

appears as *'ybm* in the Berlin execration texts and I correctly identified it with Biblical *'Iyyôb*, Job, in 1928;¹⁹ in the Amarna Age it appears as the name of a prince of Pella, *Ayab*. The name must be vocalized *'Ayyâbum*. The second name could be either *Zûz* or *Sûš* in Hebrew; we may safely explain it as Sus, "Swallow," like Zippor, "Sparrow," etc. The Canaanite word for "horse" then had the consonants *ššw* (Amarna *zu-u-[]*). The third name is very interesting; we may vocalize *Aḫu-Kabkab*, "The God of the Morning Star is Brother."²⁰ The word for "star" in Ugaritic is also *kbbk* (Arab. *kawkab*, Accad. *kakkab*), and the name is exactly parallel to the contemporary Amorite *Ilî-Kabkabu* (name of the father of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria). The latter name means "The Star-god is my God," and was first correctly read by Julius Lewy, whose reading has now been amply confirmed by the Mari Tablets. We may recall in this connection that the planet Venus-in-the-morning was considered by both Western Semites and Accadians as masculine, whereas the Evening Star was feminine. In Syriac we find that the planet Venus is regularly called simply *kawkabtâ*, "the (feminine) star." The horizons of the execration texts and of the Mari Tablets overlap at Byblus in the west and at Damascus in the east. With further research we may discover additional overlaps in central Syria. Thanks to the two bodies of material we shall before long know a great deal more about Syria and Palestine in the Patriarchal Age. It is needless to say that the new data complement the results of local excavation in the happiest way.

THE CANAANITE TERM FOR "FREE PROLETARIAN"

I. MENDELSON

Documentary evidence and archaeological discoveries have established the fact that there were sharp class distinctions among the peoples of the Ancient Near East. The Hammurabi Code, the Assyrian code, the Hittite code, and the several Pentateuchal codes all recognize the existence of different social classes. The inscriptional material shows that there existed also a number of sub-classes of which the legal codes either tell us very little or nothing at all. The purpose of this paper is to discuss one of these sub-classes, namely, the group of people referred to in the Assyrian law-code and inscriptions as *awilūt ḥupšî* and in the Old Testament as *hofšî*.

The term *ḥupšû* is found in the Amarna letters,¹ Assyrian law-code,² Late Assyrian texts,³ and Ugaritic text,⁴ and in the Old Testament. The

¹⁹ *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, VIII, 239.

²⁰ Semitic *ahû*, "brother," regularly appears as *ḫ* in these texts, since the sound-group *'ah* was normal in Egyptian, though impossible in Semitic.

¹ Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, cf. Index.

² Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, parag. 45, ll. 55-57, p. 412.

³ For references to the texts and translations of *ḥupšû* in the Late Assyrian texts cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, p. 7, note 10 and Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie III* (MAOG XI), p. 33 f.

⁴ Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret*, p. 38, l. 90.

ḥupšû of the Amarna letters is translated by Knudtzon⁵ "Bauer," by Weber⁶ "Beduin," by Pedersen⁷ "landed proprietor," by Meissner⁸ "Prolet, Untertan," and by Albright⁹ "serf or peon." In the Assyrian law-code the term is translated by Ehelolf¹⁰ "Bauer," by Scheil¹¹ "plèbe," by Lewy¹² "Berufssoldat, Gefolgsmann, Lehensträger, Söldner," by Driver and Miles¹³ "sapper." The Ugaritic *ḥpṭ* is translated by Virolleaud¹⁴ "bédouin," and by Albright¹⁵ "serf." Deimel (*Sumerisches Lexikon*) renders "Arbeiter, Trossknecht, Proletarier, Neubürger." The Old Testament *hofšî* is generally translated "free (from slavery)" and "free (from taxation)." Thus while one group of scholars takes the term *ḥupšû* to mean a professional name (peasant, soldier), the other sees in it a designation of a social class (bedouin, serf).

Several attempts have been made to explain the etymology of this term. The most convincing of all is that given by Prof. Albright¹⁶ who derives *ḥupšû* (Ugar. *ḥpṭ*) from the stem which appears in Arabic as *ḥbt*, "to be base, vile." This derivation fits the context admirably. It is quite evident from the sources that the *awilūt ḥupšî* belonged to a low class in Assyria, Syria, and Palestine, and that as such they were subject to the corvée and military service. Wherein the writer differs with Prof. Albright is in the exact meaning of the term. While he translates *ḥupšû* as "serf," I would propose to render it as *colonus*, in the same sense in which this term was employed in the early Roman Empire where the *coloni* constituted a class of free-born tenant-farmers.¹⁷ The common definition (though not universally accepted) of serf is "a person bound, or adscript, to the soil." There was such a class of serfs in Late Assyria. They were *glebae adscripti*, bound to the soil, and almost never sold individually, but always transferred from one owner to another together with the land on which they were settled. In Late Babylonia the institution of serfdom seems to have been exclusively a part of the temple economy. From the data at hand it can convincingly be proved that the *awilūt ḥupšî* were not semi-slaves, but rather free-born persons primarily engaged in agricultural work as day-laborers, share-croppers, or tenant-farmers. From the Amarna Letters it is evident that the *awilūt ḥupšî* possessed land, houses, and were free to sell their children.¹⁸ It is, of course, true that the Late-Assyrian serf had a right to a *peculium*, that he possessed property, but he could not sell his children because they were, legally speaking, not his, but part and parcel of his owner's landed

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1165.

⁷ "Note on Hebrew *ḥofšî*," JPOS VI (1926), p. 104.

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ "Canaanite *ḥupšî* and Hebrew *ḥofšî* Again," JPOS VI (1926), p. 107.

¹⁰ *Ein altassyrisches Rechtsbuch*, p. 38.

¹¹ *Recueil de lois assyriennes*, p. 60.

¹² *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, N. F. 36 (1925), p. 148, note 3.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 413 and 485.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

¹⁵ BASOR 63 (1936), p. 29.

¹⁶ JPOS XIV (1934), p. 131, note 162.

¹⁷ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 4, 483 ff.

¹⁸ Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, No. 81.

property. The Assyrian *hupšu* served in the army,¹⁹ and according to the Assyrian law-code, the wife of a *hupšu* who had been taken prisoner by an enemy was to be maintained by a special officer of the state.²⁰ If the *hupšu* were a serf, legislation would not be necessary in favor of his wife since she would automatically be taken care of by her (and her husband's) master. No clue as to the social position of the *hupšu* is given in the Ugaritic text where the term is employed. It is, however, significant that in the long list of various classes of people mentioned in the Legend of Keret, the *hpt* are placed behind the *ul* which Virolleaud leaves untranslated and Albright translates "freemen, aristocracy," and before the *tnn* which again Virolleaud leaves untranslated and Albright translates "peasants, settled folk."²¹ In the Old Testament the term *hofši* (= *hupšu*) is used seventeen times.²² Of these, sixteen are employed in opposition to slave.²³ The released Hebrew slave is called *hofši*. He was legally free, but without land or any other means of existence. In a predominantly agricultural society, such "free" people had only one recourse to secure a livelihood and that was to hire themselves out as day-laborers or settle on a rich man's land as tenant-farmers. To judge from the laws of Ex. 21:5-6 and Dt. 15:16-17 even that was not always possible and hence some of the *hofšim* chose voluntarily to remain with their masters in "perpetual slavery." They preferred bondage with economic security to liberty with economic insecurity.

The evidence presented here seems to justify the conclusion that the *awilūt hupši* were not serfs, but free-born *coloni* standing between the small class of the land-owning aristocracy (*awilu, maryannu, ba'al*) and the equally small class of slaves (*ardu, ebed*). This class of tenant-farmers was, of course, in existence long before the middle of the second millennium B. C. Tenant-farmers, some of whom even possessed small parcels of land of their own, existed throughout the centuries in the various countries of the Ancient Near East. The appellation *hupšu* was but one of many terms applied to them. The Hammurabi code calls them *muškēnu*, the Kilamūwa inscription (ninth cent. B. C.) *mškbm*,²⁴ the Old Testament *ikkarim*, and the Harran Census²⁵ and the Neo-Babylonian documents refer to them as *ikkarati*.

Objections may be raised to a comparison of the social classes *muškēnu*, *hupšu*, *hofšim*, and *mškbm* in the second and first millennia B. C. in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine with that of the *coloni* of the early Roman empire. The comparison, however, is not far-fetched. Similar economic conditions often produce similar results. In the ancient Near East as well as in the early Roman Empire, private individuals

¹⁹ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-8.

²¹ BULLETIN, No. 63 (1936), p. 29.

²² Ex. 21:2, 5, 26-7; Lev. 19:20; Dt. 15:12, 13, 18; I Sam. 17:25; Is. 58:6; Jer. 34:9, 10, 11, 14, 16; Job 3:19, 39:5. (Ps. 86:6 is apparently a corruption.)

²³ The exception is I Sam. 17:25 where the term *hofši* means free from taxation and from *corvée*.

²⁴ For the latest discussion of the *mškbm* cf. Alt, "Eine syrische Bevölkerungsklasse im ramesidischen Ägypten," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 74 (1938), pp. 16-20.

²⁵ Cf. C. H. W. Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book*, Index.

controlled vast tracts of land. The result was the creation of a large group of landless people who had but one avenue of earning a livelihood open to them, that of tenancy.²⁶

ARE THE ÉPHOD AND THE TERAPHIM MENTIONED IN UGARITIC LITERATURE?

W. F. ALBRIGHT

It is now seven years since the distinguished editor of the Râs Shamrah texts, M. Virolleaud, first announced his discovery of the occurrence together of the words *epd* and *ttrp* in a Ugaritic text.¹ It is scarcely surprising that he jumped to the conclusion, cautiously stated in his article, that these words correspond to biblical "ephod" and "teraphim." In this combination he has been followed, less critically, by many subsequent writers. The passage is so difficult that only two other original treatments of it have come to the writer's attention, those of Professors H. L. Ginsberg of New York² and Umberto Cassuto of Jerusalem.³ In seven years much water has flowed over the Ugaritic dam, and we are now in a far better position to elucidate the passage in question. We shall see that the word *ttrp* has nothing whatever to do with the teraphim, except perhaps etymologically, and that the ephod is here still a simple garment, worn by women as well as by men, just as was presumably true of the Old Assyrian *epâdâtum*, discovered by Professor Julius Lewy of Cincinnati in the Cappadocian Tablets.

In our translation of the passage, I* AB, i, 1-21, we shall diverge far from previous interpreters, but our variations from them are not to be construed as criticisms. In this rapidly advancing field it is no disgrace to make unavoidable mistakes—it is rather a shame to make no effort to progress beyond one's predecessors.

¹ *k-tmhš . Ltn . bṭn . brḥ*

"When thou (O Anath)⁴ dost smite Lôtân, the primeval(?) serpent,⁵

[²⁶ In this valuable paper Mendelsohn has notably clarified the situation. My only reservation is that we must not over-systematize and that the sense of *hupšu* may have shifted considerably in different regions in the course of time. Consider, for example, the very great shift in the legal status of the *coloni* between the first and the sixth centuries A. D.—W. F. A.]

¹ *Syria*, XV (1934), 305 ff.

² *Orientalia*, V (1936), pp. 186 f.

³ *Dissertationes in honorem Dr. Eduardi Mahler* (Budapest, 1937), pp. 53-57.

⁴ That Anath is addressed is certain from the corresponding passage in V AB, D, lines 32 ff., where the goddess declares that she has destroyed the "winding serpent, Shalyat with the seven heads" (Virolleaud, *La déesse 'Anat*, pp. 48 ff.). In this passage also Gapnu-wa Ugaru is twice mentioned. The death of the latter is the inevitable sequel to his visit to the underworld as herald of Baal (II AB, vii:54; viii:47).

⁵ As is well known the primordial dragon is called *nāhās bārīah* twice in the Bible (Isa. 27:1 and Job 26:10. The LXX rendered "fleeing" once and "apostate" the other time; St. Jerome translated "bar-serpent," by confusion with *berīah*, "bar." My