

par étapes successives et en affrontant ces principautés les unes après les autres. Le mouvement des *Habiri* est l'insurrection de l'indigène contre l'étranger. L'invasion d'Israël est l'installation de l'étranger chez l'indigène.

Ni du point de vue étymologique, ni du point de vue historique, l'identification des Hébreux et des *Habiri* ne nous semble acceptable.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### CANAANITE *ḤOFŠÎ*, "FREE", IN THE AMARNA TABLETS

In the second letter of Abi-milki (Abimelech) of Tyre (Knudtzon ed., no. 147) we have a *crux interpretum*, the solution of which has no little interest for Hebrew lexicography. The passage in question (lines 11—12) reads as follows: *ša ittašab gabbi mâti ina pašâhi ina du-ni ZAG ḥa-ap-ši*. Knudtzon rendered: der (referring to the Pharaoh) versetzt das ganze Land in Ruhe durch die Macht der Hand (*ḥabšî*). The ideogram *ZAG* usually means *emûqu*, "force," and the equivalent *idu*, "hand," which Knudtzon prefers, is very unusual. Ebeling has suggested (*ibid.* p. 1246) that *ḥapšî* is an Egyptian word—*ḥpš*, "arm"—added to fix the meaning *idu* for *ZAG*. It is true that the Coptic *šôpēs* indicates that the pronunciation of *ḥpš* in the Eighteenth Dynasty was *ḥâpeš* (cf. the writer's paper in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XL, pp. 64ff.), but the improbability of such a gloss is very great and Ranke justly objects to the assumption (*ibid.* p. 1246, n. 1).

We fortunately have two other parallel passages in the same letter. In lines 61—66 we read: *u anumma anansur âl Surri âlu rabitu ana šarri belîya adî iwašî ZAG šarri dan(n)atu ina muḥḥîya ana nadân mē ana šutâya u iššē ana šuḥûnîya* = "And see, I am protecting the city of Tyre, the great city, for the king, my lord, until (such time as) the mighty . . . of the king comes forth unto me, in order to give me water to drink and wood to warm me." If we insert "arm" we have a very striking metaphor, but a rather glaringly unnatural one. The feminine gender of the adjective does not help us, since both *idu* and *emûqu* are feminine (cf. *emûqê šîrâtî*, etc.). But the insertion of "force, power" gives perfect sense, and avoids the strained metaphor, so we may safely adopt it, especially since the ideogram indicates it in the first place. "Power" here naturally refers to the Egyptian army, which Abimilki so eagerly awaits.

The second parallel passage is in lines 52—56: *atta Šamaš ša ittašî ina muḥḥîya u dūri siparri ša izqupû ana šâšu u aššum ZAG šarri belîya dan(n)ati nuḥti ba-ti-i-ti (= baṭiḥti)* = "Thou art the

Sun-god who rises over me and a bronze wall on which men rely (*zaqâpu* is sometimes intransitive, Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwört.*, p. 261a; cf. *takâlu ana, hamû ana*, "to rely upon"), and because of the mighty... of the king, my lord, I am at rest (נח), am confident (בטח)." Here the rendering "arm" offers no difficulty, but "power" would be more direct.

There are two passages in the fourth letter of Abi-milki (no. 149), which Knudtzon cites in confirmation of the reading *idu* for *ZAG*. In the first one, however, we have *qâti (qa-ti) šarri danatum*, which is a perfectly natural expression for "mighty arm of the king," which we should expect to see used in the passages cited above if Knudtzon's rendering is correct. The second case (line 81) favors our interpretation rather than his: *ûte (idâ) šâ'iru ZAG šarri ša yânu*, "And the enemy knows that the... of the king is not (available)." Here "arm" is absurd, unless one takes it in a metaphoric meaning, as "force, army;" which is the simple and natural meaning for *emûqu* in such a connection. Since *emûqu* fits equally well or better in all the other passages cited, one can hardly hesitate to insert it everywhere as the equivalent of the ideographic *ZAG*.

Since in the passage first quoted, the phrase *ina dun(n)i emûqi* has no pronominal suffix referring to the king, we should evidently regard it as coordinated asyndetically with the preceding *ina pašâhi*, and render: "Who establishes the whole land in peace (and) liberty." The "whole land" clearly refers to the Egyptian Empire in Africa and Asia. Like Byblos the other Phoenician cities were certainly considered at this time integral parts of Egypt. The gloss, *hapši*, if a Canaanite word, as we should expect, evidently corresponds to Heb. *hofšî*, "free." *Hofšî* means "free" both in the sense of being a freeman as against a slave, and of being free from taxation and onerous civic duties (1 Sam. 17 25). Because of the lack of a good equivalent of *hofšî* in Accadian, Abi-milki was evidently in difficulty how to explain himself clearly. Hence the circumlocution; *ina dun(n)i emûqi* reminds one forcibly of the Accadian expression for "autonomous," *ina emûqi râmânîšu*, "in one's own strength," and probably is intended to mean "free (of oppression)." To avoid misinterpretation, however, he deemed it best to add *hapši* = חפשי.

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## NOTES ON THE JEWISH GRAFFITI OF BETH-PHAGE

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IN the last years before the war a sepulchral grotto of Jewish origin, containing eleven ossuaries, covered with the usual decorations, was found on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, near Beth-phage. On the flat lid of one of the ossuaries several lines were scratched in archaic square characters. All the ossuaries were brought to the biblical museum of the Franciscan convent at St. Saviour, where they are now preserved.

A paper on the subject of the graffito just mentioned was read by Père Orfali before the Palestine Oriental Society about three years ago, and was afterwards printed in the *Revue Biblique* (1923, pp. 253ff.). According to him the names scratched on the ossuary lid are those of the persons whose bones were gathered together in the ossuaries, and the graffito is a list of the names which were later to be inscribed on the different ossuaries. This theory seemed to be confirmed by the apparent agreement between the number of lines of the inscription and the number of the ossuaries. But from the photograph published in the *Revue Biblique* it is clear that the number of lines is greater than first thought, and this fact, recognized already by Dussaud, has been confirmed by the writer's own collation.

Shortly afterwards Dussaud published (*Syria*, 1923, pp. 241ff.) a very similar graffito from the collections of the Louvre, also discovered at Beth-phage shortly before the war; Dussaud recognized the fact that his text was closely parallel to that published by Orfali, and drew interesting conclusions from it. The Louvre graffito contains twenty-seven lines, also scratched on a flat ossuary lid. Dussaud recognized correctly that both documents are lists of workmen, apparently employed in the factory where the ossuaries were made. From the repeated recurrence of the same designs it would seem