I

THE HEBREWS

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It is important, in historical studies, to distinguish between Hebrews and Israelites. We are used to identifying them and, nowadays, one speaks of the Hebrew language,[1] not of the Israelite language. But this identification is late. A similar identification is that of the Jews with the Israelites, which only took place after the fall of Samaria; even at the time of the New Testament the Jews, or Judeans, are often distinguished from the Samaritans and the Galileans. In the same way the careful study of the Bible and archaeological discoveries has made it necessary to distinguish between Hebrews and Israelites.

The identification of the two terms seems to have come from the famous story of Joseph in Genesis, where the word Hebrew (*'ibrî*) is very often applied to the Israelites (Gen. 39: 14–Exod. 10: 3). At first sight these texts seem to oppose Israelite and Egyptian nations. But further attention shows that the opposition does not lie precisely there. In the tradition represented by Exodus the Israelites did not depart alone, but with a large mixed group of non-Israelites (Exod. 12: 38; Num. 11: 4). It is the contrast between masters and servants that is here underlined, whether they are the servants of Potiphar or the servants of pharaoh; the texts concern the period when Egypt controlled Canaan, which contemporary scribes called Hurru, and where they made prisoners or recruited their personnel. In these texts 'Hebrew' is a very general term, which is used by the Egyptians or when someone is talking to Egyptians. The 'land of the Hebrews' (Gen. 40: 15)[2] is the land without political unity, 'the place of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites' (Exod. 3: 8). The God of the Hebrews (Exod. 3: 18; 5: 3; 7: 16; 9: 1, 13; 10: 3) is an expression used in the dialogue with

pharaoh to distinguish him from the gods of pharaoh and from pharaoh himself. The same expression is found in cuneiform texts, and the Bible itself states that Israelites and Midianites together honoured him (Exod. 18). Finally the statement that 'the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews' (Gen. 43: 32) concerns a social rather than a national distinction, for Genesis 46: 34 says that 'every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians', the shepherds here being Jacob and his household. Koch does not accept 'Hebrew' as a sociological category. For him it designates a 'wider circle' of population than the Israelites.[3] A similar conclusion is reached later in this chapter. Koch believes that before the J redaction a 'Hebrew' story of the Exodus had already been written, and this was used by J for his 'Israelite' history.[4] As the term 'Hebrew' disappears before the Exodus (after Exod. 10: 3), reappears only in Numbers 24: 24 (as *'eḇer*), and is related to the Kittim, this postulated Exodus source for J is very doubtful. The term 'Hebrew' does not seem to have entered the biblical vocabulary from the Hebrew population itself, but from its use by Egyptians and their Philistine successors when alluding to Asiatic foreigners. The workers and prisoners called *'prw* in Egypt, as will be shown, do not seem to be identical with the *'br* peoples of Genesis 10: 25–30. The latter include the Arabian tribe of Yoktan and South Arabian tribes including Hadramaut and Ophir. The notion of an *'br* population wider than Israel does not seem to belong to the old Israelite traditions, but comes from an international concept by which Abraham, the father of nations (Gen. 17; P) or father of the Keturah tribes (Gen. 25; J), could include among his descendants more than Israel.

Indeed, those who speak of 'Hebrews' in the Bible, after the references by Egyptians, are the Philistines, who, traditionally, came from Câphtor (Crete) and are allied to other Sea Peoples. The Philistines were, for a time, the heirs of the pharaohs on the 'Palestinian' coast land. These city dwellers considered the Hebrews as a motley crew from the hinterland, to be treated with contempt (1 Sam. 4: 6, 9; 13: 3, 7; 14: 11; 29: 3). The Israelites are included, but other elements are meant as well. This is proved by three texts which have often been studied, most recently by Weingreen, Weippert, and Koch, and which can only be fully understood if a distinction is made between Israelites and Hebrews. 1 Samuel

14: 21[5] concerns the Hebrews 'who had been with the Philistines before that time' and the Israelites who were fighting with Saul and Jonathan; the Hebrews change sides and join the Israelites. In the previous chapter (13: 6 and 7) Hebrews and Israelites had taken different attitudes towards the Philistine army; the Israelites stayed where they were, even though they had to hide themselves in caves and among bushes and rocks, while the Hebrews crossed the Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead. Finally there is 1 Samuel 13: 3, where the distinction is less clear. The text as we have it has perhaps been edited under the influence of the identification between Israelites and Hebrews, but the Greek text can be useful here. Saul wishes to let all the 'Hebrews' know of the victory of Jonathan over the Philistines; he also tries to attract to the side of the Israelites, who had become odious to the Philistines, a more numerous following.

After Saul the term 'Hebrew' practically disappears from the spoken language. Deuteronomy (15: 12) and Jeremiah (34: 9, 14) employ the term, but only in reference to an older text, the law concerning the 'Hebrew' slave in Exodus 21: 2. It is really only a quotation. As for Jonah 1:9, it is an isolated text from a period which tends to use archaic expressions; the hero, speaking with foreign sailors, is more or less in the same situation as Joseph speaking with the Egyptians, even if, with Koch, it is noted that Jonah's ship left Joppa on the Philistinian coast. But Joppa was never one of the five Philistine cities. According to the Eshmunazar inscription (l. 19), certainly by the fourth century B.C., it was a Phoenician city. One can say that after the reign of David, who built up the state by means of a policy of assimilation, and that of Solomon, who set up administrative districts[6] in areas where the Israelites constituted a minority of the population, the distinction between the various elements of the population fades, and the word 'Hebrew' is only used in texts which reproduce a more ancient tradition. Whatever their tribe, the Israelites consider themselves as 'sons of Israel'. The kingdom of Saul and David is the kingdom of Israel the ancestor (1 Sam. 24: 20), although they also considered themselves as connected with Abram the Hebrew (Gen. 14: 13), father of a multitude of nations, including the Midianites, the Dedanites, and many others (Gen. 25: 1–4).

(i) *The Discovery of the* ʿapiru/Ḫapiru

The distinction between Hebrews and Israelites is important because Egyptian texts discovered in the nineteenth century A.D. mention on the one hand Israel and on the other people whom the hieroglyphs indicate as *ʿprw*, the *w* being the sign of the plural. These texts do not all come from the same period. Merenptah, successor of Ramesses II, in the fifth year of his reign (*c.* 1230 B.C.), when he was campaigning between Canaan and Hurru, came across Israel near Yanoam, Ascalon, and Gezer. Israel was not sedentary at the time, since the text uses the determinative of the tribe and not that of the city. Neither Ramesses II nor Sety I, at the beginning of the same thirteenth century B.C., had come across Israel in their Asiatic campaigns. But they had met the *ʿprw*, or at least Sety I had, for he mentions their 'revolt' on one of the two stelas which he erected in Palestine itself, at Beth-Shan.

At least nine Egyptian texts clearly mentioning the *ʿprw* are now known. These texts range from the first quarter of the fifteenth century B.C. to the eleventh century B.C. They are therefore both earlier and later than the stela of Merenptah. The fifteenth-century texts mention either warriors in Canaan or captives employed as servants to 'strain wine'. In the twelfth century under Ramesses III they were prisoners given to the temples. Then, under Ramesses IV, *ʿprw* are found in the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat. In the eleventh century they disappear from Egyptian sources, just as they disappear from the living language of Israel in the tenth century.

The identification of the *ʿprw* of the Egyptian texts with the *ʿbrm* of the Bible seemed to imply no problems from the linguistic point of view since, after Müller and Burchardt, there was evidence for the correspondence of Egyptian *p* and Semitic *b*. The vowels were to prove more troublesome, however. The Egyptian texts do not record the vowels, but the fourteenth-century cuneiform texts found in Egypt do (Tell el Amarna letters). In the area where the pharaohs were fighting the *ʿprw*, and taking them prisoners, the diplomatic correspondence of the court of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV mentions rebels called *ḫabiru* or *ḫapiru* (the same syllable can be read *bi* or *pi*). Their name is written out in full in the letters sent to pharaoh by the King of Jerusalem (Amarna letters

286–90). It is clearly the same elements, or similar groups, who are called in other letters (Amarna 88, 34) SA.GAZ in ideographic (Sumerian) writing. These *Ḫapiru* were active in Canaan and also further north in Phoenicia. Later on evidence was discovered showing that these SA.GAZ/*Ḫapiru* were present in a much wider area, as far as Mesopotamia, beyond the Tigris and in Asia Minor. They are mentioned in texts which range from the third to the first millennium B.C. The later texts in fact reproduce ancient traditions and speak of these people and of their gods in the past.

Should one identify the Egyptian *ʿprw*, the cuneiform *Ḫab/piru* and the biblical *ʿbrm*? Scholars were divided on this question and they remain so. Many considered the vocalic elements in *ʿibrî* (pl. *ʿibrîm*, rarely *ʿibriyyîm* (Exod. 3: 18) and fem. *ʿibrīyah*) as incompatible with *Ḫabiru*. But, as Bruce has emphasized,[7] what mattered most in the discussion was the parallel which scholars tried to draw between the actions of the *Ḫabiru* and the conquest of Joshua. It was a false starting-point, and it soon became clear that it is impossible to reconcile the account of the conquest of Canaan in the book of Joshua with the movements of the *Ḫabiru* so far as they can be deduced from the Amarna letters.

However, the discovery of other texts from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. has allowed some progress to take place, and has put an end to certain controversies. These texts, discovered at Ras-Shamra (Ugarit), are written in different languages and writings, one of these being close to the cuneiform of Amarna and the other close to Hebrew. One city called Halbi (like Aleppo) is given four names, which are perhaps the four quarters of the city. One of these names was written *Ḫal-bi* SA.GAZ in syllabic cuneiform and *ḫlb ʿprm* in West Semitic.[8] This provided the equation *Ḫapiru* = SA.GAZ = *ʿprm* (plural). There was no further objection to the identification of the *Ḫab/piru* of Amarna with the Egyptian *ʿprw*.

But to all appearances the gap had widened between these *Ḫapiru* and the biblical *ʿibr(iyy)îm*. However, the gap proved to be less than was at one time thought, at least as far as the consonants were concerned. The correspondence of the Hebrew ʿ to the *ḫ* was no problem, since the *ʿain* cannot be directly rendered in cuneiform. As for *b/p*, the passage from the unvoiced to the voiced consonant is frequent in Semitic dialects; moreover certain late Babylonian

texts (end of the second millennium B.C.) have a rare rendering *Ḫa-bir-a* (which could not have been pronounced *Ḫapira*), and this makes it more probable that the pronunciation may have evolved towards the end of the second millennium B.C., the biblical texts having been composed, at the earliest, at the end of the same second millennium.

Biblical criticism has made progress too. It has not only established the distinction between Hebrews and Israelites; it has also discerned how the basic data have been edited differently during the centuries. It came to recognize as late Genesis 14, where Abram the Hebrew is mentioned at Hebron, and Genesis 23, where the same Abraham buys a cave at Hebron (*ḫbrn*) from Ephron (*ʿprn*) the Hittite. Nevertheless, the conclusions to be drawn from these observations are still under discussion. They prepare the solution to the problem, but one cannot yet say that they have given a solution. Before working out the relation of the Hebrews (and of the Israelites) to the *Ḫapiru* it is necessary to inquire who the *Ḫapiru* were.

(ii) *Expansion, Activity and Status of the* Ḫapiru/ʿprw

This inquiry is greatly helped by the publication of two collections bringing together and classifying the texts which concern the *Ḫapiru*: that of J. Bottéro (of which the numbering has been reproduced here as B.), and that of M. Greenberg (G.).[9] A few rare texts, already known, are missing from one or other of these collections. Others have since been published; they come from the Sumerian (Falkenstein),[10] from the ancient Hittite empire (Otten),[11] from Nuzi to the east of the Tigris (E. Cassin),[12] from Ugarit (Nougayrol[13] from Virolleaud),[14] Amarna (Edzard),[15] and Egypt (see p. 15).

The first question arising is this: It is certain that *ḫapiru* in certain places and at certain periods have been considered as being SA.GAZ. But it does not follow that we can read *ḫapiru* for every occurrence of the term SA.GAZ. Indeed the Mesopotamian and West Semitic lexicographers have never given in their list of equivalents the equation SA.GAZ (or its variants SAG.GAZ, SA.GAZ.ZA, SA.GA.AZ, GAZ) = *ḫapiru*. The Akkadian equivalent for the Sumerian SA.GAZ is always *ḫabbatu*, which means

'brigand, highway robber'. SA.GAZ does not mean anything in Sumerian; SAG.GAZ would mean something ('head-breaker'?) but it is an exceptional way of writing and is a late interpretation. B. Landsberger and A. Falkenstein therefore consider SA.GAZ to be a Sumerian adaptation of the Akkadian *šaggašu*, which means 'aggressor'; this interpretation is helped by the fact that GAZ can be read GAS. It seems to be confirmed by the description of the SA.GAZ in the text studied by Kramer and considered anew by Falkenstein: 'The SA.GAZ, these people without clothes who travel in dead silence, who destroy everything, whose menfolk go where they will, whose womenfolk have spindles . . . they established their tents and their camps . . . they spend their time in the countryside without observing the decrees of my king Shulgi.' At the end of the third millennium B.C. the SA.GAZ are therefore marauders on the edge of the ordered society dominated by the Third Dynasty of Ur. But the name can be applied to any non-sedentary population which is scarcely subordinate to authority.

The term SA.GAZ is thus a generic term which is wider in application than the *Ḫapiru*; we are not entitled to consider every SA.GAZ automatically as a *ḫapiru*. We must await the appearance of the word written out syllabically in full before we can treat of the *ḫapiru* and try to see why they were considered as SA.GAZ. Great caution is needed when dealing with the texts of Ur III and of the period of Agade. However, on a tablet from Tell Brak, which Gadd dated from the period of Agade, one finds the personal name *ḫa-b/pi-ra-am* (B. 6); this takes us to the Upper Habur, west of Nineveh. A little further north, in a text of Alishar from the Assyrian colony in Cappadocia, we meet with the *Ḫapiru*; this is from the latest period of Kultepe, probably under Warad-Sin, and these *Ḫapiru* are prisoners. They are described as *awīlu*, which is not necessarily an honorific title at that period, but they have sufficient wealth to buy themselves out of captivity (B. 5).

At about the same time (Larsa period, nineteenth century B.C.) the *Ḫapiru* appear in Southern Mesopotamia in administrative texts. They are generally referred to as SA.GAZ, but one text, identical in form to the others, spells out clearly *ḫa-pi-ri*. Whereas in the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (*c.* 1934–1924 B.C.) one can still be doubtful as to the nature of the SA.GAZ, here it is clear that the SA.GAZ are *Ḫapiru*. They are soldiers (B. 16) with a chief

(B. 17), and they receive supplies of food. In a similar text found at Susa in Elam, sheep are recorded as supplied to them (B. 35) and to certain other groups as well; all these groups are called 'soldiers of the West', which is interesting.

At the same period one meets them in numerous texts from Mari on the Euphrates, to the west of Babylonia. These *Ḫapiru* (never written SA.GAZ) are also soldiers (B. 18, B. 20) with their chiefs, and one of their groups is recorded as having reached the number of 2,000 (B. 18). They pass from the service of one chief to another (B. 29) 'in the district of Shubat-Shamash'. As a result of this mobility they are identified by geographical element; they are 'from the (flat) country' (Bottéro), or 'from the country' (Kupper; *ša mâtim*) (B. 18), from Yamutbal (B. 19), from Suḫu (south of Mari) (B. 33), and one of them flees from Eshnūnna (B. 30). They own donkeys (G. 15). They carry out raids in Idamaraz, and they capture towns like Iahmumum, Suruzum, Ashushik, and Luhaia, though they do not keep them. In order to stir up trouble they join other groups like the inhabitants of Talhaia and of Aslakka (B. 27). Disagreeable as they are to the king of Mari, they are sometimes even more so to the king of Assyria.

In a slightly later text (eighteenth century B.C.) found further west, at Alalakh in Syria, the *Ḫapiru* make peace with the King of the land, Irkabtum, under the leadership of a certain Šemuba. A treaty accompanied by oaths is also made between *Ḫapiri* and Hittite troops in two texts from the old Hittite empire, i.e. contemporary with or slightly later than the Mari period (Otten). Other texts from the old Hittite empire show the *Ḫapiri* as organized troops whom the Hittite king can employ. He is able to group as many as 3,000 of them, whom he employs on garrison duty. It is important to note that in the same chronicle, in archaic Hittite, a text which is unfortunately badly damaged mentions together a leader of the Hurrian army and 3,000 *Ḫapiru* soldiers. In no other text of this period are the *Ḫapiru* either the foes or the allies of the Hurrians: one is justified in asking whether the *Ḫapiru* do not constitute a Hurrian element (B. 72').

We shall find the *Ḫapiru* again at the end of the sixteenth century B.C. and at the beginning of the fifteenth in the region of Alalakh, which was pervaded by Hurrian elements, so that Garelli can say that they constituted 'the overwhelming majority of the population'. The *Ḫapiru* have Hurrian names (B. 41, B. 44, B. 45, G. 50). When the word is written out in full it ends with the vowel *-i*, but the scribes usually employ the ideogram SA.GAZ. They are soldiers (B. 40, B. 41), or even quarrymen, under the orders of SA.GAZ leaders. One SA.GAZ from Tapduwa has fifteen soldiers under him; the SA.GAZ chief from Šarkuhe has twenty-nine; another has 1,436. They can form separate groupings, such as the one with which king Idrimi took refuge (B. 37); but they constitute an important social class, since in a list giving the names of offices (B. 39) the *Ḫapiri* come between a 'royal son' and an officer of the palace. We shall find the same situation in Canaan. They can own houses and, as in the Mari period, we can see them spread in different regions and places (B. 44). They are people who must be reckoned with.

During the course of the fifteenth century also the *Ḫapiru* appear in large numbers, but in different conditions, to the east of the Tigris in another Hurrian city, Nuzi. The documents, already numerous, have been increased by the work of Bottéro and Greenberg (E. Cassin). In certain respects the status of the *Ḫapiru* at Nuzi is similar to that at Mari or Alalakh, but in other ways it is different. At Nuzi *Ḫapiru* is always written out in full and never with the ideogram SA.GAZ, which was rather pejorative in Mesopotamian eyes. They can receive food rations, as do horses (HSS XV. 237), and clothing (HSS XIII. 123, 152) but they are capable of owning horses (HSS XIV. 53; XV. 239). They can be stone-carvers (*nurpiannuḫlu*, B. 64);[16] they can be 'decurions' (*emantuḫlu*, HSS XV. 62), an office which can refer to soldiers or to workers; they have a status which in the ration lists associates them with fishermen (HSS XIV. 102), carpenters (HSS XV. 237), and indeed with horses.

This status appertains to men and to women (B. 60, 61, 63, 65, 66). It is not always the same in all respects for men and women. Woman is more restricted than man, and it is in the case of women breaking a contract (*nabalkutu*, lit. 'transgress, turn away') that it is said: 'her eyes will be plucked out and she shall be sold.' It is not certain that the expression is to be taken literally. A man can go away as long as there is compensation, either in the form of a substitute (B. 60) or a tenfold substitute (B. 56), or else on payment of a rather large sum, one gold and one silver

mina (B. 66 c). Neither men nor women were independent. They could be put at the disposal of the palace (B. 64) or of personages like Tehiptilla: Sukri-Teshup is able to take a *Ḫapiru* to the land of Arrapha, which was, however, not far away (B. 64). But their condition could become worse. In the case of theft or misbehaviour the *Ḫapiru* sank to the level of *wardu*, 'slave' (B. 54).

The *Ḫapiru* are not slaves, therefore, although their masters exercise 'lordship' (*ewurutu*) over them. There was, however, a difficulty of terminology at Nuzi on this point, for normally they enter '*ana warduti*', which should be translated 'into service' (B. 59). There is one case of a *Ḫapiru* entering into adoption (*ana martūti*), but this seems to be a case involving two contracts; the woman Watija enters the household of Paitae as adopted daughter and introduces her own son, who had been up till then *wardu* of Tehiptilla and who now becomes a *Ḫapiru* like his mother (able to depart as long as there is compensation). The important thing is that the *Ḫapiru* enters into this condition freely, 'of his own accord' (*ana ramānišu*) or 'from his mouth and from his lips'; he can keep it during his lifetime, but he can also leave it, under the conditions mentioned above. Sometimes the master has to pay a price to acquire the right of 'lordship' over them. The status of *Ḫapiru* is often acquired by people coming from another town (Lupti, HSS XVI. 396; Zarimena, HSS XIII. 152; Patwa, HSS XVI. 438), or from a foreign land like Assyria (B. 49, B. 50) or Akkad, i.e. Babylonia (B. 56, B. 63). In some cases they only enter into this status after a certain time (B. 56, in the year after arrival from Akkad).

Finally, it must be noted that the condition of the *Ḫapiru* at Nuzi can vary. We have seen that they could be stone-carvers or 'decurions'. They may also be *ubbutu* (HSS XV. 237, line 12). This term is associated with the *taḫlulu* (HSS XIV. 166) and with the *bīt kīli*, and has been studied by E. Cassin. It concerns 'men who are the object of bodily restraint and who perform thereby forced labour for the profit of a creditor'.[17] They were capable therefore, not only of buying themselves out, but also of contracting debts and of putting themselves into the legal situation known from Israelite institutions, the '*bṭ* (Deut. 15: 6; 24: 10; Joel 2: 7; Hab. 2: 6). This comparison is as important from the philological as from the historical point of view.

The *Ḫapiru* of Nuzi thus have obvious connections with the Hurrian population of the place, and one must ask whether it was not because of these connections that a better status than that of the slave was conferred on these refugees from Assyria, Babylonia, and elsewhere. Another connection must be noted. It can happen that a *Ḫapiru* provides as substitute a 'man of the Nullu', i.e. Lullu. Now other texts from the fifteenth century B.C., Hittite texts, provide at least thirteen examples where the parallel expressions are Lullu and *Ḫapiri*, the gods of the *Ḫapiri*[18] and the gods of the *Lulaḫḫi* (Hurrian ending *he/i*?). These gods are witnesses in treaties contracted between the Hittite kings and various other populations, not only those of the Middle Euphrates. The *Lulaḫḫu* were a people who lived to the east of the Hittites and not very far from Nuzi. It is tempting but perhaps erroneous to identify Lulaḫḫu with the land of Elaḫut; A. Goetze considers Elaḫut to be the same as the Luhaja which is mentioned in a Mari text as having been laid waste by the *Ḫapiru* and the people of Talhaiat.

However, another fifteenth-century Hittite text represents the *Lulaḫḫu* and the *Ḫapiru* as of an inferior social condition: this is a witchcraft text, which places the 'tongue' of the *Ḫapiri* and the *Lulaḫḫi* after that of the nobles, priests, and Awisili(?) men, but before that of the dead, the living, and the magicians. A Luwite text which lists related pairs has *Ḫapiri–Lulaḫḫi* after father–mother, brother–sister, slave–slave girl. Whereas the *Ḫapiru* had a status superior to that of the slave at Nuzi, we can see that in non-Hurrian Asia Minor they had an inferior status.

Historical texts are rare. One of them is probably a list of booty made up of prisoners: 600 SA.GAZ are given to the 'god of the temple' (*ili bīti*), just as we shall find them given to the Egyptian temples of the Delta by Ramesses III. An unfavourable Babylonian omen which did not mention *Ḫapiru* was translated into Hittite (B. 87), and the translation shows that the Hittites considered the *Ḫapiru* as dangerous foes who would 'enter the land' if the omen were to be fulfilled. Finally, a century later Mursilis II (*c.* 1334–1306 B.C.), in an arbitration treaty between Duppi-Teshub of Amurru and Tudhaliya of Carchemish,[19] recalls that the town of Jaruwatta in the land of Barga (probably south of Aleppo and west of the Orontes) had been captured by the king of the Hurrian country and given to the 'grandfather of Tette, the

SA.GAZ'. We thus find once more a Hurrian–SA.GAZ (or *Ḫapiru*) connection among the enemies of the Hittites. Mursilis I returns the town to Abiradda, whom the SA.GAZ had dispossessed.

These Hittite texts have taken us down to the fourteenth century B.C., and even later than the period of the Amarna letters. These letters reveal the activity of the SA.GAZ–*Ḫapiru* not only in Syria, but also in Phoenicia, near Sumur, Batrun and Byblos, in Upe near Damascus, and further south as far as Jerusalem. This is not surprising, since the Egyptians had met with *'prw* since Amenophis II in the fifteenth century B.C. In a campaign dating from the year 9 of his reign, which does not seem to have gone beyond North Palestine, he had taken prisoner '127 kings, 179 brothers of kings, 3,600 *'prw*, 15,200 Shasu alive, 36,300 Hurrians, 15,070 *ngś* alive, and 30,652 of their '*ḏt*(?)'.[20] This last element is a puzzle, and it is possible that the possessive pronoun refers to the people of Syria (*ngś* = *Nuḫasse*), previously mentioned. In any case, the sociological position of the *'prw* is clear. Both in numbers and in position they are between the kings and brothers of kings, on the one hand, and, on the other, the mass of the Shasu (nomads or semi-nomads) and of the Hurrians. They are thus the exact equivalent of the groups of military aristocracy that we have found at Mari, at Alalakh, and in the Hittite texts.

A similar sequence is found in an Amarna letter written about seventy years later by Biriawaza, governor of Upe, near Damascus, to Amenophis IV (B. 132). It gives Biriawaza, then his brothers, then the SA.GAZ, then the Sutu, who in the cuneiform texts are more or less the equivalent of the Egyptian Shasu. Once they are associated with the *ḫabbati*, highway robbers (Bottéro on B. 148), and are called 'wandering dogs' (*ḫalqu*) (B. 93). They can be bribed (B. 115). The name of any of their chiefs is never mentioned.

They are, however, a powerful military factor (ERIM, B. 93, B. 97, etc.). They are capable of winning over towns (Sumur, B. 99), mayors (*ḫazanu*, B. 96) and kings like the King of Hazor (B. 127). They were particularly hostile towards Rib-Addi, governor of Byblos, and made an alliance against him with Abd'Ashirta of Amurru, and later with Aziru his son. Sumur, Batrun, Shigata, and Ambi were taken and occupied (B. 99, 106).

Byblos and Ibirta suffered the same fate (B. 111), and so did the towns of Taḫši and Upe later on (B. 131). Labaya of Shechem grants them a territory (B. 145).

From the letters recently published by Edzard we know that some groups could come under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian king and be sent to 'the towns of Kašu to dwell there'. Is Kašu Nubia? This is not necessarily so here, since in the Posener Execration texts (E. 50–1) a country *Kwšw* is mentioned which is certainly in Asia and not in Nubia. Some biblical texts connect this Cush or Cushan with Midian and Judah (Hab. 3:7; Jud. 3:8);[21] the Kushite wife of Moses seems to have been the same as the Midianite Zipporah (Exod. 2: 21; Num. 12: 1). In the Amarna letters originating from Jerusalem *Kaša/u* does not appear to refer to a place so far off as Nubia. It is also said that the SA.GAZ *a-pu-ar-ra* will dwell in it (*ina libbišu*, (*ki*)?–*mu-ú ša aḫ-ta-bat-šu-nu-t*(*i*), 'an (St)elle derer, die ich weggeführt habe' (Edzard). It is noteworthy that the pharaoh uses the root *ḫabātu*, the equivalent of SA.GAZ in the Akkadian syllabaries. It is to be noted too that this transfer of population is similar to another transfer alluded to by Harmhab.[22]

They are in league with other 'lords' (*awīlū*). Thus one of them who has an Egyptian name, Amenhatpi, lord of Tushulti, takes them in after each more or less successful engagement against Mahzibi, Giluni, and Magdali (Migdol). He is compelled to hand over forty of them who have made their escape after their defeat before Hazi. He himself becomes suspect, however, and has to flee to some other SA.GAZ (B. 130). In the south the King of Jerusalem was hostile to them, although he is the only one to write their name out in full and not with the pejorative form SA.GAZ; perhaps this is because he himself has a Hurrian name, which Thureau-Dangin read as Abdi-Hebat.[23] Harabu, Suwardata of Kelle (the Keilah of the Bible), and Iapahi fight against them. But Iapahi's youngest brother goes to Muhhazi in order to come to terms with them (B. 147); it is likely that he is the Milki-ilu who, in league with Labaya of Shechem and his sons, will deliver his territory over to the SA.GAZ, preferring to come to terms with them rather than with pharaoh's commissioners. This gives the SA.GAZ more facility for taking action against Aialuna (Ayyalon) and Ṣarḫa (Samson's Zorah). However, it is not clear

whether they kept the towns they captured any longer than did the *Ḫapiru* at Mari, or the sons of Jacob at Shechem (Gen. 34).

We know that about 1300 B.C. Sety I was obliged to cope with what he considered a revolt on the part of the SA.GAZ. They came from the mountain of Iarimuta and from Tjr, which are difficult to identify, and the pharaoh was compelled to afford protection against them to the Asiatics of *Rhm*(?). In the tale of the capture of Joppa, which was composed about this time by an Egyptian scribe, they constitute once again an element hostile to Egyptian power; there is the danger that they will insinuate themselves in liaison with the *maryannu*,[24] who are asking for fodder for their animals (the *maryannu* are an Indo-European element, and are often linked with the Hurrians; they are mentioned after the *ʿprw* in a list of Ramesses III, B. 189); however, the relation between the two is not clear and the text is damaged.

Posener has recently found a mention of the *ʿprw* in the first line of an ostracon in the Strasbourg Library (fig. 1).[25] These men are connected with the handling of stones. As the script seems to be that of Ramessid times (Nineteenth Dynasty), such an activity fits well with the *ʿprw* workers under Ramesses III and IV.

In the thirteenth century B.C. the *Ḫapiru* are known to us mainly by the texts from Ugarit in Syria. They are still foreign and untrustworthy elements, capable of destroying a castle (*dimtu*, B. 162), and in a text which reproduces an older tradition (B. 157) the SA.GAZ is placed between the thief and the evildoer. It was a privilege in a royal grant to receive the assurance that a SA.GAZ would not enter the house, and that the service of the royal messengers would not be required (i.e., probably, that they would not have to be given lodgings; B. 159).

The SA.GAZ, however, show a tendency towards settlement. We have already seen that in the territory of Ugarit there was a town or a district called Halbi of the *ʿprw*. A treaty between Hattusilis III the Hittite (1275–1250 B.C.) and the king of Ugarit mentions the territory of the SA.GAZ in the Hittite land, where fugitives from Ugarit could take refuge; the Hittite king undertakes to extradite them. A Hittite text mentions a town of the *Ḫapiru* (G. 137). A certain *Ḫapiru* is party to a lawsuit before the King of Carchemish and the king sends him elsewhere as he does not reside there (B. 158), but it would have been possible for him

to do so. We learn from the personal names of Ugarit that nearly half of the population was Hurrian.[26] A note concerning a debt of oil has the name of a *Ḫapiru*, son of Kuiaba (B. 160), which reminds one of the Nuzi name, ARDU-Kubi; this should perhaps be read 'Abdu-Kubi', as Thureau-Dangin does for the name of the king

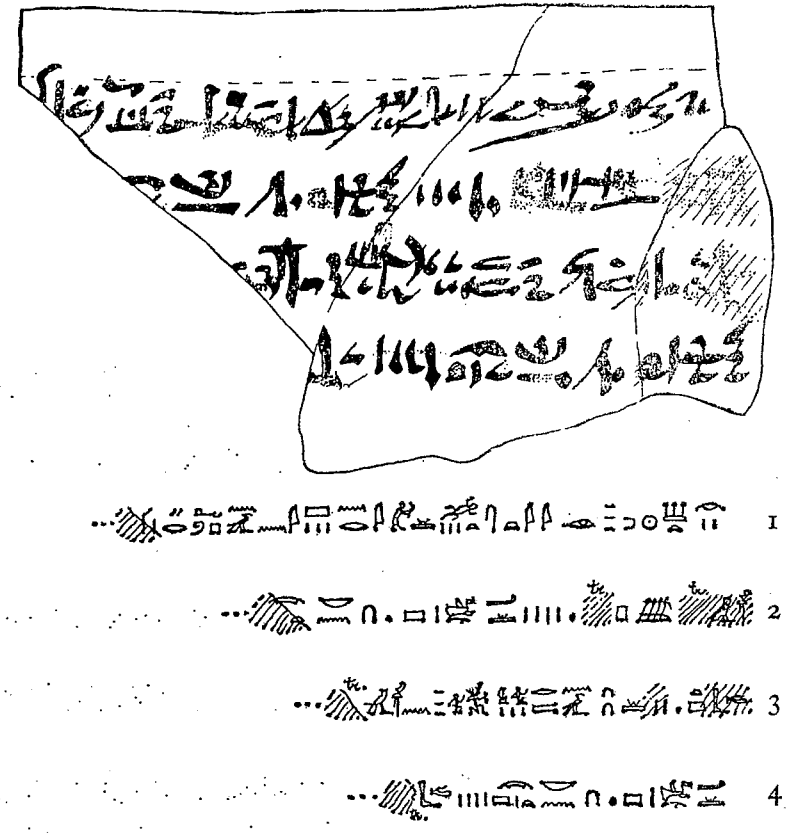

FIG. 1

of Jerusalem. Elsewhere, next to a certain Ari-Teshub who bears a characteristically Hurrian name, a *Ḫapiru* is mentioned (B. 163).

Other personal names of this type will occur; but they will disappear as a group. As J. Bottéro has noted, SA.GAZ in divination texts and lexicographical collections need not be rendered *Ḫap/biru*; it stands for *ḫabbatu*, 'dangerous brigands'. Certain isolated personal names occur with the epithet 'Habirean', and

reading with *b* becomes more and more likely;[27] this is especially so in the case of *Ḫa-bir-a-a*, who is the beneficiary of a gift of real estate from Marduk-aḫḫē-eriba (*c.* 1060 B.C., B. 166); also in the case of *Ḫarbi-si*-ḪU, who is called the Habirean in a letter of Ninurta-nādin-šumati of Babylon (*c.* 1150 B.C.; B. 165), putting him at the disposal of the king of Assyria. It had been surmised that a neo-Assyrian text describing Nineveh mentions a god Ḫabiru, next to Kube, which would have paralleled the *Ḫapiri* gods of the Hittite texts. But there is now agreement that this refers to the gods *of the Ḫapiri*; W. von Soden prefers to see a reference to a deity *ḫa-wi-ru*, adored in the same temple. Just as there is no reference to contemporary Hebrews in texts of the first millennium from Israel, so, too, cuneiform and Egyptian texts of the same period do not know of any *ḫapiru*/*ʿprw* groups.

(iii) *Origin and Nature of the* ḫapiru/ʿprw

Having thus brought together the historical and geographical evidence, scholars have tried to discover the etymology of the name and the origins of the group.

Most of them have favoured a Semitic etymology. Since the form with *p* has proved to be older than the form with *b*, the root which is usually put forward at present is *eperu* (*epru*, *ḫaparu* at Amarna) in cuneiform texts, *ʿeper* in Massoretic Hebrew, which means 'dust'. E. Dhorme first put this forward, and the suggestion was taken up again forcefully by Borger. W. F. Albright supports it, and quotes in its favour the text of Falkenstein on the SA.GAZ who haunt the steppe and live in camps and tents.

However, this description is very like the accounts by the Babylonians of the Asiatics from the West, the Amorites and their god,[28] those whom the Egyptian wisdom text of Merikare[29] calls the 'miserable Asiatics'. This description hardly fits the *Ḫapiru* as such. It is strange, moreover, that the Egyptian scribes never used before *ʿprw* the determinative of the legs, of the land, or of the desert countries; not even that of the boomerang of the nomads. They used a determinative difficult to interpret (Gardiner Aa 20, 'doubtful'), used also for the verb *ʿpr*, meaning 'to equip, to provide' (an ideogram which is hard to explain).[30] This does not correspond to the Semitic 'dust' but to the Akkadian *epēru*. This

was the etymology which W. F. Albright used to support; A. Goetze still seems to be in favour of it and adduces in support *ḫabatu*, meaning 'to receive subsidies from another', which is a homonym of *ḫabatu* = SA.GAZ. However, the existence of this *ḫabatu* has been called in question, and the homonyms given in B. 157 for AMA (Ugarit) require as equivalent to SA.GAZ not *ḫabatu* 'provide' but *ḫabbatu* 'brigand'. As for the verb *ḫapārum* (B. 5′), the relevance of which has been underlined by Landsberger, it is hardly mentioned in the current dictionaries. The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (Ḫ, 217b, *sub ḫubullu*) proposes the translation 'went over'; this relates it to the Hebrew *ʿāḫar*, but does not fit in with the original *p* of the root, which is now well established.

It therefore seems established that there was an attempt on the part of the Akkadian scribes, or the scribes in their tradition, to link this term to a Semitic root. But they never knew exactly whether to see in it *ebēru*, *ḫabru* or *epēru*. They passed from one to another and they influenced the Egyptian scribes in the direction of *epēru*, 'provide'. It seems to me that B. Landsberger was right in seeing objections only where a Semitic etymology is concerned, and R. Dussaud was of the same opinion.

G. Dossin therefore considered the possibility of the Sumerian GABIRI meaning 'desert'. The *Ḫapiru* would have been warrior bands in the desert, the beduins of those times. For a long time I considered this opinion as valid, for want of a better.[31] But the Sumerian texts only know of SA.GAZ, and they describe them rather as MAR.TU, people of the West, than as *Ḫapiru*. The milieu where we find *Ḫapiru* is not a Sumerian one. The Susa tablet specifies that the *Ḫapiru* are soldiers from the West.

The milieu where we do find *Ḫapiru* is in fact a Hurrian one. They appear in Cappadocia as neighbours of the Hittites and of the Assyrian colonists; and it is now in the region north-east of the Tigris that scholars are looking for the first habitat of the Hurrians:

> The heaviest concentrations can be observed to the east of the Tigris, but there are also Hurrians in Upper Mesopotamia, where they control several small states, and they have gained a foothold on the western bank of the Euphrates. It looks as if, coming from a generally north-eastern direction, the Hurrians moved down in ever-increasing numbers from the mountainous border of the Fertile Crescent and advanced to meet the Amorites . . . (Kupper).[32]

The Hurrians appear in history as early as 2300 B.C., and it is in a region which is to become Hurrian-dominated, the region of the Upper Khabur, that the personal name *Ḫapiram* appears (Tell Brak). The language of the area from Urarṭu to the Caucasus will be related to theirs. Later we find Hurrians at Mari. Kupper estimates that nearly a third of the population of Chagar Bazar was Hurrian. Although for a time the Hurrian element was thought to have been minimal at Mari, round which *Ḫapiru* groups gravitated, Kupper has counted four or five princes with Hurrian names, like Arishenni of Nahur and Shukru-Teshub of Elahut.

We have to ask whether it is by chance that numerous *Ḫapiru* are found in the regions of Alalakh and Nuzi, which were extensively settled by Hurrians. Is it by chance that in Hittite texts the *Ḫapiri* are treated as strangers and intruders in the same way as the Hurrians? At the same period, the fifteenth century B.C., Egyptian texts reveal their presence in Canaan at a time when Egyptian scribes call the area 'Hurru'. In the Amarna period, it is the Hurrian king of Jerusalem who writes their name out in full and avoids using the pejorative ideogram SA.GAZ, even though he is their enemy. They then fade away and disappear, just as in the Bible the Hurrian wave of invasion is only a memory from the patriarchal age which has left hardly any trace, apart from 'the Horites, the sons of Seir in the land of Edom' (Gen. 36: 21).

The connection between the *Ḫapiru* and the Hurrians can therefore be considered as proven. But the texts do not permit the identification of the Hurrians with the *Ḫapiru*, well distinguished as they are from each other on the stela of Amenophis II. One can but follow the painstaking studies of Bottéro and Greenberg, for whom the *Ḫapiru* appear to be not an ethnic entity but a social category. It should therefore be asked whether the *Ḫapiru* are not the Indo-European aristocracy who, like Artatama, Suttarna, Biriawaza, and others,[33] lived alongside (or among) the Hurrian population both in Mitanni and in the Canaan of the Amarna letters. Unless this were the case, the Amenophis II list of prisoners would have ignored them. We know that Biriawaza of Upe speaks of his brothers and of his SA.GAZ in a list which resembles that of Amenophis II; Biriawaza himself has an Indo-European name. It is precisely 'to the man of Damascus' at Upe that pharaoh writes concerning the transfer of *Ḫapiru* in Kush 'in the place of people

whom the pharaoh has removed from there' (EA 53, 63); these letters were studied by Edzard at the 1970 Congress at Munich. It remains to be seen whether the Kush mentioned there is to be identified with Kasi, hostile to the king of Jerusalem, as were the *Ḫapiru*. Finally, we may be able to find an Indo-European etymology, since the Hittite root *ḫapparija*[34] implies 'transfer', 'abandon', 'sale', 'market'. This root can explain *ihpiar* in the Cappadocian text B. 5′, since it concerns a fugitive for debts.

Against this are the following considerations. The Egyptian scribes had a name for Indo-European warriors; they called them *maryannu*, even if one admits with Helck that in the minds of the scribes at the end of the second millennium B.C. *maryannu* meant mainly the cavalry and *'prw* was used for the infantry. Moreover, the Indo-European Šuwardata of the Amarna letters was an enemy of the *Ḫapiru*. Finally, what *Ḫapiru* names we know are not Indo-European but Hurrian names. J. Bottéro tells us that 'few' Alalakh names could be Semitic, 'most of the names are Hurrian' (p. 185), as are Akiptilla, Giddudu, and Hutanapu from Nuzi (E. Cassin). As E. Speiser had already pointed out: 'Hurrians and Hapiru were thus coextensive to a remarkable degree; apart from this their paths diverge sharply.'[35] The latest studies show us, however, that it is mainly from the sociological point of view that they differ from each other. Ipri-beli (B. 42; Alalakh p. 185) is particularly interesting in its Semitic form: 'Ipri is my lord'. The *ipri* or *ḫapiru* would be the Hurrian warrior aristocracy, capable of discussion with Hittite kings and of treating with them as with equals, capable of dominating Syria and penetrating Canaan as far as Jerusalem. Elements of this group, dispersed in the great Mitanni upheaval of the fifteenth century B.C., are scattered in Assyria and Babylon (Akkad), but receive a special status when they take refuge in the Hurrian area of Nuzi.

In view of this, one is compelled to look for a Hurrian etymology; since 'lord' is written in cuneiform Hurrian *ewri*, *epri* or *ibri*,[36] this hypothesis must be examined. But there is straightaway a tremendous difficulty. *ipri* is written with an *'aleph* and not with a *'ain* in the cuneiform alphabet of Ugarit, whereas the equivalent of *Ḫapiru* is *'pr* with the *'ain*. There is a second difficulty which is scarcely less serious, namely that certain ways of writing *ḫapiru* make it practically certain that the Akkadian and Hittite scribes

intended to indicate a long *î* in the second syllable. Thus personal names are written *ḫa-pi-i-ri* on several occasions. For a long time these two objections seemed to me insuperable; I now think them less so, for three reasons.

Firstly, as Speiser[37] and Laroche[38] in particular have observed, Hurrian does not have a 'ain. It appears at Ugarit in Hurrian texts only for words of foreign composition. This is so for *'prm* = SA.GAZ. When the Ugarit scribes had to write down a Hurrian word used by the numerous Hurrian population, like *ewir* or *ipri*, they noted it with an aleph, e.g. *ewr-šr*. When they had to deal with *'prm*, who had been called *ḫapiri* for a long time in the scribal schools, they put in a 'ain.

Secondly, the resemblance between the *ubaru* or *ubru* and the *ḫapiru* has been noted. They are two distinct groups at Nuzi and at Ugarit. But there are strange analogies in their situation. They are strangers from outside the country but who can be guests; in his grants, the king can confer the exemption from having to lodge either group. The *ubaru* of the Hittite texts studied by von Schüler[39] is a protected person who has access to the king; he is a vassal of the Hittite empire and can take part in the cult. Any Semitic etymology is unlikely, since the Arabic word *wabara* means 'to halt' and, especially, 'to be hairy'. This hardly suggests the idea of a 'guest'. But the connection with the West Semitic *'pr* has become more likely since E. Cassin has found at Nuzi *ḫapiri ubbutu*, where the *ubbutu* corresponds to the Hebrew *'bṭ*; this increases the likelihood of an *ubru* or *upru* corresponding to *'iwri* or *'ipri*.

Thirdly, concerning the long *î* in *ḫapiri*, this could come from the tendency of the scribes to create a *qâtîl* or *qattîl* form, just as they tended to attach the word to a Semitic root. It is striking that the Akkadian *i* of the second syllable disappears in Hebrew West Semitic. Abiram becomes Abram, Ahiab becomes Achab. Forms like 'Amram, Elnathan, etc. would be transcribed by cuneiform scribes with an *i* in second position.

It is therefore not impossible that all these groups may have a common origin, as long as one admits that they evolved separately, so that they appear as distinct groups after five centuries of *Ḫapiru* wanderings. This common origin would be a military[40] Hurrian aristocracy, which was already without a stable habitat

in the Mari period. They are fringe groups in relation to the major states, and even the minor states, of the second millennium B.C. Idrimi takes refuge with one of the groups for seven years as a fugitive. Kings make use of them, fight against them, and make treaties with them. They no longer belong to an organized ethnic group, and their status as foreigners or refugees becomes more marked before they tend to become assimilated.

(iv) 'apiru *and Hebrews*

Weippert took up again the problem of the *'apiru* when he became aware of Mendenhall's theory on the establishment of the Israelites in Canaan. Mendenhall identified Israelites and *'apiru*, and he defined a member of the latter as a person who 'has renounced any obligation to the society in which he formerly had some standing and has in turn deprived himself of its protection'.[41] We have seen why this definition does not fit. Weippert was able to prove that the Israelites were not *'apiru*, and that one could not see in the Israelite conquest a sort of Peasants' Revolt against the Canaanite cities.

Weippert rightly underlined the importance of the law of the *'ibrī* (pronounced *'ivrī* or *'iwrī*) slave in Exodus 21: 1–11. As others had done before him, he showed the similarity of status between the *ḫapiru* at Nuzi and the *'ebed 'ibrî*; the latter also enters into an obligation for a limited period only, and is able to recover the status of *ḥopši* (cf. the *ḫupšu* of Alalakh and Amarna) after a seven-year period. This period is the same as the time that Idrimi spent as a refugee with the *'apiru*; Weippert suggests that he may have become a *'apiru* himself.

Weippert has studied the phonetic problem more closely. He thinks that *'apiru* is a form of the *fa'îl* type which developed into a segolated form *fa'l* or *fi'l*;[42] Brockelmann's *Grundriss* gives cases of the juxtaposition *malku/milku*. If one maintains that the original form is a Hurrian *ipri*, *iwri* or *ibri* (all of which are found in the texts) the problem is a little different. The Bible would then be nearer to the original form than the Akkadian scribes; these would appear to have wanted to take the term as the participle of a verb *ḫāpar* 'to pass', and have sometimes made it evolve into a verbal adjective of the *parîs* form. One can admit with Weippert

that the length of the vowels depends on the cases of *scriptio plena* given by von Soden.[43] Moreover, Weippert gives about fifteen examples of words written with either *b* or *p* without alteration of the meaning. There is no insurmountable obstacle, therefore, in the way of maintaining that when the Israelites penetrated into Canaan they found there the remnants of the Hurrian military aristocracy, in a state of decay certainly, but having nevertheless afforded to the Egyptians and the Philistines the occasion of using their name as a generic term for the population of the hinterland. The Israelites even went so far as to adopt the old law of the *'ibrî* servant for the cases when they might acquire servants and incorporate them into their families by the special rite carried out at the door of the house.

It is more difficult to determine how the Israelites defined their relations with these *'ibrîm*.

Genesis 10: 21 ff. gives a table of peoples which considers *'eber* as a descendant of Shem through Arpachshad; the South Semitic tribes are linked to Eber through his son Joktan. Since Shem's eldest son is Elam, it is clear that this is a geographical rather than ethnic list. Arpachshad has long been compared with Arrapḫa, which is precisely where the Hurrians of Nuzi were to be found, as well as the *Ḫapiru* who took refuge at Nuzi. Joktan is linked to Eber through his brother Peleg, whose name is explained by the division of the earth, if that is really the meaning of the verb. It is anyway a sociological consideration, and we have seen how important these are in the question of the *Ḫapiru*/*'prm*.

There is a gap in the J tradition on the relation between Abram and Eber in chapters 10 and 11 of Genesis. But the P tradition in Genesis 10: 10–29 is clear; this leaves open the question whether it is the simplification of more complex relations.

In Genesis 14: 13 Abram is called *'ibrî*. Weippert is right in drawing attention to the fact that the same text makes Mamre into an Amorite, whereas it was a geographical sacred place which was still in use as a market in the fourth century A.D. This episode presents a warrior Abram, with a rather different character from that in the other Genesis episodes, in which Abram is never a warrior. We have here what is really a typical *ḫapiru* of the Amarna type. The battle takes place at Hobah near Damascus, which is where we find the *Ḫapiru* of Amarna. The tradition reproduced in

this episode is very ancient; but it appears to have been combined with another one, which refers to Jerusalem and Hebron where Abram buys from Ephron (*'prn*!) the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23). All these elements are valuable, but it is impossible to disentangle all the historical and sociological elements which have been preserved in these chapters. I admit with Astour[44] that there has been a Deuteronomic edition of chapter 14, but it is not clear to me whether the epithet *'ibrî*, given to Abram, is an editorial element to be connected with the P genealogy of Genesis 10. It does seem possible that the epithet *'ibrî* given to Abram belongs to one or other of the two traditional elements which seem to me to underlie the story as we have it; that is, either the great coalition which ends in a battle north of Damascus, or the episode of Melchizedek further south. This is not the place for a discussion of the difficulties involved in an exegesis of Genesis 14; it is sufficient to remember that the editor gives as allies of Abram two geographical names, Mamre the sacred tree and Eshcol the valley. His intention is to evoke a pre-Israelite period, and he considers that Abram, the father of a multitude of nations and the descendant of Eber, according to P, was the sign of assembly for populations more numerous than the b'nê-Yisrael; this is a confirmation of the genealogy in Genesis 25: 1–6, which gives the descendants of Abraham by Keturah. All the names of his descendants are of good Semitic formation, as is the name 'Abram' itself. But the population of Hebron was not necessarily Semitic, and the name of Ephron the Hittite evokes the *'prm* once more. It could be that the tradition or the documents employed by Genesis 14 underlined the geographical connections and not the ethnic ones, just as Genesis 10: 22 counts the non-Semitic Elam among the descendants of Shem.[45]

(v) *Conclusions*

In view of the present state of the information and of research, any conclusions must be extremely tentative.

The Hebrews of the Bible, *'ibr(iyy)îm*, can be identified with the *Ḫapiru* of cuneiform texts, the *'prw* of Egypt and the *'prm* of Ugarit. They are not so much an ethnic group as a sociological phenomenon. This 'class' seems to be linked with the Hurrians,

following their movements without being identified with them. They appear in Upper Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium B.C. as a military aristocracy. These groups are a menace for their non-Hurrian neighbours, who call them SA.GAZ, 'brigands', even when they make contracts with them or make use of their services, either individually or collectively. They go down into Canaan at the time when Egyptian scribes call the country 'Hurru', but they are not thereby identified with the Hurrians. They disappear as distinct groups at the same time as the Hurrians disappear, at the end of the second millennium B.C. The Israelites are conscious of a certain common condition with them, especially in relation to the Philistines and the Egyptians, but this is a geographical rather than an ethnic link. However, the Israelites do not identify themselves with them, and, at the time of the monarchy, they cease to see in them a living population, even though they inherit certain of their customs dating from the patriarchal period.[46]

NOTES

1. On this point cf. M. Gray, op. cit. 188 ff.
2. D. B. Redford, 'The Land of the Hebrews in Genesis 40: 15', *V.T.* 15 (1965), 529–32.
3. K. Koch, 'Die Hebräer vom Auszug aus Aegypten bis zum Grossreich Davids' ', *V.T.* 19 (1969), 37–81, esp. 46–9.
4. Ibid., 62.
5. The translations proposed by M. Kline (p. 50) are not convincing ('both' is not in the text and the 'selected troops' are presented as being the Israelite army), but the author's observations underline effectively the fact that for the biblical editor there was a common destiny between Israel and the Hebrews.
6. A. Caquot ('Préfets', *Supplément du Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 7, fasc. 43 (Paris, 1968), p. 284) prefers to attribute this 'integration' to David.
7. *A.O.T.S.* p. 13.
8. C. Virolleaud, *C.R.A.I.B.L.* (1939), 329; *R.E.S.* (1940), 74 ff.
9. The correspondence between the numbers in J. Bottéro (here B.) and M. Greenberg (here G.) will be found in *Bi.Or.* 13, nos. 3, 4 (1956), 149 f.
10. *Z.A.* 19 (1959), p. 286 n. 32. See also S. Kramer, *J.A.O.S.* lx (1940), 253, and F. R. Kraus, *Bi.Or.* 15 (1958), 77–8.

11. 'Zwei althetithische Belege zu den Ḫapiru (SA.GAZ)', *Z.A.* 18 (1957), 216–23. On B. 72 see *R.H.A.* 75 (1965), 35.
12. 'Quelques remarques à propos des archives administratives de Nuzi', *R.A.* 52 (1958), 16–28; 'Nouveaux Documents sur les Habiru', *J.A.* 246 (1958), 225–36.
13. *P.R.U.* iv (1956), 17.238 (pp. 107 ff.); 17.341 (pp. 161–3); 17.232 (p. 239).
14. *P.R.U.* v. (1965), 18.148 (no. 62, pp. 88–9).
15. At the Rencontre Assyriologique, Munich, July 1970, published in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* v (Bonn, 1970), pp. 52–62.
16. Cf. E. Cassin, *J.A.* 246 (1958), 236. On the equivalence: alphabetic ' = syllabic *ú* see A. Jirku, 'Die Umschrift ugaritischer Laryngale durch den akkadischen Buchstaben ú', *Ar.Or.* 38 (1970), 129 f.
17. Ibid., 231–2.
18. This is the correct translation, with A. Gustavs, 'Der Gott Hapiru', *Z.A.W.* xl (1922), 314; 'Was heisst *ilâni Hapiri*', *Z.A.W.* xliv (1926), 25–36, and the note by Weippert, p. 73 n. 3.
19. See H. Klengel, 'Der Schiedespruch des Mursilis II hinsichtlich Barga', *Or.* 32 (1963), 32–55.
20. On this text and the related bibliography see R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosu des documents égyptiens* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 12–15.
21. Cf. W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.* 83, p. 34 n. 8; not disproved in *B.A.S.O.R.* 95, p. 33 n. 19; B. Maisler (= Mazar), *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* i (1957), 37 f.
22. Cf. W. Helck, *V.T.* xviii (1968), 476.
23. 'Le nom du prince de Jérusalem au temps d'El Amarna', *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris, 1940), pp. 27–8. However the first sign is read, the goddess Heba or Ḥebat is a Hurrian deity.
24. For Helck (p. 530) the *ʿprw* are the infantry and the *mryn* are the cavalry.
25. Thanks are due to M. G. Posener for permission to publish this ostracon as fig. 1. In line 3 the *rmṯ mšʾ n jmnty* expression is quite close to the *ṣabē* (ERIM) of cuneiform texts. The men are Egyptian workers and are not the same *ʿprw* as in l. 1 even if they do similar work.
26. C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* iv (Paris, 1962), 87.
27. This is confirmed by *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar Omina*, edited by R. A. Parker (Brown University Press, 1959), which dates probably from the first Persian domination. It mentions four countries, Amurru, Egypt, Syria, and *ʿybr* (or *ybr* A II 18–24), no longer *ʿpr*. As in the case of the biblical texts, the root *ʿbr* may have exerted an influence. R. J. Williams (*J.N.E.S.* xxv (1966), 69) considers it to be the province of Eber-nâri, the *ʿabar-Nahara* of Ezra 4: 10.
28. See J. R. Kupper, p. 160.
29. See J. A. Wilson in *A.N.E.T.*, p. 416.
30. Posener (*apud* Bottéro, p. 166) compares this with *ʿprw*, meaning 'the crew' (of a ship, but also of workmen, *J.E.A.* 13, 75); Helck translates 'Abteilung'. Gunn and Gardiner translate 'gangs'. This administrative

letter (Sixth Dynasty) is interesting, since the *'prw* receive clothing (cf. B. 16, Larsa period) and the writer of the letter is a military leader.

31. There was an unfortunate trace of this in my *Syria* article, and M. Liverani deduced from the article an interpretation which differs from what the article was trying to say (p. 87).

32. 'Northern Mesopotamia and Syria', *C.A.H.*, rev. edn., ii, fasc. 14, p. 26.

33. See the study by P. E. Dumont in R. O'Callaghan's *Aram Naharaim*; M. Mayerhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 140–7.

34. See J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 54. I. M. Diakonoff (*M.I.O.* (1967), 364) has noted in the different versions of the Hittite Code, § 48, *ḫipparas* = A.SI.RUM ('prisoner'); he compares with this the Hattusil III–Ugarit Treaty (B. 161). One wonders if *ḫipparas* is a Hittite adaptation of the word which is transcribed elsewhere *ḫapiru*.

35. 'Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.', *A.A.S.O.R.* xiii (New Haven, Conn., 1933), 34.

36. Cf. the *ḫipparas* in the Hittite Code, § 48.

37. 'Introduction to Hurrian', *A.A.S.O.R.* xx (1941), 44–9.

38. *Ugaritica* v, p. 527.

39. 'Hethitische Kultbräuche in dem Brief eines ugaritischen Gesandten', *R.H.A.* 72 (Paris, 1963), 45. On the analogies and differences between *ḫapiru* and *ubaru* cf. *Syria* (1958), 207–11.

40. ERIM, *ṣābe*, can be applied to non-military groups, but there is so much evidence of the military activity of the *ḫapiru* that it is best to leave these terms with their usual signification.

41. *B.A.* 25 (1962), 71.

42. Ibid., p. 84.

43. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1952), § 7e.

44. 'Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis 14 and in its Babylonian Sources', *Biblical Motifs*, ed. A. Altmann (Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 65–112.

45. The Kittim, *'šr* and *'br* are mentioned together in the last Balaam oracle (J). In this I see a relation with the Sea Peoples and the Philistine settlement on the coast, together with the Aššurim of Gen. 25: 3 and of the Egyptian topographical list (*jsr*; Sety I and Ramesses II, in Simon's lists XVII. 4 and XXV. 8, with a spelling different from Assur), perhaps 2 Sam. 2: 9 and the word written *gšr* in Josh. 13: 2, on the border of Egypt. The Minean *"šr* in *Répertoire Epigraph. Sém.* 2771, 3–4, and 3022, 1, parallel to *mṣr* ('Egypt'), raises other problems. K. Koch rightly stresses the relation between *Shosu* and *'prw* in the two Sety stelae (Karnak and Beth-Shan, op. cit., 60). But for a necessary distinction between these two see R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosu des documents égyptiens* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 4, 14.

46. It has not been possible to consult the article on 'Habiru' by J. Bottéro since published in *R.L.A.* iv, i (1972), 14–27.

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II

THE CANAANITES

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A TRUE picture of the Canaanites is hard for us to form because we lack sufficient records from an indubitably Canaanite source. There is nothing that can be recognized at once as Canaanite by modern man, nor is there any clear trace of any ancient distinguishing feature. The people are not known to have had a central or eponymous city or deity (as Ashur or Sheba), a separate culture or history, nor did they leave the stamp of an imperial rule on other lands. It follows that knowledge of the Canaanites and isolation of any traits as peculiar to them rests initially upon the witness of other peoples. As the promise, possession, loss, and partial recovery of Canaan form the central theme of the Hebrew Bible, the extent of the land occupies some place in it, but the inhabitants command little attention beyond the generality of their wickedness by which their extermination was justified. Documents in Egyptian and in the various languages employing the cuneiform script supplement the Hebrew records, albeit often in random fashion, the texts from Ugarit making the outstanding contribution.

While 'Canaanite' cannot be defined immediately, the territory 'Canaan' is more easily described, thus forming a basis for a survey of other aspects.

(i) *Canaan: the Land*

Canaan receives its first biblical definition in the Table of Nations, where the grandson of Noah is 'father' of Sidon and Heth (see pp. 197 f.), of the Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites (Gen. 10: 15–19). The five names following Sidon are familiar as the