

THE ALALAKH TABLET *432 FROM LEVEL VII RECONSIDERED

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Amongst *The Alalakh Tablets* published by D.J. Wiseman in 1953 the list *432 was included both in transliteration and in handcopy¹. This text was catalogued as a «list of objects including weapons and vessels, with Hurrian appellatives, for which a total of 1000 (shekels of) silver has been expended». Although Wiseman compared it with *366, which mentions some words in common and gives a total of silver, apparently as a full price or value, the unknown meaning of the majority of the terms listed kept us away from a closer understanding of the tablet.

A new collation of *432 in the British Museum in September 1999² yielded new readings for several lines, whereby a new commented edition of this text seemed to me necessary. The tablet is quite damaged. Only the middle-lower half of (presumably) the obverse and fortunately a rather considerable portion of the reverse can be read with certainty. The script is otherwise quite clear, and the number of units in the first column (left) are clearly separated from the object names.

1. Transliteration.

Al.T. *432 runs as follows:

Obv.

[upper part of the tablet lost]
1' [x] 'a-ga-an-n[i]?
1 lu-ḥa-te
1 a-la-la-ḥe x [
1 ṣa-i-ip
5' 2 ḥa-am-ru-uš-ḥe 1 [
1 ka-ra-al-la
2 ṣa-an-né-na

¹ D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2, London 1953, abbreviated as ATT) 111, Plate XLIII; in his review of Wiseman's book, A.L. Oppenheim, JNES 14, 1955, 197 n. 1, proposed erroneously to assign this text to MB Alalakh. The same is true for *205 (Wiseman, JCS 8, 1954, 14), which belongs to the Alalakh VII archive as well (it comes from Room 2 of the so-called Yarim-Lim palace, see ATT, 121a). The findspot of *432 was that of the main archive: Room 11, cf. ATT, 121b.

² I here express my gratitude to Dr. Ch.B.F. Walker, for allowing me to collate the tablet in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the BM with funds of the Vicerrectorado de Profesorado de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. I also wish to thank M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (Ugarit-Forschungsstelle, Münster) for permission to study their copies and collations of Alalakh VII tablets.

	1	za-li
	1	qá-aš-mu-us-ḫe
10'	[1]	uz-zi-ku
	[1]	aḫ-ru-uš-ḫu
Bord.		
	[1]	ṭap-ḫu-uš-ḫu
	2	GÍR
Rev.		
	6	ḫe-še-na
15'	3	ti-iš-nu ša Ì.GIŠ
	4	ta-ša-lu
	3	na-pí-iš-tù
	2	ši-i-nu-um
	1	wu-ur-ne

20' ŠU.NIGIN 3 li-mi KÙ.BABBAR ša KI.[LÁ.BI]

	5	GIŠ.IGI.GAG
	3	aḫ-ru-u[š-ḫu]
	1	ti-i[š-nu ša Ì.GIŠ]
	2	na-pí-iš [?] -[tù
25'	7	ḫal-ḫal-la-[tu _x ...
	1	zi-in-zi-[

2. Comments.

Line 1: Although the end of the line is destroyed, a restoration *-n[i]* may well be proposed. The resulting term *aganni* means in Akkadian «large bowl», usually made of metal³. It is documented at Qatna and in the EA letters among other sources, and it parallels Ugaritic *agn*⁴. As far as the Akkadian dictionaries allow to assess, this OB entry from Alalakh would represent hitherto the oldest attestation of the word.

Line 2: The reading of the sequence may well be *lu-ḫa-te*⁵. Such a word is neither attested in standard Akkadian nor it is listed as a possible Hurrian term by Laroche⁶. Since LU can also be read *dab/p*, *dib/p* or *t/ṭib/p*⁷, a reading *dab-ḫa-te*, *dib-ḫa-te* or

³ See CAD A/I, 142b-143; AHw, 15a.

⁴ See for instance G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit*, Madrid 1981 (= MLC), 510, «boiler» (Spanish «caldera»); G. Del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica I* (AuOrS 7) (= DLU I), Sabadell/Barcelona 1996, 13a.

⁵ So already Wiseman, ATT, 111; «lurvate» in his Selected Vocabulary, *ibid.*, 162a, is a print mistake.

⁶ E. Laroche, GLH.

⁷ R. Borger, ABZ 537.

t/ib-ḫa-te would be likely as well. However, an Akkadian term under these readings seems quite doubtful⁸. On the other hand, a Hurrian mark in the word might lie in the suffix for measures -ate⁹ after *luḫ-* or *dibḫ-*. By assuming the use of this suffix, we find some keys to interpret *luḫ=ate*. The Ugaritic text RS 24.643 (KTU 1.148:21) attests the expression: *lg.šmn* ... «a measure of oil»¹⁰, which can be related to KTU 1.23:75-76, where ug. *lg* appears as an equivalent of ug. *ḫbr* «vessel»¹¹:

lhn.lg.ynh []

whbrh.mla yn []

«[it corresponds] to him a large pitcher of wine

and he can fill his vessel with wine []»¹².

In fact, ug. *lg* is also translated by Del Olmo Lete as «large pitcher» (Spanish «cántara»), pointing out its parallel to Hebrew *lōg*¹³. In the horizon of the local WS substratum¹⁴, a close connection of hebr. *lōg* with ug. *lg* and with OB Alalakh *luḫ-* would seem likely. *luḫ=ate* could thus be interpreted as a WS term plus the appended Hurrian suffix for measures -ate. It would appear then that the kind of pitcher meant here is not actually a standard *luḫu*, but rather another type of vessel with the same size. Therefore: 1 *luḫ=ate* might well be understood as «one large pitcher of the *luḫu*-capacity»¹⁵.

⁸ A remote relation to akk. *l/dibḫu* «etwas am Rad und Wagen», AHw, 1391b, remains rather uncertain.

⁹ See G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue aus Boğazköy*, OrNS 61, 1992, 135: *šigl=ade* for shekel, *pariss=ade* for the *parissu* measure; J. Catsanicos, *L'apport de la bilingue de Ḫattuša à la lexicologie hourrite*, in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Amurru 1. Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites dix ans de travaux*, Paris 1996, 250-51.

¹⁰ Cf. P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit-I Testi*, Roma 1981, 91, 93 «una misura-*lg* di olio», 372: *lg* «misura di capacità per liquidi»; Del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit* (AuOrS 3), Sabadell/Barcelona 1992, 90, goes further, proposing: *lg.šmn* = «un «azumbre» de aceite» (from Arabic *tamm*), a liquid measure which in Spanish represents 2.016 litres.

¹¹ See Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 545: «vasija».

¹² Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 448: «a él una cántara de vino [(le corresponde) ...] y su vasija puede llenar de vino ...». See also DLU I, 243a.

¹³ Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 571.

¹⁴ Cf. in Ebla: *la-ḫa* «unità di misura di liquidi», A. Archi - M.G. Biga, ARET III 365; A. Archi, AoF 13, 1986, 202; A. Archi, ARET VII, 225; D.O. Edzard, ARET II, 131-132: reads however *la-ḫa* «Hohlmaß, verwendet für i-giš», and *la-ḫa* as a «Messgefäß von 1 *la-ḫa* Inhalt», considered apparently as an Eblaite derivation of sum. *la-ḫa-an* = akk. *lahannu* «Flasche o. ä.», Borger, ABZ 55; G. Pettinato, MEE 2, 23 r. I 2; cf. from MB Alalakh 390:3: 3 *la-ḫa-nu* GUŠKIN, ATT, 104, 161b, Plate XXXVIII; G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, Paris 1970, 84.

¹⁵ See also in this regard *mall=ade-*, V. Haas, ZA 79, 1988, 266 n. 18. This term *luḫate* has definitely nothing to do with the hitherto known ghost word *lu-ḫa* in Al. T. 416:32, proposed by Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 85, apparently after Wiseman's handcopy (ATT, Plate XLI). A copy of this text in the *Ugarit-Forschungsstelle* (Münster) allows rather a reading SÍG instead of LU, for which read therefore in ATT, 416:32: TÚG.SÍG.ḪA, which is to be connected with line 8 of the same text. See J. Oliva, NABU 1999/4, 102.

Line 3: A reading *-ḫe* in *alala=ḫe*, instead of *-aḫ*¹⁶, seems to me more likely. Since the suffix *-ḫe* usually designates ethnic and geographic terms in Hurrian¹⁷, *alala(h)=ḫe* could refer to a typical object or vessel of the district of Alalakh. The line follows, probably introducing the actual technical name of the object.

Line 4: *zaīb* was listed as a Hurrian word by Laroche without conclusive parallels¹⁸. It seems that the term has nothing to do with Akkadian *za'ibu* «water-logged soil»¹⁹. A type of container or cup might well be involved²⁰.

Line 5: Instead of *ḫa-am-[pi]-ta-li* (Wiseman)²¹ read *ḫa-am-ru-us-ḫe*, although the last sign looks actually much more like *-te*. The last vertical wedge following immediately *-ḫe* could introduce a new entry. The term is to be analyzed as: *ḫamru=šḫe*, where the Hurrian suffix *-šḫe* is known to form names of vessels and containers²². *ḫamru* is attested in the Akkadian of different areas including Nuzi²³ and other Hurrian and Hittite contexts²⁴ meaning «sacred precinct» or «sanctuaire», especially related to the storm god. A vessel *ḫamru=šḫe* might then point out to a kind of container for a certain sacred place. This is not however the only possible explanation, since both Ugarit and Emar sources attest respectively *ḫmr*²⁵ and *ḫamru*²⁶ «wine». In view of *aḫrušḫu* «censer» (from Hurrian *aḫr-* «incense») and of the closeness to the Ugarit and Emar evidence, it would appear that *ḫamru=šḫe* at Alalakh might rather designate a type of vessel for wine.

Line 6: Read *ka-ra-al!-la* instead of *ka-ra-taš-la*²⁷. The term might be Akkadian in view of *akk. karallu*²⁸. Its meaning remains however unclear. A connection with the

¹⁶ Wiseman, ATT, 111.

¹⁷ See F. W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language* (Brandeis University Ph.D. diss.), Ann Arbor/Michigan 1964, 163-64.

¹⁸ Laroche, GLH, 300. With Wiseman, ATT, 111 and 164b, the word is to be read: *š/za-i-ib*, not *za-a-ib* (Laroche).

¹⁹ CAD Z, 13a; AHw, 1503a: «ein Wasserlauf».

²⁰ Its reading is not established yet, for which *ša-i-ib/p* or *sà-i-ib/p* are also likely. Any connection either with Ugaritic *š'* «coppa, tazza» or «vaso», Xella, TRU, 379, or «plate», Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 615, or with Ugaritic *sp* «cup», Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 596, remains uncertain.

²¹ Wiseman, ATT, 111 and 161; Laroche, GLH, 91, reads *ḫampatali* following faithfully the wrong entries in CAD Ḫ, 70a and AHw, 318a.

²² A.E. Draffkorn, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalakh: An Ethno-linguistic Analysis* (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. diss. 1959), 217; Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, 112, 165; see G. Wilhelm, *A Hurrian Letter from Tell Brak, Iraq* 53, 1991, 165 n. 33.

²³ AHw, 318a; CAD Ḫ, 70.

²⁴ Laroche, GLH, 91-92; J. Friedrich - A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch II*, Heidelberg 1975 ff., 3, 132-33; DLU I, 193b.

²⁵ KTU 1.3 I 16; KTU 1.2.3:6; Lloyd, UF 22, 1990, 180-81; DLU I, 193b.

²⁶ See D.E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* (HSS 42), Atlanta/Georgia 1992, 143.

²⁷ Wiseman, ATT, 111; in *ibid.*, 161b, he offers instead *karatašše*; Laroche, GLH, 137, probably based on Wiseman's copy, proposed: *ka-ra-ur-na*.

Ugaritic type of vessel *krln* // RS-Akk.: DUG *ki-ra-li-nu* (PRU VI, 158:6)²⁹ is also uncertain. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Hurrian objects ending with -*alla* are frequently attested; compare for instance from Alalakh IV: 435:4: 3 ḫaballa; cf. also karadannalla, CAD K 198b: EA 22 (letter of Tushratta).

Line 7: For *šanne=na* see Laroche, GLH 214, where *šanni* is described as an «objet de métal» with regard to KUB XXVII 42 Ro 12; E. A. Speiser³⁰ interpreted it as an «implement» or «weapon». According to Wiseman³¹, *šanni=na* also occurs in Al.T. 435:6 (Alalakh IV): 3 *ša-an-né-e-na ša ZA[BAR]*. Since the OB list of cups from Alalakh *366:3 attests: 2 GAL KÙ.BABBAR *ša-an-nu*, it seems that *šannu* usually represents a kind of metal cup.

Line 8: *zali*³² is listed as a possible Hurrian term by Laroche³³, who proposes a connection with (a)zalli attested in texts from Ugarit, Emar and Boğazköy. According to the Boğazköy evidence, it appears to be an «attribut d'Istar»³⁴. The MB Alalakh texts attest however *zalu* as a metal object³⁵, among which 113:15 lists *zalu* as a part of household equipment³⁶. The MB Alalakh Forerunner to ḪAR-*ra-ḫubullu* X Al.T. 446³⁷ records mainly «types of pots». Except for column VI, the logogram DUG begins every entry of this tablet. In 446:Rev. V:14 one can read: DUG / BUR-ZI / ZA-ḪUM³⁸, where ZA-ḪUM, akk. *šāḫū*, is to be interpreted either (with Borger, ABZ 586) as «eine Schale oder Kanne»³⁹, or (with Labat - Malbran-Labat, MEA 586) as «un vase». CAD S/I 105b considers *šāḫū* as «a drinking or cooking vessel, usually of metal», including the evidence from MB Alalakh⁴⁰. Through this lexicographical text

²⁸ AHW, 446b; see *karallu* A, CAD K, 200a. On paleographic grounds, any relation to akk. *kandalu* «ein Metallgefäß», AHW, 436b, 506b, CAD K, 148b, 538b, seems unlikely.

²⁹ See DLU I, 223a.

³⁰ E. A. Speiser, JAOS 74, 1954, 25b (emend however with asterisk: *432 thereto).

³¹ Wiseman, ATT, 111, 163a and Plate XLIII.

³² *Ibid.*, 164b. See this entry in AHW, 1507b: «(u. H.) ein Ggst.»

³³ Laroche, GLH, 301.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

³⁵ Cf. 5 *zalu* ZABAR, 113:15; 415:2,5,16; *zalu* KÙ.GI, 390:1; *zalu* KÙ, 416:19. See Wiseman, ATT, 164b; Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 113: «perhaps a vessel».

³⁶ Akk. *unūtu* MEŠ, see Wiseman, ATT, 59-60; AHW, 1422b.

³⁷ See Wiseman, ATT, 113, Plate XLVI.

³⁸ See CAD S/I, 105b. I checked this reading in a copy of this text in the *Ugarit-Forschungsstelle* at Münster.

³⁹ Cf. AHW, 1132b «eine (Wasch-)Schale», especially 1133a 2), where the MB Alalakh evidence in 390:1 and 416:19 is read as akk. *šāḫū* (ZA-ḪUM). See footnote 35.

⁴⁰ CAD S/I, 106a d; see footnote 35.

(and its parallels)⁴¹, it can be concluded that such class of vessel was mainly used for ritual purposes (sum. bur-zi = akk. *pursītu*)⁴².

Since the present text lists chiefly vessels and HUM can also be read LUM/LU₄⁴³, the problem arises whether *za-li* could represent a deviation of the lexicographical term ZA-HUM, which became *za-lu₄* in the local scribal tradition, and hence could be interpreted either as a «(ritual) vessel» or as another type of container, or, rather, as a different object connected with the evidence from Ugarit, Emar and Boğazköy. In any case, it is interesting to note that a syllabic rendering *ša-ḫu*, as far as I know, is not documented in the Akkadian of Alalakh.

Line 9: A reading *qašmušḫe* was proposed by Wiseman⁴⁴ and included by Laroche in his *Glossaire*⁴⁵. Al.T. 430:10 (MB Alalakh) attests the same object made of bronze⁴⁶: 2 *qá-aš-mu-uš-ḫé-na* ZABAR⁴⁷. Since this list notes a total amount of silver (line 20'), the present *qašmušḫe* must have been made of silver. The term is to be analyzed with the Hurrian suffix *-šḫe*, *qašmu=šḫe* (see line 5), although a root *qašm-* has not been hitherto recognized neither in Hurrian nor in Akkadian. In fact, its actual reading remains still unclear, for it has been read either as *kašmu*⁴⁸, *gašmu-* or *qašmu*⁴⁹. It might well be interpreted according to the local West Semitic substratum, since it is documented in Ugaritic a lexem *qš* translated as «chalice», «cup» or «goblet», which appears in *parallelismus membrorum* or distich to *ks* (Akkadian *kāsu*) in the Ugaritic myth KTU 1.3 V 33-34. In this, Ugaritic *qš* seems to correspond to Hebrew *qašw-* and to Aramaic *qašw-*⁵⁰, from which one might suspect a possible remote connection with OB Alalakh *qašm-*⁵¹. Therefore, to understand: «1 *qašmu=šḫe*» as «one (sacred) cup» would seem likely.

⁴¹ See CAD Š/I, 105b.

⁴² Borger, ABZ 349: «Opferschale»; Labat - Malbran-Labat, MEA 349: «vase votif». It is also documented in ritual contexts from OB Mari, see CAD Š/I, 106a c).

⁴³ Borger, ABZ 565.

⁴⁴ Wiseman, ATT, 111 and 161a.

⁴⁵ Laroche, GLH, 139.

⁴⁶ Indirectly, so already ATT, 110.

⁴⁷ See ATT, Plate XLIII.

⁴⁸ In CAD K, 291a, qualified as «a metal object»; AHw, 462b.

⁴⁹ Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 96.

⁵⁰ Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 621.

⁵¹ For the close phonemic alternance between w/m in OB Alalakh see for instance the writing of the city Awerraše and Amerraše in *64:2-3, safely due to Hurrian influence, not recognized by B. Kienast, WO 11, 1982, 62, but admitted by M. Dietrich - W. Mayer, UF 26, 1994, 78. The phoneme is however normally elided: Airraše. For this orthographic phenomenon in Nuzi see M. Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian*, New York 1966 (Repr.), 50-52; C.H. Gordon, Or 7, 1938, 52; cf. from Taanach the PN Talwi=šar, presumably instead of Talmi=šar (TT 1:1; 2:1; 6:1; 5:1, see A.F. Rainey, *Taanach Letters*, Erls 1999, Fs. F.M. Cross, 156 ff.; cf. also Talmu=šarri, NPN 262a, and Talmi-Šarruma (king of Aleppo, ca. 1345 BC.).

Line 10': Instead of *uz-ze-eš⁶²*, I propose to read -ku at the end of the sequence yielding a term *uzziku*. This reading finds confirmation with its meaning in another list of metal objects from Alalakh VII⁵³, namely Al.T. *413:6-7: 2 GAL *uz-zīl-l-ku ša KÙ.BABBAR 72 GÍN KILÁ.BI* «2 *uzziku*-cups of silver weighing 72 shekels». If both cups were of the same size, then the weight of each *uzziku* was of 36 shekels in this list. It might well have been the case also for the exemplar(s) of the present text.

Line 11': For this well-known type of vessel see Al.T. *126:12(!),36⁵⁴. The MB Alalakh text 438:6 attests 4 *aḫrušḫu*-vessels made of stone⁵⁵.

Line 12': For *taḫḫu=šḫu*⁵⁶ see Laroche, GLH 256: «un objet», where this term, also documented at Boğazköy, is recognized as Hurrian. Besides this attestation from Alalakh, AHW 1320b quotes one akk. *taḫḫu* «ein Metallkessel» in NA and LB sources. According to CAD A/I 142b-143, the Assyrian term is however to be read with *ḫ*: *ḫaḫḫu* and designates a type of vessel⁵⁷. If *ḫ/taḫḫu=šḫu* and akk. *taḫḫu* are the same, this Hurrianized form from Alalakh could represent an earlier attestation of the word in northern Syria in late OB times⁵⁸. It is however noteworthy, that a connection with Ugaritic *da-ap-ḫu* «festival/sacrifice», appearing as an equivalent of sum. EZEN = akk. *i-si-nu* = hurr. e-flil in the Ugaritic Polyglot S^a Vocabulary⁵⁹, seems quite likely as well, for which a reading *dáp-ḫu-uš-ḫu* would be also possible.

Wiseman's edition of the Alalakh texts gave to know another term designating a silver object from Alalakh VII, namely: *ta-al-ḫu* (*411:6)⁶⁰, which AHW interpreted as a «Silbergefäß (für Öl?)»⁶¹. This tentative reading for oil (Wiseman's handcopy is not clear at the end of line 6) finds confirmation through a collation of this text (Antakya Museum) in the Ugarit-Forschungsstelle at Münster⁶², although it does not actually for *ta-al-ḫu*. In fact, such a term occurs there rendered as: *ta-ab-ḫu*, for which one may propose instead: *ḫa-ap-ḫu*. If this be correct, a connection between *taḫḫu=šḫu* in *432:12' and *taḫḫu* in *411:6 seems self-evident, whereas a close relation with Ugaritic *dapḫu* «festival/sacrifice» should be taken into account. Since *411:6-7

⁵² ATT, 111 and 164; Laroche, GLH, 291.

⁵³ ATT, 107, Plate XL.

⁵⁴ Laroche, GLH, 38: *aḫrušḫi* «encensoir»; M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, UF 25, 1993, 99 ff.; N. Na'aman, AnSt 29, 1979, 112.

⁵⁵ The reading at the end of the line of this text in Wiseman's ATT, 112 should therefore be completed with NA₄ (i.e. *aḫ-ru-uš-ḫé-na* NA₄), according to a copy of this tablet in the Ugarit-Forschungsstelle at Münster. Emend therefore Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 65.

⁵⁶ ATT, 111 and 163b; Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 107.

⁵⁷ It appears sometimes together with the *agannu*-vessel in Assyrian sources, see CAD A/I, *ibid*.

⁵⁸ Cf. also from OB Mari: *ḫa-pf-ḫa-am ša ḫurāšim*, AHW, 1380b: «ein Trinkgefäß?»

⁵⁹ Quadrilingual Ug. 5 137 III:6, see J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32), Atlanta/Georgia 1987, 197.1.

⁶⁰ *411:6) 2 *ta-al-ḫu ša KÙ.BABBAR ša Ì.GIŠ*, 7) 30 GÍN KILÁ.BI, ATT, Plate XL; Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 107.

⁶¹ AHW, 1310a.

⁶² I especially thank M. Dietrich and O. Loretz for permission to check their collation of this text.

records: 2 *ta-ap-ḫu ša KÙ.BABBAR ša Ì.GIŠ 30 GÍN KILÁ.BI*, «2 *taḫḫu* of silver for oil weighing 30 shekels each», it confirms that *taḫḫu* designates a type of (sacrificial) vessel for oil at Alalakh. According to the total given in line 20', the *taḫḫu=šḫu* of this text was made of silver and is safely to be interpreted in the light of *411:6-7. Therefore, line 12': «[1x] *taḫḫušḫu*- (sacrificial) vessel(s) (for/with oil)».

The attached Hurrian suffix ends here with -šḫu (as well as aḫru=šḫu in the former line), not with -šḫe (compare lines 5' and 9').

Line 14': Instead of Wiseman's reading: 6 *ḫi-li-na*⁶³, read clearly: 6 *ḫe-še-na*. The word could probably be connected with *ḫešni* in Laroche's *Glossaire*⁶⁴, which is documented in the Hittite milieu. Both morphemes -ni and -na appended to the nominal root *ḫeš(e)*- represent the Hurrian anaphoric suffixes for singular and plural respectively⁶⁵. According to Laroche, the term from Boğazköy might point out to a bronze object, maybe an animal figure⁶⁶. These 6 *ḫeše=na* were however made of silver. The word has probably nothing to do with the Hurrian term: *ḫi-iš-na* [] attested at Ugarit⁶⁷. Since a new trilingual vocabulary (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian) from Ugarit⁶⁸ gives the equivalence: [] = *e-ru* = *ḫe-še*⁶⁹ which, according to the editors, is safely to be interpreted in the light of akk. *erru*⁷⁰ «ring», it seems likely that we are dealing here with 6 rings made of silver.

Line 15': See already Wiseman, ATT, 111 and 163b. This kind of vessel also occurs in the Nuzi texts⁷¹. It appears to be made usually of metal (chiefly bronze or silver, cf. Al.T. *127:1-2: 4 GAL *ti-iš-nu ša KÙ.BABBAR 4 me-tim KILÁ.BI*; *366:1: 2 GAL KÙ.BABBAR *ti-iš-nu*); the MB Alalakh text 227:2 attests it made of copper: 9 URUDU *tišnu*⁷².

It is interesting to note that, for the first time, we find a clear Akkadian syntax in the text through the particle *ša*.

⁶³ Emend Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 77.

⁶⁴ GLH, 103.

⁶⁵ Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, 148 ff.

⁶⁶ See the equivalence quoted by Laroche, GLH, between the Hittite PNN: *Ali-ḫešni* and *Ali-URMAḪ*.

⁶⁷ RS h. 5 (14.18):8; see E. Laroche, *Les textes hourrites*, in J. Nougayrol, PRU III, 332-33. See in this regard a possible connection with hurr. *ḫi-iš-na-a[r]*, = sum. ar = akk. *kīnum* «durable, vrai», B. André-Salvini - M. Salvini, SCCNH 9, 1998, 12.

⁶⁸ André-Salvini - Salvini, *loc. cit.*, 3-40.

⁶⁹ RS 94-2939:I:8, André-Salvini - Salvini, *loc. cit.*, 5, 12.

⁷⁰ See AHW, 244a.

⁷¹ AHW, 1362a. It has been proposed to interpret *tišni/u* as a «heart-shaped vessel», cf. A.E. Draffkorn, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalakh: An Ethno-linguistic Analysis* (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. diss. 1959), 208-209. Cf. from Nuzi: *tišnu=ḫḫe*, HSS 14, 589:13; see Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, 164, 343 n. 154.

⁷² ATT, 79. See AHW, *ibid.*; Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 108.

Line 16': Instead of Wiseman's reading: *ša-ra-lu*⁷³ read: 4 *ta-ša-lu*⁷⁴. The second sign, however, is not clear at all; the word was not listed by Laroche in his *Glossaire*.

Line 17': Read *na-pi-iš-tù*⁷⁵ instead of Wiseman's *na-bi-iš-du*. Through OB texts from Babylonia and the inventories from Qatna we know that, apart from «life», another Akkadian *napištu* means «pendant»⁷⁶. Both in the OB evidence and at Qatna such pendants are made of gold. According to the total amount given here, these 3 «pendants» were however made of silver.

Line 18': Instead of Wiseman's reading: 2 *ši-i-nu-ra*⁷⁷ read: 2 *ši-i-nu-um*. Such a term neither appears to be Hurrian nor it is attested in standard Akkadian. Nevertheless, through the recurrent (Hurrian?) interchange between the sibilants s/š in the Akkadian dialect of Alalakh⁷⁸, it might well be interpreted as a local orthographic variant of akk. *šinum* «crescent-shaped or semicircular object», maybe representing the moon⁷⁹.

Line 19': The term *wur=ne*⁸⁰ was not listed by Laroche in his *Glossaire*. He distinguished however three *wuri-* in Hurrian: 1) a verbal form «voir», 2) its nominal form «vue», and 3) a certain *wuri-* in sources from Kizzuwatna apparently meaning «lieu ou objet culturel»⁸¹. This last form might well clarify *wur=ne* in the present list. The trilingual vocabularies from Ugarit attest however the equivalence of hurr. *ur=ne* with akk. *pēnu*⁸² and with sum. *úr* «foot», «leg», which might be in connection with this entry. In this, the equivalence *IGI = ēnu = wuri* «eye», also documented at Ugarit⁸³, should be taken into consideration as well.

Line 20': The sign *KI* can be still recognized at the end of the line, for which a restitution *KI.[LÁ.BI]* «its full weight», can safely be proposed⁸⁴.

⁷³ ATT, 111 and 163.

⁷⁴ Cf. already Wiseman's copy (!), ATT, Plate XLIII; *AHw*, 1338a; Giacumakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 108.

⁷⁵ With Giacumakis, *loc. cit.*, 91.

⁷⁶ See CAD N, I 304b. This evidence from Alalakh VII is now therefore to be added thereto. Emend Giacumakis, *ibid.*

⁷⁷ ATT, 111; emend Giacumakis, *loc. cit.*, 105.

⁷⁸ ATT, 19-20; Giacumakis, *loc. cit.*, 27.

⁷⁹ See CAD S, 294, especially 2. Cf. also in this regard D. Arnaud, *Emar VI.3*, 59: n° 43:12: 1 *aš-tar-MUL KÙ.BABBAR* ..., in the so-called «Inventaire du trésor d'Astarté de la ville».

⁸⁰ See already ATT, 111 and 164; Giacumakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 112.

⁸¹ Laroche, *GLH*, 299.

⁸² See Huehnergard, *HSS* 32, 158.3; *RS* 94-2939:IV:9', André-Salvini - Salvini, *SCCNH* 9, 7, 21 (with parallel references also from Boğazköy).

⁸³ André-Salvini - Salvini, *loc. cit.*, 5, 22; Huehnergard, *HSS* 32, 41.1.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Borger*, *ABZ* 461; *AHw*, 1282a; the formula *KI.LÁ.BI*, mainly related to *KÙ.BABBAR* but also once to *GUŠKIN* in the Alalakh VII texts, is further attested in: ATT, *127:2,4 ff.; *366:7,9,11; *369:5; *409:1 ff.; *411:7,9; *412:2; *413:7,9 and *414:6; cf. however *367:3: 7 *me-tim* 18 *KÙ.BABBAR LÁ (sic)*, see ATT, Plate XXXVII, confirmed by personal collation of the tablet in 1998.

The following lines⁸⁵ form a second list probably arranged for other purposes. Although three entries are partially broken, it is clear that they repeat already quoted objects of the former list.

Line 21': GIŠ.IGI.GAG = akk. *šukurru*, see Borger, ABZ 449, «Lanze»⁸⁶.

Line 25': This restitution is based on Al.T. *413:16, where it is attested 1 *ḫalḫallatu* of bronze. It refers to «a kind of drum»⁸⁷.

Line 26': The term is unfortunately broken. A similar sequence ending in *-me*: *zi-in-zi-me* is documented in NA and NB sources for Akkadian *zimzimmu*⁸⁸. On the other hand, a Hurrian word cannot be excluded since it is attested, although written regularly *zi-in-za-*, the Hurrian term *zinzabu*, apparently a rhyton or (ritual) pigeon-shaped object⁸⁹. Furthermore, an Oakk text from Babylonia records a kind of clothing or woven material with Hurrian designation rendered as: 5 TÚG *zi-im-zé-ḫe-na*⁹⁰. On the basis of this evidence, it cannot be proposed any reliable restitution for: 1 *zi-in-zi-*[] in the present list.

As it was already observed, the text contains two different lists separated by one total amount of silver. This should belong to the larger list, since the second one seems too small for an account of three thousand shekels of silver.

The first list mentions cultural objects, mainly containers, censers and vessels for fine oil, but also other presumably sacred objects like daggers, pendants, animals figures and moon representations. Besides already quoted vessels, the second list adds 5 lances, leguminous fruits, probably for offerings, and 7 drums possibly to be utilized in ritual ceremonies⁹¹. The majority of these names points out to an autochthonous origin. The mixed language in the list shows once more the strong syncretism of both WS-Amorite and Hurrian elements⁹² in late OB Alalah, and allows us to know somehow better their material and religious culture.

⁸⁵ This part in Wiseman's edition must be entirely modified.

⁸⁶ See already Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 106 (with parallel occurrences). A reading GIŠ.IGI.GAG = akk. *šillú* (Borger, ABZ 449, «Dorn», «Nadel») would be also possible.

⁸⁷ See Wiseman, ATT, 107, Plate XI; Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 76; AHw, 311b; emend CAD H, 41b both OB!

⁸⁸ «A type of onion», see CAD Z, 122b; AHw, 1529a.

⁸⁹ Related in Hittite contexts to the Ištar of Ninive, Laroche, GLH, 305.

⁹⁰ See AHw, 1529a.

⁹¹ Cf. in G. Dossin, *Un rituel du culte d'Ištar provenant de Mari*, RA 35, 1938, 1-13, III:13, the use of the *ḫalḫallatu* in honor of Enlil.

⁹² For a new reassessment of this topic see J.C. Oliva, *Consideraciones sobre el hibridismo hurro-semítico en Alalah VII*, *Veleia* 16, 2000, forthcoming.



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