

in the middle of the street. Only a few other discoveries may be mentioned in this brief summary. In one of the upper Iron Age levels²¹ of A-12 was found a skeleton²² which lay across the lower courses of a stone wall. Apparently in the siege of the city this individual had fallen across the lower part of a wall which had already been partly battered down. In the same context we found part of an Assyrian "palace-ware" bowl, similar to one found last year,²³ which, along with lamp sherds and other criteria, suggests the seventh century B. C. for this destruction.

One of the striking discoveries this year, from A-10, was a small pyxis jar (9 × 11 cms.) with line decoration which suggested LB II, but could be Iron.²⁴ Inside were 15 pieces of metal, mostly silver. One was a ring, another the clasp end of a bracelet, another a flat piece bearing incised lines, and others were possibly broken pieces of jewelry. The discovery of this type of silver trove has seldom been duplicated in other Palestinian excavations.²⁵ When a city was taken, such things would usually be saved by the owner, or taken by one of the besiegers.

During this third season we found over 250 objects in addition to 29 flints and many iron and glass fragments. The excavation yielded slightly over 150,000 potsherds, which were washed, sorted, and evaluated. Nearly 2500 were recorded.

The 1955 staff was comprised of the writer and Mrs. Ruby Free as directors, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Giese of Lake George, Minnesota, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred O. Koppin of Detroit, Michigan, and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Orcutt, former Wheaton students. Area supervising was in charge of Mrs. Free, Mr. Giese, and Mr. Koppin, photography was handled by Mrs. Orcutt, and recording was shared by Mrs. Giese, Mrs. Koppin, and Mr. and Mrs. Orcutt. The drafting was done by Mr. Koppin, and pottery sorting and classification was in charge of the director, assisted by other members of the staff.

The many visitors included the director, Dr. William Morton, and most of the members of the American School, and the faculty and staff.

²¹ In Level 5, 190-245 cms. Levels 1-3 were Hellenistic; cf. note 10. Owing to the slope of the *tell*, Level 6 of A-12 was equivalent to Level 3 of A-11 and approximately equivalent to Level 3 of A-8 (for stratification of A-8, see preceding note).

²² Denoted "Skeleton No. 1, 1955 excavation."

²³ BULLETIN, No. 135, p. 18; photo of bowl, Fig. 2, p. 19. Part of another one of these bowls was also found in the 1954 excavation.

²⁴ A-10, as well as the other two areas at the outer edge of the *tell* (A-4 and A-7) yielded Iron Age materials consistently in the first half meter, including Iron Age lamp lips and one whole lamp typical of the earlier part of the Iron Age. In order to keep the levels in the various sub-areas at a similar absolute level (except where stratification indicated a divergence), we went down only about 0.50 meter in A-4, A-7, and A-10 this season. This first half-meter yielded Iron Age material similar to those found at a depth of 3 meters in A-12, where the surface level was approximately 3 meters higher than in A-10. In A-12 there were three Hellenistic levels (1-3), one mixed level (4), and two clear Iron Age levels (5-6); see note 10. The upper levels toward the center of the *tell* (as in A-12 and B-4) tended to thin out and disappear as they approached the edge of the *tell*. We noted the same disappearance in the areas dug in the second season (1954), as indicated in BULLETIN, 135, p. 17.

²⁵ As pointed out by G. Lankester Harding.

of the École Biblique. As in past years, helpful counsel was given by Mr. G. Lankester Harding, director of the Department of Antiquities for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and by Père R. de Vaux, director of the École Biblique.

In summary, the stratification and other evidence found in our third season parallels and supplements the picture of Dothan's history gained in the first and second seasons: there was a Hellenistic settlement in the central area of the top of the *tell*, beneath which lay broader Iron Age levels which attest a thriving Dothan in the days of the Kings of Israel (II Kings 6: 12-13 f.).

We plan a fourth season of excavation at Dothan in the spring of 1956.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HUPŠU

I. MENDELSON

Wiseman's publication of the Alalakh tablets¹ opens up a new field in ancient Near Eastern research. This is the first time that we have come into possession of a large body of legal and business documents from northern Syria dating from the 18th and 15th centuries B. C., and their contents fill an important gap in our knowledge of the political, social and economic life in that region (and by inference far beyond it)² in the first half of the second millennium B. C. These invaluable texts shed new light also on the much debated social and economic status of the *hupšu*, a class of people mentioned in the Nuzi documents, Assyrian Laws, Late Assyrian texts, Ugaritic literature, and in the Old Testament.³ The class alignment of Alalakhian society in the 15th century consisted of: (1) *maryannu*,⁴ (2) *eḫelena*,⁵ (3) *šabē namē*, and (4) slaves.⁶ The *šabē namē* are subdivided into two groups: *hupšena*⁷ and *hanya-*

¹ D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 2, London, 1953)*. Additional texts were published by the same author in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, v. 8, 1954 (here abbreviated JCS). For a comprehensive review of these texts see Speiser, "The Alalakh Tablets," JAOS 74 (1954), pp. 18-25.

² Cf. the writer's articles "On Slavery in Alalakh," to appear in *Israel Exploration Journal*, v. 5 (1955), No. 2, and "On Marriage in Alalakh," to appear shortly in honor of Prof. Salo W. Baron.

³ Cf. I. Mendelsohn, "The Canaanite Term for 'Free Proletarian,'" BULLETIN, No. 83 (1941), pp. 36-39; and E. R. Lacheman, *ibid.*, No. 86 (1942), p. 36.

⁴ For the latest discussion on the *maryannu* (but without reference to Alalakh), cf. O'Callaghan, "New Light on the Maryannu as 'Chariot-Warriors,'" *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, v. 1 (1950), p. 309.

⁵ Nothing definite can be said about the status of the *eḫelena*. From the available data it is obvious that they were a class of free people.

⁶ See note 2.

⁷ The plural forms are: *hu-up-šu*, *hu-up-še*, and (with the Hurrian plural ending *na*) *hu-up-še-na*.

hena.⁸ The meaning of the term *šābē namē* is quite clear. Since *namē* (= *nawū*; Heb. *nāwēh*) denotes "pasture-ground,"⁹ *šābē namē* was the technical designation for people who lived on the land, i. e., the rural population.¹⁰

The *šābē namē* (that is, the *hupšena* and the *hanyahena*)¹¹ owned cattle, agricultural implements, houses, and vineyards. No. 136¹² enumerates 42 *šābē namē*, 13 of whom are qualified as "having no ox" (GUD.NU.TUK), which means that the other 29 possessed oxen of their own. No. 198¹³ records 15 houses occupied by *hanyahena*, 8 of whom possess their own wagons (*ša GIŠ [GIGIR]*). Nos. 185-202 are census records of householders listing the houses inhabited by *hupšena*, *hanyahena*, *ehelena*, and *šanannu*.¹⁴ Thus No. 186:16-20 enumerates the following dwellings: 261 *hupšu* houses (*É hu-up-šu*), [23] *hanyahena* houses (*É ha-ni-a-hu*), [2]7 *šuzubu* houses (*É šu-zu-bu*), grand total of "... (x houses) of the *hupšu* including the houses of the *šuzubu*" (*hu-up-šu qa-du É šu-zu-bu*).¹⁵ Since the caption of this list reads "localities belonging to the king" (URU.AŠ AŠ HI A *ša* LUG[AL]), it is possible that in this instance the occupants were tenants living in houses owned by the king.¹⁶ This was in all probability also the case in No. 187 where the heading reads *tup-pi*. URU.AŠ AŠ MEŠ *ša* [LUGAL] "tablet of the localities belonging to the [king]. This list records a large number of houses occupied by *šuzubu*, *hanyahena* and *hupšena*, the latter group inhabiting a grand total of 441 dwellings. On the other hand, text No. 202¹⁷ records individual houses inhabited by *ehelena*, *ašanu* (= *šanannu*), *hanyahena*, and *hupšena*, but since the text does not explicitly state to whom the dwellings belonged, it may be inferred that they were the private property of the occupants.¹⁸

That the *hupšu* owned land is evident from text No. 211 which lists a number of *ehelena* and *hupšu* vineyard-owners. According to Wiseman's summary of the content,¹⁹ the heading of this tablet reads: *tup-pi (iš) karāni ša* . . . "tablet of vineyards belonging to . . .," and the list

⁸ See the census list No. 131 where the text records 133 *šābē hupšena* and 3 *mārē hanyahena* and then combines both groups in the total as *šābē namē*. The precise difference between these two sub-classes is not apparent from the documents; according to Nos. 131 and 158 the *hanyahena* were craftsmen.

⁹ Cf. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 2.

¹⁰ Cf. the Biblical term 'am hā-'āreš.

¹¹ See the census list No. 136 where the text names 42 *šābē namē* but in the total refers to them as 42 *mārē hupšena*.

¹² According to the summary in the Catalogue; text not given.

¹³ According to the summary in the Catalogue; text not given.

¹⁴ See No. 202. Albright's rendering of the Ugaritic *tnn* = *šananni* as "warrior" (HUCA 23, Part I [1950-51], p. 23) has now been attested in the Alalakh tablets; cf. Wiseman's *Selected Vocabulary*, p. 163 for references to the texts; see also Landsberger MSL II, p. 148: 27 where *ša-na-nu-um* is translated as "wetteiferer";¹⁵ Text in JCS p. 12; the upper left part of the tablet is broken off.

¹⁶ The Alalakhian kings owned villages and whole towns which they could give or exchange at their pleasure, cf. Nos. 52-55; compare the Solomon-Hiram transaction involving the transfer of 20 cities as reported in I Kings 9: 11.

¹⁷ Text in JCS p. 13.

¹⁸ See also Nos. 189, 190, 192, 198, and 200.

¹⁹ The full text is not given.

lines read *naphar 52 ikū eqlētu (meš) hu-u[p-šu] naphar 17 ikū eqlē e-hi-el-li* "total of 52 *ikū* of fields belonging to the *hupšu*; total of 17 *ikū* of fields belonging to the *ehelli*." Finally, the *šābē namē*, like other free citizens, were subject to military service,²⁰ and in one case 8 *šābē namē* are listed with their patronymics,²¹ a usage reserved only for free-born people.

In my article on the *hupšu* published in 1941,²² I maintained, on the basis of the then available material, that the *hupšu* were free-born people; that as a social group they stood between the small class of land-owning aristocracy (*awīlu*, *maryannu*, *ba'al*), and the equally small class of slaves (*wardu*, 'ebed); and that economically they engaged primarily in agricultural pursuits as small land-holders and tenant-farmers. The data from Alalakh not only substantiate the conclusions reached in that article but also add a significant new fact, namely, that the *šābē namē* (= *hupšena* and *hanyahena*) constituted the bulk of Alalakhian society in the 15th century. According to the census lists Nos. 129-178, embracing the inhabitants of numerous villages and towns, the ratio of the *šābē namē* to those of the *maryannu* and *ehelena* was about 5: 1.*

A CLUE TO THE NABATEAN CONTRACT FROM THE DEAD SEA REGION

JACOB J. RABINOWITZ

A photograph of the contract, together with a transcription, French translation and explanatory notes, has been published by J. Starcky in the *Revue Biblique*.¹ A perusal of the translation and notes shows that, despite Mr. Starcky's praiseworthy efforts, much in this document remains obscure. Above all, the document lacks a pivot; its various parts hang but loosely together and do not add up to a unified whole.

In this article, an attempt will be made to discover the situation which gave rise to the writing of the document and thus runs through its various parts as the central theme.

¹ See No. 226 which lists 213 soldiers of the *hanyahena*-class. No. 140.

² See note 3.

* [With reference to n. 14 above, I should like to add that my present translation of "archer"; cf. my remarks in a letter to Mr. Wiseman, quoted by him in *The Alalakh Tablets*, p. 11, n. 4. For further details, and for my explanation of the name of the letter *šin* as meaning "composite bow" (in accordance with the form of the letter in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions of the fifteenth century B. C.—BULLETTIN, No. 110, pp. 14 f.) see my forthcoming paper in the *Movinckel Festschrift*. To this may now be added that the original name of the letter was probably *tannu*, not *innu*, as there proposed; cf. the Greek name *san* (used by the Dorians for *sigma*), which cannot well stand for *šin*, though *šin* may easily reflect original *šannu* in Hebrew. It appears certain from the Alalakh texts that there was a weapon *šannu*; cf. E. A. Speiser, *JAOS* 74, p. 25b, who suggests that this was the weapon used by the the *šanannu*.—W. F. A.]

[RB 61 (1954), 161 ff.]