia 33 (Rome, 1952), §114d (hereafter GAG).

FIG. 1.—*Al. T. *33* (BM 131460): 19

Line 24: read PN: Ew-ru-uz-zi, Hurrian Ewr=uzzi, probably meaning “Worthy of the lord/king.”²⁸

Line 25: besides LÚ.KUŠ₇ “the servant,”²⁹ a reading LÚ.SANGA, “the priest,” after the PN Sapsi-Adu seems also likely.

Line 26: instead of Zeeb’s reading: *Tah-šu-na-a-da*, read this PN:³⁰ *Bí!-na-A-da*, “Son of Adu.”³¹

Line 29: instead of Zeeb’s reading: ù URU *Na-as-tar-bi*,³² I propose to restore this line: [*iš-tu*] URU *Na-as-tar-bé*.

Line 30: read: [*i?*]-*it-tu-ru*, from Akkadian *târum*,³³ instead of *ik-ki-ru*, proposed by Na’aman and accepted by Gaál and Zeeb (the latter translates: “Naštarbi verfeindete sich”).³⁴ It probably refers to “the year in which Ir-Kabtum, the king, came back from the city of Naštarbe.”

*Al. T. *43* (BM 131465)

Line 5: as opposed to the readings suggested by Wiseman³⁵ and Zeeb,³⁶ the reading proposed by Eichler, *a-na ma-az-za-za-nim-[m]a* “also for pledge/security,” is confirmed. The enclitic particle *-ma* at the end of the line certainly emphasizes a strict comparison force with the earlier quoted pledge in lines 1–3.

Line 6: the most convincing reading was already suggested by Zeeb;³⁷ those of Wiseman and Eichler should be rejected.

Lines 9–10: I agree with Zeeb’s reading;³⁸ those by Wiseman and Eichler should likewise be rejected. Zeeb’s interpretation³⁹ of the PN Immer-ḥunna, however, seems highly doubtful. In any case, it seems to be a PN rather than a West Semitic word, in view of the absence of a genitive after the preposition *eli* (UGU) and of the *status absolutus Immer*. For

²⁸ See the Mittanni Letter (hereafter ML), III, 43: sēn=iww=ūzzi; see -uzzi, *NPN*, p. 279b; I. Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 49 f.

²⁹ Zeeb, “Studien Alalah I,” p. 415.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See R. S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1993), pp. 58–60; see also my article “Consideraciones sobre el hibridismo hurro-semítico en Alalah VII,” *Veleia* 16 (1999): 25.

³² Zeeb, “Studien Alalah I,” p. 415. The reading [MU.US].SA URU . . . proposed by Na’aman, “The Chronology of Alalah Level VII Once Again,” p. 107, n. 17, and accepted by E. Gaál, in “On the Chronology of Alalah Level VII,” *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio Historica* (AUSB) 22 (1982): 13, also seems quite

unlikely.

³³ See G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah* (The Hague and Paris, 1970), p. 108, as a Gt form (hereafter AA). See *AHW.*, pp. 1332–33.

³⁴ Na’aman, “The Chronology of Alalah Level VII Once Again,” p. 107, n. 17; Gaál, “On the Chronology of Alalah Level VII,” p. 13, and idem, “State and Private Sectors in Alalah VII,” *Acta Antiqua* (Budapest, 1982–84): 27. On the other hand, the earlier interpretation in which LUGALE means “to become king” in the Alalah VII documents should be rejected.

³⁵ *a-na ma-az-za-za-tim*; *Al. T.*, p. 45.

³⁶ *a-na ma-az-za-za-nim*; Zeeb, “Studien Alalah I,” p. 428.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 429.

the second West Semitic element *ḥunna*,⁴⁰ see *AHw.*, p. 356a.⁴¹ Although there is no convincing etymology for this PN, the idea of “Auspicious (sacrificial) sheep” is certainly involved in the meaning.

Line 12: the reading of this PN is complicated. Based on the hand-copy of this tablet in the Ugarit-Forschung Institute in Münster, Zeeb’s interpretation, DUMU<-šu> *El-ki-iz-ḥi*, does not accurately fit the remaining traces.⁴² Although the defective reading DUMU<-šu> at the beginning cannot be excluded, an alternative: DUMU *Ik-ki-is-ḥe*, “son of Ikki=šhe,” can be suggested.⁴³

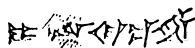


FIG. 2.—*Al. T. *43* (BM 131465): 12

Lines 14’–15’: the earlier readings and interpretation suggested by both Eichler and Zeeb should, in my opinion, also be rejected in favor of:

14’: 1 ME GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *itti* (KI) PA ZÍZ

15’: *a-na* ^f*Su!-mu-un-a?-bi!*

“One hundred shekels of silver against *parisu* of emmer (are) for Sumun(a)bi.”



FIG. 3.—*Al. T. *43* (BM 131465): 15

*Al. T. *55* (BM 131471)

Line 10: instead of Gaál’s reading: *i-il-ku-ú*,⁴⁴ the alternative: *i-il-lak-ú*⁴⁵ seems justified; *i-il-lik!-ú*, however, became clear after repeated collations of the line. It seems that there are no horizontal wedges at the upper part of the third sign that might justify the reading *lak*.



FIG. 4.—*Al. T. *55* (BM 131471): 10

⁴⁰ A. E. Draffkorn, “Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-linguistic Analysis” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1959), p. 173, considered it to be Hurrian (see *NPN*, p. 63a); the relative arguments about *ḥunna* suggested by Eichler (*Indenture at Nuzi*, p. 65) do not, however, observe the morphosyntax of the passage.

⁴¹ See Ugaritic *hnn* “to be gracious/merciful,” “to favor” and Amorite *ḤNN*, *CAAA*, p. 20a; any relation to the Middle Euphrates PN *A-ḥu-un-na* (“Aḥu-na,” in D. Arnaud, “Tablettes de genres divers du Moyen-Euphrate,” *Studi Micenci ed Egeo-Anatolici* (SMEA) 30 [1992]: 217, text 12: 23, pp. 217 f. [the reading *mā*

(A)-*ḥunna* “Auspicious/merciful water” would also seem likely]) remains unclear.

⁴² Zeeb, “Studien Alalah I,” p. 429.

⁴³ The reading *Ik-ki-is-ḥe(-a)* for this name seems unlikely. For a possible A sign at the end of the sequence, however, see my hand-copy. For *ikki* in Hurrian personal names, see *NPN*, p. 219b.

⁴⁴ E. Gaál, “The *eperum* in Alalah,” *AUSB* 17 (1976): 4.

⁴⁵ *CAD*, vol. D, p. 141a; rather than *i-il-qú-ú* (B. Kienast, “Die albabylonischen Kaufurkunden aus Alalah,” *WO* 11 [1980]: 54; see also *CAD*, vol. I/J, p. 74b); *AHw.*, p. 371a: *ilku alākum*.

On the other hand, the analysis and translation of lines 6–10 still poses problems. The transliteration in *CAD*, vol. D, p. 141a, followed by Giacomakis and Gaál:⁴⁶ *il-kam ù di-ku-tam* for line 7, should be rejected in favor of that for lines 7–8 proposed in *CAD*, vol. I/J, pp. 74b–75a, and followed by Kienast:⁴⁷ *ša il-kam ù di-ku-ut* ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.SUKUR ZABAR. Both *CAD*, vol. I/J, pp. 74b–75a, and Kienast, however, assume the existence of two coordinated sentences by restoring <la i-šu-ú> at the end of line 8, thus supposing two subjects with two verbs in the passage. Thus *CAD*, vol. I/J, p. 75a: “exempted *territories* which are not subject in *i(lku)*-duty and to the right to levy exercised by the soldiers (carrying) bronze lances and (from which) the *king* has not exacted the *pabinnu* dues.”⁴⁸

This interpretation, however, runs into syntactical and morphological problems. First, the assumed verbal form *i-il-qú-ú* in line 10 as the predicate of *šarru* is clearly plural (a conditional force in *-ū* for a singular subject cannot fit the context here), and it contains the prefix *i-* of *primae infirmae* verbal roots.⁴⁹ Moreover, a subjunctive should be preceded by the particle *ša* in a relative clause, not in an eventual second coordinated sentence, which, if that were the case, would have been preceded by the conjunction *u*. Second, the restoration <la i-šu-ú> at the end of line 8 alters the syntax of the passage.

On the other hand, the expression *šarru pabinni* in lines 9 and 13 continues to be unclear.⁵⁰ In line 13 it appears to be connected with the verb *uwārušu* (Akkadian *wārum* in the D stem), from which *CAD*, vol. I/J, p. 75a, and Kienast interpret *šarru* (king) as the subject: “the king does dispatch⁵¹ the (collector of) *pabinnu* dues” // (Kienast) “und (wo) der König die *pabinnu*-Steuer erhebt hat.” If this interpretation were correct, *šarru* would theoretically refer to the king of Aleppo, since the text mentions Ammitakum, the governor of Alalakh, as buyer of the cities (16–17: Ammitakum LÚ Alalah^{ki}). Since, however, the verbs in lines 10 and 14, *illiku* and *uwārušu*, show a 3d masc. plural form (a singular form with a subjunctive does not fit the sense here), we should perhaps prefer a plural subject in close connection with *išū* in line 12: “the territories of Taradi, which have *illku*-service and corvée work by summons.”

After collation, *55:6–14 runs as follows.

6. *e-pé-ri za-ku-tim*
7. *ša il-kam ù di-ku-ut*
8. ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.SUKUR ZABAR
9. *ù šar-ru ba-bi-in-ni*
10. *la i-il-lik-ú*
11. *ù e-pé-ri ša URU Ta-ra-di^{ki}*
12. *ša il-kam ù di-ku-tam i-šu-ú*
13. *ù šar-ru ba-bi-in-ni*
14. *ú-wa-a-ru-šu*

⁴⁶ Giacomakis, AA, p. 71; Gaál, “The *eperum* in Alalah,” p. 4.

⁴⁷ Kienast, “Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden,” p. 54.

⁴⁸ Ibid.: “lastenfrie *Liegenschaften*, die Lehenspflicht und Dienstpflicht für Soldaten mit Bronze-Lanzen nicht haben und (wo) der *König* die *pabinnu*-Steuer nicht erhebt.”

⁴⁹ Cf. Giacomakis, AA, p. 65, s.v. *alākum*, and p. 85,

s.v. *leqû*.

⁵⁰ See Draffkorn, “Hurrians and Hurrian,” pp. 202 f.; I do not agree with the interpretation recently suggested by J.-M. Durand in *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum*, Florilegium Marianum, vol. 7, Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 8 (Paris, 2002), pp. 92–93.

⁵¹ Both *CAD*, vol. I/J, p. 75a, and Giacomakis, AA, p. 111, interpret *uwārušu* as a form of Akkadian *warû* in the D-stem, but this is clearly wrong.

The passage surely contains two coordinated sentences in which only *eperi* works as the subject. Consequently, if *šarru* is not the subject, it looks as if it could only be a direct object. With this interpretation, the following translation may be suggested:

(1) “exempted territories that do not perform the *ilku*-service and corvée work by summons of soldiers with bronze lances and the *šarru babinni*, and (2) the territories of the city of Taradi, which have *ilku*-service and corvée work by summons and send⁵² the *šarru babinni*.”⁵³

This interpretation would fit the syntax of the passage but leaves open the translation of the rather obscure syntagma *šarru babinni*. In the Akkadian *status constructus* plural endings are normally maintained in the first element. This would make *šarru* a plural term connected to *babinni* (genitive), i.e., “they send the *šarrus* of the *babinni*.” Since, however, the verb *ú-wa-a-ru-šu* “they send it” has the 3d masc. sing. pronominal suffix *-šu*, it must be interpreted as a singular object: “the *šarru* of the *babinni*.” Thus if *šarru* does not correspond in this case to (Akkadian) “king,” we would then consider the use of a non-Semitic term. The Hurrian verbal root *šār-* means in fact “to desire,” “to ask,” “to demand” in the Mittanni Letter and in Hurrian names,⁵⁴ among other sources,⁵⁵ and this meaning would actually fit the context here: “to send the demand/claim of the *babinni*.”

*babinni/pabinni*⁵⁶ also appears to be a Hurrian word, since it was documented the Hurrian dialectal form *pa-ab-be-en-na* “mountain(s)” in the neighboring Kizzuwatnian lists *KUB* 20, 95; 27, 48+ and *KBo* 15, 52 ff., etc.⁵⁷ The term in our text might also be read: *pá-bé-en₆-né* as a new western connection. A connection between this West Hurrian (Kizzuwatna-Alalakh) *pabenne* and Hurrian *paban-*, *pabni-* “mountain”⁵⁸ would then seem likely, for which perhaps any “demand of the mountain” or a kind of tax for using montanous areas (pasture?) by these cities could be involved here. If this is correct, the syntagma *šarru babinni* would represent new evidence of a Hurrianism in the Alalakh VII texts.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Akkadian *zakûtum* “exemption” seems to apply to different official land services: the *ilku*-service, the corvée work by summons of soldiers (*dikûtum*), and theoretically, the *šarru pabenne*.

Line 24: the present sequence has been read as *NA₄ ma-qí-it-tum* and has hence been interpreted in a rather forced way.⁵⁹ This reading was followed by Giacumakis, who derives *maqittu* from *maqâtum* “to fall, cast down” by reading *aban maqittum*.⁶⁰ This interpretation

⁵² *AHw.*, p. 1472 6.

⁵³ Although I agree with Gaál’s general interpretation of the passage (see “The *eperum* in Alalah,” pp. 4–5), I cannot agree with his translation.

⁵⁴ See H. Freydank and M. Salvini, “Zu den hurritischen Personennamen aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta,” *SMEA* 24 (1984): 47. See in the Mitanni Letter: *šār=uš-a* (ML III, 1), *šār=uš=im[pušš]=uḫḫ=a* (III, 86), *šār=uš=āu* (III, 91), *šār=uš=inne* (IV, 79), *z/sar=u=a=mā=(l)la=an* (IV, 105 (?), *šār=uš=impušše* (IV, 108) (?), *šār=ill=ett=a* (IV, 116), *šār=ill=ēt=a* (IV, 124).

⁵⁵ See also from Ugarit: *šar=it=iḫe* (Hurrian-Sumerian Vocabulary, 2:5; see F. W. Bush, “A Grammar of the Hurrian Language” [Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1964], p. 295, n. 41); from Boğazköy: *apše šēri šār=i x []* (*KUB* 32 52 = *ChS* I/9 74 Rs. [?] III:

13); J. Catsanicos, “L’apport de la bilingue de Hattuša à la lexicologie hurrite,” in J.-M. Durand, ed., *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux*, Amurru 1 (Paris, 1996), p. 281; B. André-Salvini and M. Salvini, in D. I. Owen and G. Wilhelm, eds., *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/2*, SCCNH, vol. 9 (Bethesda, Maryland, 1998), p. 10, “the snake who longs for the night.”

⁵⁶ Giacumakis, *AA*, p. 92, suggested interpreting *pabinnu* as a “type of dues or royal service.”

⁵⁷ See Laroche, *GHL*, p. 190.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 190 f.

⁵⁹ *CAD*, vol. I/J, pp. 74b–75a.

⁶⁰ *AA*, pp. 64 and 87. Giacumakis does not offer a translation.

was also followed by Kienast,⁶¹ but neither has explained *maqittum* satisfactorily in this passage.⁶² Instead, I propose reading line 24: *abnu(NA₄)-ma ki-it-tum*, since *abnu kittum* is attested in Akkadian.⁶³ It seems to represent a synecdoche in the sense of *aban kittim* “the correct weight.”⁶⁴ The passage demands an adjective or an adverbial expression. If the reading *abnu(NA₄)-ma ki-it-tum* is correct, the second term seems to function as an apposition of *abnu(NA₄)-ma*, while the enclitic particle *-ma* emphasizes the nominal force of the whole expression. Thus, the entire passage (lines 20–25) could be understood as follows:

šum-ma il-kum ù di-<ku->tum (or: *ki?-tum*)⁶⁵
i-na URU A-ge-e^{ki}
ib-ba-aš-ši
NA₄-ma ki-it-tum
UGU Su-mi-A-du



FIG. 5.—Al. T. *55 (BM 131471): 24

“If there exists *ilku*-service and corvée work by summons (or: normal state) in Age and Igandan, ‘(it is) correct weight’ (i.e., ‘legal/fair obligation’) against Sumi-Adu.”

Since Sumi-Adu is in fact the seller of these villages (cf. *55:15), this solution seems reasonable.⁶⁶

Al. T. *60 (BM 131473)

This text was first published by Wiseman, who provided only a hand-copy.⁶⁷ Kienast proposed an almost complete transliteration and translation of the text⁶⁸ apparently based on Wiseman’s copy and on some improvements suggested by O. Loretz. This version, however, should be partially modified in the following lines.

Line 4: instead of PN: *Ja-qar*, read: *Ia-am!* DUMU *Da-ad-mi-LUGAL*. Yam is a well-known deity in the West Semitic milieu.⁶⁹ Dadmi-LUGAL probably represents a hybrid PN,⁷⁰ since Dadmi is attested as the “Hurrian” divine name Dadmi(š)⁷¹ in the pantheon lists of Ugarit,⁷²

⁶¹ Kienast, “Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden,” p. 54: “(fällt) das Los”; *ibid.*, p. 55: “In jedem Fall steht dahinter die Auslösung von Lebens- und Dienstpflichten mit Hilfe von Lossteinen.”

⁶² CAD, vol. M/1, p. 251b, recognizes only Akkadian *maqittum* “dilapidation, disrepair” in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources, which is out of our context.

⁶³ AHw., p. 495a 8c.

⁶⁴ CAD, vol. K, p. 471b.

⁶⁵ Here it is difficult to decide whether one should follow E. A. Speiser (see “The Alalakh Tablets,” *JAOS* 74 [1954]: 24a) and read *kit-tum* (at any rate, *ki!-tum*), disregarding a possible error for *dikutum* (cf. lines 7 and 12).

⁶⁶ This confirms Speiser’s accurate comments on this passage (*ibid.*).

⁶⁷ Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 17, with a short commentary on p. 49.

⁶⁸ Kienast, “Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden,” p. 59; see also Hess, “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,” p. 76.

⁶⁹ See A. Malamat, “Das heilige Meer,” in I. Kott-

sieper, J. van Oorschot, D. Römheld, and H. M. Whal, eds., “*Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern?*” *Studien zur Theologie und Religionsgeschichte Israels für O. Kaiser zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 65–74, especially pp. 70 ff. On names, see, for example, Abi-Yam; see A. F. Rainey, “Taanach Letters,” in *Frank Moore Cross Volume*, Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies, vol. 26 (Jerusalem, 1999), p. 158.

⁷⁰ Kienast, “Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden,” p. 59, interpreted LUGAL as “Eigentümer.”

⁷¹ According to W. F. Albright, *Yahveh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990), p. 144; see, however, Laroche, *GLH*, p. 70: “divinité syrienne d’origine inconnue.”

⁷² The Akkadian version R.S.20.24: 27 (= *Ugaritica*, vol. 5, text 18, pp. 42 ff.) and the Ugaritic lists *KTU* 1.118, 1.47, and 1.148; see G. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit: Estudio textual*, *AuOr Supplementa* 3 (Sabadell, Spain, 1992), p. 55; see also *KTU* 1.42; *idem*, *La religión cananea*, p. 65.

and LUGAL should be read as Akkadian *šarru/i*. This explains the haplographic writing (sandhi) Dadmi(š)-šarri.

Line 8: [G]IŠ.ÉRIN *Bé-en-tám-mu-šu-né-e*



FIG. 6.—Al. T. *60 (BM 131473): 8

Line 10: []-a?-mi-ia pa-ru-lu

Line 11: []¹Ir-pa-A-du []



FIG. 7.—Al. T. *60 (BM 131473): 10–11

Gaál has proposed reading UGULA at the beginning of line 8. This cannot be excluded, since we could restore as follows [IGI UGU]LA ÉRIN *Bé-en-tám-mu-šu-né-e* “witnessed by the overseer of the troops, PN, who offered fine oil in sacrifice.”⁷³ After collation, however, the sign PA/UGULA does not seem recognizable (see copy). Rather, it would appear to be a partially preserved [G]IŠ sign in [G]IŠ.ÉRIN, Akkadian *gišrinnu* “balance (for weighing),”⁷⁴ closely connected to the immediately preceding formula: *ana šim gamer išām*, perhaps referring to the ritual act performed with fine oil in the following line (9). Thus, although the sense remains unclear, the reading [G]IŠ would point out that some action involving a scale and fine oil has taken place in order to ratify the contract of sale.⁷⁵

The beginning of the reverse is seriously damaged, and only traces of names can be recognized. Although Kienast considered this part of the tablet “unleserlich,” the following six new personal names can in fact be added to the list of witnesses.



FIG. 8.—Al. T. *60 (BM 131473): 14–17

[] *Ab-di-Ma-lik*

15. []^d*Da?-ka*

IGI *A-zu-bu* IGI *Bé-en-tám?-mu*

⁷³ E. Gaál, “The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.,” *AUSB* 13 (1972): 289.

⁷⁴ *CAD*, vol. G, p. 107a.

⁷⁵ See I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, and R. M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*, OIP 104 (Chicago, 1991), pp. 241–42.

IGI *Wa-an-di* IGI *Aš-ta-bi*-LUGAL

Line 20: read perhaps the first PN: *In-nu-du-ga*.

Line 21: PN: *Wa-an-di-ia-mu*! (clear) at the end of the line.

Line 22: read the first PN: *Eḫ!-li-A-du*.

Line 24: read the first PN: *A-tar-ku!-bi-a*.



FIG. 9.—*Al. T. *60* (BM 131473): 24

Line 25: read this PN <*Wa*>-*an-di-išTÁR* (U.DAR) instead of *An-di-el* (according to Kienast).

*Al. T. *61* (BM 131474)

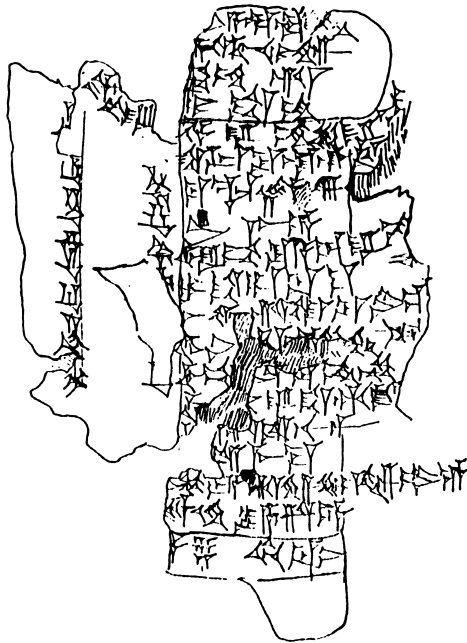


FIG. 10.—*Al. T. *61* Envelope (BM 131474A)

Line 23': read PN: *A-ri-iš-nu!-bar* (according to the same PN on the envelope, line 15).

Line 24': Kienast's version,⁷⁶ apparently based on Wiseman's copy (*Al. T.*, pl. 17), should be understood only as a possible *defective* restoration, since only traces of two signs are recognizable at the end of the line: []-*ši-na*.

The rest (line 25) preserves only very faint traces. Wiseman offered a cuneiform restoration at the end of his copy, surely based on the well-preserved envelope of *61, and this

⁷⁶ Kienast, "Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden," p. 60.

led Kienast to take it as the preserved text.⁷⁷ What Wiseman in fact reproduces in *Al. T.*, pl. 17, however, is not written on the tablet (see *Al. T.*, p. 49). Since, to my knowledge,⁷⁸ the envelope of *61 (BM 131474A)⁷⁹ is still unpublished, I offer here a hand-copy (see fig. 10) with transliteration and translation. This document runs as follows.

LÚ *A-la-la-aḥ*
a-na ši-mi-im
ga-am-ri
i-ša-am
u₄-ra-am še-ra-am
ša ib-ba-la-ak-ka-[tu₄]
ma-al KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 Ì.LÁ.E
 ù *pí-šu a-ba-ra-am*
i-ša-ap-pá-ku
 IGI *Ew-ri-ki-ba* LÚ.SANGA
 IGI *Ni-iq-me-pu-uḥ*
 IGI *Ta-[a]l-ma-am-mu*
 IGI [L]Ú.SANGA *ša IŠTÁR* (U.DAR)
 [IG]I *A-ri-iš-nu-bar*
 [IG]I *Iš-me-da?*
 MU *Ia-ri-im-li-im* LUGAL.E
 ITU *Ḫi-ia-re-e*
 [U₄].8.KAM BA.ZAL

Left edge:

[NA₄.KISIB] LÚ.SANGA
 NA₄.KISIB *Ew-ri-[ki-b]a*
 (seal impression)
 [NA₄.KIS]IB *Ta-al-ma-am-mu*
 (seal impression)

(1) “The governor of Alalakh (4) bought (2–3) at its full price. (5) In the future, (6) he who acts against the agreement (8) shall weigh out (7) the total of silver and gold, (9–10) and they shall pour lead <into> his mouth.” Six witnesses follow. (17) “Year of Yarim-Lim, the king. (18–19) Eight days of the month Ḫiare had passed.” Three seal impressions of “the priest, Ewri=kiba and Talma=ammu.”

Al. T. *79 (BM 131481)

This text has long remained without a complete transliteration, since Wiseman offered only a partial translation and a hand-copy in *Al. T.*, p. 52, pl. 21.⁸⁰ A transliteration of lines 1–13 was presented by Gaál,⁸¹ whereas Na’aman later proposed a transliteration of lines 10–27.⁸² I cannot, however, confirm his restoration from line 14 on, for which a complete transliteration of the tablet now seems justified.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Hess, “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,” p. 76.

⁷⁹ For the restoration of some lines of *61 based on this envelope, see Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 49; see also D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT, vol. 27 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-

Vluyn, 1975), p. 47, n. 1.

⁸⁰ Hess, “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,” pp. 71 and 77.

⁸¹ E. Gaál, “The State Sector as the Guarantee of the Territorial Integrity,” *Oikumene* 1 (1976): 45.

⁸² Na’aman, “The Chronology of Alalakh Level VII Once Again,” p. 110.

Obv.

1. *a-na pu-ul^h URU Ad-ra-te^{ki}*
URU Ia-šu-ul^{ki}
pa-ṭa-šu ga-am-ra-am
a-na Am-mi-ta-kum-ma
5. *LÚ A-la-la-aḥ^{ki}*
a-na ši-im ga-me-er id-di-in
I¹Am-mi-ta-kum-ma
URU Ia-šu-ul^{ki}
a-na KÙ.BABBAR-im ú-ul i-na-ad-[di-in]
10. *šum-ma URU Ia-šu-ul^{ki}*
a-na KÙ.BABBAR-im i-na-ad-di-in
LUGAL Ia-ri-im-li-im
i-ša-a-al-ma
[i-na šà]-šu ṭa-a-ab
[URU Ia-šu-ul^{ki}] i-ša!-am
[]

Rev.

- []-šu*
[a-na] šar-r[i] i-qa-ab-bu-šum
a-lam i-na-ad-di-in
20. *a-na šar-ri la iq-bu-šum*
a-lam ú-ul i-na-ad-di-in
šum-ma ba-lum šar-ri-im
URU [I]a-šu-ul^{ki}
a-na KÙ.BABBAR-im i-na-ad-di-in-šu!
25. *a-lam šar-ri i-tab-ba-al*
ù URU Ia-šu-NU SAG.DU KÙ.BAB[BAR]
i-na K[Ù.BABBA]R-šu i-te-el-li
IGI šar-ra-AN
IGI La-ḥi-ša-du-uq
30. *IGI ^dIr-ra-i-mi-it-ti*
IGI Ì-li-e-pa
IGI A-mu-?-AN

The text is seriously damaged from line 14 on, especially on the left side, and it is consequently difficult to restore until line 17.

Line 13: Gaál's reading *i-ša-al-um*, certainly based on Wiseman's copy (*Al. T.*, pl. 21), should definitely be rejected.

Line 14: for this formula in Alalakh VII, see *98d;⁸³ Na'aman's note, based on texts from Mari, cannot be valid here.

Line 18: instead of *šar-rum* (Na'aman), the text clearly shows *šar-ri* (also in lines 20 and 25). It seems that the scribe does not differentiate between nominative and genitive forms, perhaps because he was influenced by Hurrian.

Lines 25–27: following suggestions by Gurney, and probably based on Wiseman's inaccurate hand-copy of these lines, Na'aman's reading and interpretation of this passage should be partially modified. The following complete translation can be proposed.

(1) "In exchange for the city of Adrate, (2) the city of Yashul, (3) (with) all its surrounding territory (is), (4) for Ammitakum, (5) the governor of Alalakh. (6) He bought (it) at its full price. (7) Ammitakum (9) will not sell (8) the city of Yashul. (10–11) If he sells the city of Yashul, (12–13) he will ask (first) king Yarim-Lim and (14–15) [if] it is good [to his heart], he (the king) will buy [the city of Yashul] (two lines broken). (18–19) He informs the king, (then) he will sell the city. (20–21) (But if) he did not inform the king, (then) he will not sell the city. (22–24) If he sells the city of Yashul without (telling) the king, (25) the king shall take away the city (26) and the city of Yashul, the principal of silver (27) he will forfeit his silver." Five witnesses follow.

*Al. T. *98a (BM 131490)*

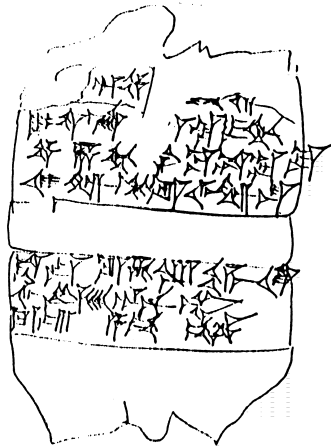


FIG. 11.—*Al. T. *98a (BM 131490)*

Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 56, offered a transliteration of this partially preserved text with a hand-copy.⁸³ Since line 4' was not included in his transliteration, and he did not separate line 6 from line 7, his version should be emended as follows.

Obv. (first lines broken)

1'. [] ^dUTU-^dISKUR
i-na ITU *Ba-la-i-ih*
 U₄.6.KAM *qaq-qú-du-um-ma*
mi-im-mu-su ši-im-šu
 (lower line uninscribed)

⁸³ See my article "A Forgotten Text from Alalakh VII," *JCS* 52 (2000): 65, n. 36.

⁸⁴ See D. J. Wiseman, "Supplementary Copies,"

p. 8, and Hess, "A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts," p. 77.

Rev.

5'. *ša URU Zu-ḥa-ru-we*^{ki}
 IGI LÚ.MEŠ *an-nu-tim*
lu-ú a-pí-il

Line 3': the emphatic particle *-ma* affixed to *qaqqudum* (clearly to be understood as a dialectal form of Akkadian *qaqqadu*; see *CAD*, vol. Q, p. 109b; *AHW*, p. 900a, l. 9) would perhaps justify the translation: "entire principal" or "property."

Line 4': it is interesting to note the alternation of the 3d masc. possessive pronominal suffix *-su* and *-šu*, which once again would show inconsistency in Alalakh Akkadian. The reason for this distinction, however, might be that the second *-šu* would not actually refer to Samsi-Addu, but rather to *qaqqudum* and *mimmu* in a retaining collective subject *šim* (*status absolutus*), which seems to be supported by agreement with the stative *apil* in line 7'.⁸⁵ Thus, the text may be translated as follows:

"(For?) Samsi-Addu, in the month of Baliḥ the sixth, the entire principal, his possessions, its price⁸⁶ of the city of Zuḥaruwe is indeed paid in the presence of these witnesses."

Instead of *šim-šu* as "price" or "value" serving as the real subject, it could also be translated: "his goods" (i.e., of Samsi-Addu [*CAD*, vol. Š/3, p. 20b]), since "of the city of Zuḥaruwe" follows in apposition. This solution does not seem, however, very probable.

*Al. T. *98 (BM 131491)*

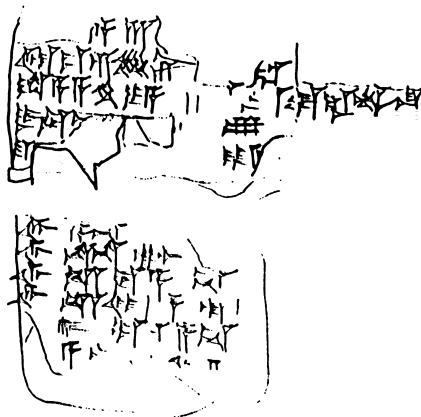


FIG. 12.—*Al. T. *98b (BM 131491)*

This text was catalogued by Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 56, but neither a transliteration nor a hand-copy has been published previously.⁸⁷ Only traces can be identified on its obverse, but the reverse preserves a list of witnesses.

⁸⁵ *GAG*, §62c.

⁸⁶ For *šimšu* "price, value" in this context, see Giacumakis, *AA*, pp. 88 and 104, and *CAD*, vol. Š/3,

p. 24a.

⁸⁷ Hess, "A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts," pp. 71 and 77.

Obv.

- 1'. [] *a-na* []
 ù iṣ-ṣi-ir []
 ša a-a-ḫi-ia []-*ma-tu-ra-mu*-?
 i-ba-[]-*ú*
 5'. *ša*? []-*ad*

Rev.

- IGI *A-du*?-[]
 IGI *Na-na-ag*-[]
 IGI *Iš-ma-A-du*
 IGI *Iš-mi-E*?-*la*
 10'. [IGI] *Sa-ap-si-A-du*
 [IGI] *A*-[]

*Al. T. *203 (BM 131539)*

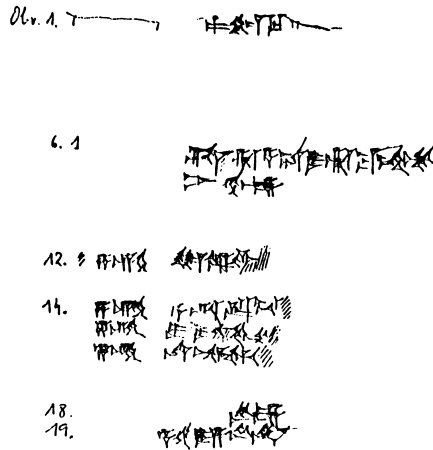


FIG. 13.—*Al. T. *203 (BM 131539)*

A hand-copy of this text was published by Wiseman, *Al. T.*, pl. 28, but no transliteration has been made available.⁸⁸ A complete version will be presented in a new edition of the Alalakh VII texts. In the meantime, the following personal names in especially problematic lines can be identified.

Line 6: *Ni-wa-ri-A-du*

Line 12: *Šar-ru-we*

⁸⁸ See the summary in Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 75; Hess, pp. 71 and 80.
 “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,”

Line 14: *A-ri-ib-Ša-[uš-ka]*

Line 16: *Na-aš-wi-im?-m[i]*

Line 18: *Šu-ma-A-du* LÚ.BUR “Šuma-Adu, the stone-cutter”

Line 19: 4 GI *A-ḫi-ia* LÚ.NAR “4 reed Aḫia, the singer”

*Al. T. *324b (BM 131598)*

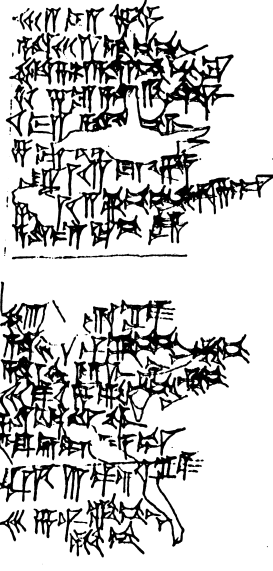


FIG. 14.—*Al. T. *324b (BM 131598)*

This text was published in transliteration by Wiseman, *Al. T.*, pp. 93–94, who did not, however, provide a hand-copy. The reading of the following lines should be emended.

Line 3: *uš-ša-ab* “bears interest”⁸⁹

Line 4: PN: *Ga-na-wa*, instead of *Ḫa-na-wa*; see in line 14: *Ka-na-wa*; the reading *G/Ka-na-ja(WA)* would also be possible.

Line 5: PN: *Wa?-wa*

Line 8: read the verb *uš-ša-ab* (cf. line 3).

Line 11: read MĀŠ.BI at the end of the line.

Line 13: again MĀŠ.BI at the end of the line, instead of Wiseman’s reading NAM.BI; the same is true for line 18.⁹⁰

Line 15: read: *ù Sa-ap-[s]i-A-du*.

The text records two different payments for beer. The first one deals with silver payments for the city of Kubia; the second one contains payments in kind through different quantities of emmer plus the interest (MĀŠ.BI), which is not established.

⁸⁹ Giacomakis, AA, p. 112.

Alalakh Tablets, in JNES 14 (1955): 198.

⁹⁰ See A. L. Oppenheim, review of Wiseman, *The*

*Al. T. *357 (BM 131614)*

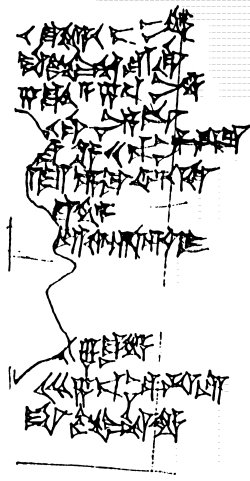


FIG. 15.—*Al. T. *357 (BM 131614)*

This tablet was catalogued by Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 99, among “texts relating to wool and garments.” He provided a hand-copy (*Al. T.*, pl. 36) but did not offer a transliteration.⁹¹ This was later proposed by Bunnens.⁹² Since my collation of the tablet differs somewhat from the version offered by Bunnens, a new reading of the text and several remarks still seem necessary.

1. 10 TÚG.ĦI.A 10 GADA.LÁ.ĦI.A
ša LÚ.GÌR-ARAD URU.KI
5 TÚG.ĦI.A 5 GADA.LÁ.ĦI.A
[š]a *Di-ni-A-du*
5. [x] TÚG.ĦI.A 20 GADA.LÁ *pa-ĥu-su*
[š]a URU *E-ma-ar*^{ki}
[x] TÚG.ĦI.A
[ša U]RU *Wa-ri-ri-i*
(space uninscribed)
[U.NIGIN] 27? TÚG.ĦI.A
10. 35 GADA.LÁ *pa-ĥu-su*
ša LÚ.GÌR-ARAD.ĦI.A

Line 1 ff.: Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 99, interpreted GIŠ.NI in the sense of Akkadian *pusikku* “measure of wool” together with the sum for pieces of cloth (TÚG.ĦI.A). This has been

⁹¹ Hess, “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,” pp. 71 and 84.

⁹² G. Bunnens, “Pouvoirs locaux et pouvoirs dissidents en Syrie au II^e millénaire avant notre ère,” in

A. Finet, ed., *Les pouvoirs locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les régions adjacentes* (Brussels, 1982), pp. 122–23.

accepted by Gaál and Bunnens.⁹³ This interpretation, however, should be rejected in favor of the reading GADA.LÁ, although LÁ actually looks much more like a NI sign. The logogram GADA.LÁ corresponds to Akkadian *gadalalû* “eine Art Leinengewand,”⁹⁴ and there is no doubt that the first sign should be read GADA instead of GIŠ.

Lines 2 and 11: Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 99, interpreted LÚ.GÌR-ARAD as a “*šakkanakku* official.”⁹⁵ Bunnens prefers to read: LÚ ŠAGUB *šakkanakku*,⁹⁶ but there is no evidence of such an eastern title in the Akkadian of Late Old Babylonian Alalakh. Some ration lists from Alalakh VII actually do quote the LÚ *sà-ki-ni* (*245, *248, *253, *256, *264, *275, and *283b; see Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 159b, under *zakini*),⁹⁷ but neither Tsevat⁹⁸ nor Goetze⁹⁹ proposed any interpretation of the term. Giacomakis¹⁰⁰ interpreted it as “steward,” whereas AHw., p. 1012a (with bibliography) translates *sakinu* as “Präfekt” in the Akkadian dialects of Alalakh and Ugarit. It is interesting to note the equivalence *sakin(n)u* = *šakin māti* at Ugarit.¹⁰¹ CAD, vol. S, pp. 76 f., considers *sakinu* in West Akkadian texts “a high official,” whereas in the Amarna letters it accepts the translation “governor.” The reading LÚ.GÌR-ARAD might correspond to the syllabic spelling LÚ *sà-ki-ni* of the ration lists, rather than to the eastern term *šakkanakku*. In other words, there is surely just one (West Semitic) title *sakinu* and not both *sakinu* and *šakkanakku* with different functions at Alalakh VII. In line 2 we find: LÚ.GÌR-ARAD/NÍTA URU.KI, i.e., “the *sakinu* of the city (of Alalakh),” which would support a general correspondence in the West Semitic milieu. Furthermore, since line 11 runs: LÚ.GÌR-ARAD.ĦI.A [*sic*], it seems that the pieces of cloth for Dini-Adu (line 4) and those for the cities of Emar and Wariri in lines 6 and 8 are also meant for *sakinu*.¹⁰²

Lines 5 and 10: this reading confirms the interpretation already offered by Draffkorn,¹⁰³ in which *paḥusu* is a kind of linen garment (see comments to line 1), not a type of oil, as suggested later by Giacomakis.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, Gaál’s version of *357:10 should be modified in light of lines 1, 3, and 5.¹⁰⁵

⁹³ Gaál, “The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.,” p. 291; Bunnens, “Pouvoirs locaux,” p. 122.

⁹⁴ R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, AOAT, vol. 33 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), no. 90, p. 83 (hereafter ABZ).

⁹⁵ See also Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 161a, GÌR “controller”; Borger, ABZ, no. 444, p. 171: LÚ.GÌR-ARAD/NÍTA = *šakkanakku* “Statthalter.”

⁹⁶ Bunnens, “Pouvoirs locaux,” pp. 122–23.

⁹⁷ Wiseman, *Al. T.*, pp. 83 ff. For the interpretation of GÌR in the economic texts and ration lists from Alalakh VII (see *240: 8–9 and *passim*), see Borger, ABZ, no. 444: *gir* = *šēp* “verbürgt von o. ä.,” and R. Labat and F. Malbran-Labat, *Manuel d’épigraphie akkadienne: Signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes*, 6th ed. (1959; Paris, 1988), no. 444, p. 199 (hereafter MEA): “garanti par”; for the use of *gir* in Old Babylonian Mari, see D. Charpin, “Nouveaux documents de bureau de l’huile à l’époque assyrienne,” *MARI* 3 (1984): 88 ff.: texts 27, 41, 47, 67–69. In this connection, *265: 7–8: “(. . .) GÌR Yarim-Lim, GÌR Igmīr-Adu” demonstrates that “GÌR Yarim-Lim LÚ *sà-ki-ni*” in *248 should be interpreted “guaranteed for Yarim-Lim, the *sakinu*,” see also

G. Bunnens, “Quelques aspects de la vie quotidienne au palais d’Alalah d’après les listes de rations du niveau VII (XVIII^e/XVII^e s.),” *AfO* 19 (1982): 76.

⁹⁸ Tsevat, “Alalakhiana,” p. 120.

⁹⁹ A. Goetze, “Remarks on the Ration Lists from Alalakh VII,” *JCS* 13 (1959): 35.

¹⁰⁰ AA, p. 98.

¹⁰¹ Cf. J. Nougayrol, “Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales,” in C. F.-A. Schaeffer, ed., *Le palais royal d’Ugarit* (Paris, 1955–), pt. 3, pp. 35 f., text: R.S.15.182: 6, 10; see also the latest studies by W. van Soldt, in “Studies on the *sākinu*-Official (2). The function of the *sākinu* of Ugarit,” *UF* 34 (2002): 805 ff.

¹⁰² Gaál, “On the Chronology of Alalah Level VII,” p. 21; Bunnens, “Pouvoirs locaux,” p. 123. I do not, however, agree with Bunnens that the term could be a synonym of *ḥazannu*.

¹⁰³ Draffkorn, “Hurrians and Hurrian,” p. 190.

¹⁰⁴ AA, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ See Gaál, “The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.,” p. 290. His reading in *375: 5, *ibid.*, does not correspond to Wiseman’s copy of the text in “Supplementary Copies,” p. 28.

Line 8: the city of *Wa-ri-ri-i* (a reading *Wa-ar!-ri-i* cannot be excluded)¹⁰⁶ should probably be connected with Warre/Parre in other Alalakh VII texts.¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that the present spelling surely contains the Hurrian suffix for geographical names -*ḫe*, i.e., Warri=(*ḫ*)i.¹⁰⁸

The text can be translated as follows.

(1) “10 pieces of cloth, 10 linen garments (2) of the prefect of the city, (3) 5 pieces of cloth, 5 linen garments (4) of Dini-Adu, (5) x pieces of cloth, 20 *paḫusu*-linen garments (6) of the city of Emar, (7) x pieces of cloth (8) of the city of War(i)ri. (9) Total: 27? pieces of cloth (10) 35 *paḫusu*-linen garments (11) of the prefects.”

*Al. T. *359 (BM 131615)*

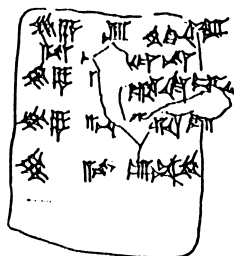


FIG. 16.—*Al. T. *359 (BM 131615)*

Line 1: read: 68 UDU *ḫi-da-ru*. The reading *sġ* “wool” instead of UDU “sheep” (Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 99) was accepted both by *AHw.*, p. 344b and *CAD*, vol. H, p. 182b.¹⁰⁹ Apparently, Wiseman took into account *360:1 for this reading, where presumably the same Nadina is described as UŠ.BAR “weaver.” The sign UDU, however, became clear after a new collation of the tablet. If *ḫidarū* modifies UDU and not *sġ*, it seems then that the term could be closely connected to the Akkadian expression: UDU *ḫadiru*.¹¹⁰ The text would thus record the distribution of a kind of sheep (not of wool) perhaps related to the age of the animals.¹¹¹

*Al. T. *370 (BM 131620)*

After Wiseman’s publication of this text,¹¹² a new edition was offered by Zeeb.¹¹³ The following remarks to this last version are still necessary.

¹⁰⁶ See Zeeb, “Studien Alalah III,” p. 857, n. 58; see J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 12/2 (Wiesbaden, 2001), p. 218.

¹⁰⁷ *Al. T.*, *78: 4; *456: 8; see M. Astour, “Les Hourrites en Syrie du nord: Rapport sommaire,” *RHA* 36 (1978): 6, n. 58, a different interpretation from that of Zeeb in “Studien Alalah III,” p. 837.

¹⁰⁸ Zeeb, “Studien Alalah III,” pp. 837 and 857, prefers the reading P/Warrē.

¹⁰⁹ Here the reading *ḫi-id-ru* is proposed instead (Old Babylonian), and it is argued that the term could be a native word for “wool”; see also Gaál, “The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.,” p. 290.

¹¹⁰ See *CAD*, vol. H, p. 23b, and *AHw.*, p. 307a.

¹¹¹ See *CAD*, vol. H, p. 23b.

¹¹² Hess, “A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts,” p. 84.

¹¹³ Zeeb, “Studien Alalah I,” pp. 432–34.

Line 4: instead of Zeeb's reading PISAN, who interprets: LÚ.GI.PISAN.ĤI.A as "dem Kas-tenflechter," I propose the reading LÚ GI SĜ.¹¹⁴ĤI.A, perhaps referring to "a man who mea-sures wool."¹¹⁵



FIG. 17.—Al. T. *370 (BM 131620): 4

Line 8: the PN *Mu-šu-me-ni*! should be seen as Hurrian: Muš=u=m=eni "The/his god is righteous."¹¹⁶

Line 9: instead of Zeeb's reading: LÚ.GIŠ.an-di-li-im, which leads him to interpret it as "Mann des Baldachins," read: LÚ É^dki-li-im "man of the prison";¹¹⁷ the term *kīlum* is also attested in Middle Babylonian Alalakh.¹¹⁸ This entry proves, however, that the word is al-ready documented in late Old Babylonian times preceded by the determinative dingir.



FIG. 18.—Al. T. *370 (BM 131620): 9

Al. T. *372 (BM 131621)

Line 4: the reading: GIŠ *nu-ba-li* "chariot" is confirmed. In view of this evidence, line 2 can also be restored as [GIŠ *n*]u-ba-li.¹¹⁹

Line 9: although the restoration *na-a-di*-[in?]¹²⁰ is not clear (there is not enough space for the IN sign, though it could be written on the right edge, now lost), the stative *nadin* "is given" is expected.¹²¹ The derivation of *na-a-di*¹²² from *nādu* "to praise," "to extol"¹²³ does not fit the context here. Thus the translation: "184 shekels of (silver?) for one table is given" (lines 7–9) seems likely.

Al. T. *412 (BM 131632)

Line 4: *Pa-ak-ki* is clearly a personal name, perhaps Hurrian.¹²⁴

¹¹⁴ Cf. Labat and Malbran-Labat, *MEA*, no. 539, p. 225; Borger, *ABZ*, no. 539, p. 190, with hand-copy in Zeeb, "Studien Alalah I," p. 438. After this, no additional copy seems necessary.

¹¹⁵ See Borger, *ABZ*, no. 85, p. 81: gi = *qanû* "Rohr; auch ein Längenmass"; the logographic sequence LÚ GI SĜ.ĤI.A could be read as: *awil qan šipāti*, i.e., "man of the measurement (?) of wool"; see *CAD*, vol. N/1, p. 368a.

¹¹⁶ Laroche, *GLH*, pp. 80, 173; *NPN*, pp. 235–36. Parallel forms of Hurrian personal names with the suffix chain -o=m- are collected by G. Wilhelm, "Zum hurritischen Verbalssystem," in S. R. Anschütz, ed., *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme: Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 667.

¹¹⁷ See LÚ GAL É *kili* "chief of the prison"; see

CAD, vol. K, p. 361a.

¹¹⁸ See *AA*, p. 82; see also *AHw.*, pp. 476b 2 and 133b 7; *CAD*, vol. K, p. 360.

¹¹⁹ This is already seen in *AHw.*, p. 799a, and *CAD*, vol. N/2, p. 306b.

¹²⁰ Wiseman, *Al. T.*, p. 102.

¹²¹ Gaál's version in "The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.," p. 290, is clearly wrong.

¹²² Giacomakis, *AA*, p. 90, considers it to be derived from *nadû* "to cast," "to pay."

¹²³ *CAD*, vol. N/1, p. 101; *AHw.*, p. 705a: "rühmen," "preisen."

¹²⁴ Cf. sub pakk- in *NPN*, p. 242b; see Gaál, "The Economic Life of Alalah in the 18–17th Centuries B.C.," p. 286.

Line 6: read: 1 UDU Tu-uk-in-da “1 sheep (for) Tukinda,” instead of Wiseman’s: 1 *lu-tu-uk-in-da*.¹²⁵ Tukinda is apparently a Kassite personal name, since the expression LÚ *ka-aš-ši-i* follows (line 7).

¹²⁵ Gaál, “On the Chronology of Alalah Level VII,” p. 46; idem, “State and Private Sectors in Alalah VII,” p. 22.

