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Canaan and the Canaanites

B. MAISLER

Ever since Speiser 1 discovered the word *kinahhû* in the sense of “red purple” in the Nuzi texts, scholars have revived the question as to the source of the geographical term *Kn’n*, Accadian *mât Kinaḥ (h)ī*, *mât Kinaḥ-ni/a*. In the Nuzi texts of the 15th-14th centuries B.C., *Kinaḥhû* is now known to be a special variety of *tabarru*, “red purple,” mentioned several times with *takiltu* (Hebrew *tékḥé leth*), “blue purple,” and other dyes.2 One of the tablets mentions among the goods specified as payment “on the arrival of his (Ili-ittiya, the merchant’s) caravan” (*erēb ḥarrānišu*), cedar wood (*erena*) and wool of blue (*uk/qnū*, which is equivalent to *takiltu*) and red purple (*kinahhû*) 3; this document suggests that the place of origin of these dyes and coloured cloths was Syria, or to be more exact, Phoenicia, which was known for such industry. From the Bronze Age down to the Crusades the inhabitants of the coast from Acre northwards derived purple from the murex shells on the sea shore, as amply attested in Hellenistic and Roman sources and not least in Talmudic literature. It would appear that Tyrian purple was the chief industry of the Phoenicians in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. It was also probably the chief staple of Phoenician traders. As to the purple industry at Ugarit (Ras Shamrah) in the 15th-14th centuries B.C., we have evidence from two documents: one Ugaritic 4 and the other Accadian.5 The Ugaritic word for “red purple” is *argmn*, identical with Hebrew *argāmān*, Accadian *argamannu*, and probably derived from Anatolian *argam-*, 6 whereas in the Accadian text there appears the term *uk/qnātu* (pl.), and we have already seen that in Nuzi *uk/qnū* is a variety of purple; i.e., a synonym for *takiltu*, “blue purple,” which has its origin in Accadian *uk/qnū*, “lapis lazuli.” In the light of these facts Speiser’s hypothesis that the name *Pouvakk*, Phoenicia, is derived from Greek *phoinix* (*phoinós*), “red purple,” appears plausible.7 It would appear that there is close parallelism between the relation of this geographic term to that of the *Phoinikes* (who are mentioned in the Iliad and Odyssey interchangeably with *Sidōnīoi*, the Sidonians), on the one hand, and the relation between the name of the land of Canaan to the word *kinahhû* (with the Accadian nominative ending—*u*) in the Accadian dialect of Nuzi, on the other. We can now better understand the tradition handed down by the Phoenician priest Sanchuniathon, and recorded by Philo Byblius, that *Khnā* is the *heros eponymos* of the Phoenicians, while Greek tradition has preserved the fact that *Khnā* is the native name of Phoenicia.8 It appears that the Greeks translated

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7 Stählin, *Festschrift für J. Wackernagel* (1923), pp. 150 ff.; Maisler, *Unter-
the name *Kna* into their language, and that they regarded the Phoínikes as the traders who brought the products of their country from Phoenician ports, in particular the products of the red purple industry.

The establishment of these facts, however, does not explain the origin of the term *Kna*, *Kinah* (h) i, nor is it clear to what language it belonged. Lewy thought of a Hurrian (Horite) *kina* or *kana* as a synonym of Hebrew sūf, "reed" (cf. Hebrew qānēh, Ugaritic qn, Accadian quninu and Greek kānna), with the Hurrian suffix -hī. In this case *mār* *Kinah* (h) i would mean "(Land) of Reeds" (compare Yam Sūf, "Sea of Reeds"). But since the Negebite hypothesis of Dussaud and Virolleaud (that the Canaanites originated in the Negeb and the regions of the Red [Reed] Sea) has been entirely discarded—it was based on a mistranslation and misinterpretation of difficult Ugaritic texts—it is difficult to see any connection between *Kna* and sūf or why the country should be called "Land of Reeds."

Another hypothesis has been put forward by Albright in the light shed by the Nuzi and Ugaritic texts on the significance of *kinalhīyu, "purple." Albright starts from the fact that *iqna'u* (= Accadian uk/qnū) is used in Ugaritic in the sense of uk/qnū, "blue (purple)" while, as we have already seen, in Nuzi also this word is the equivalent of takiltu. Borrowed by the Hurrians it might appear as *ikna*, and with the Hurrian ending -gī or -hī, used to form adjectives of material and provenience, it might become *iKnaağğī* or *Kağğī*, cuneiform *Kinahhi, Phoenician Kna*, "Land of Purple" (originally "belonging to [the Land of] Purple"). But this theory also meets difficulties. Not only do we lack an important link in the chain of development between uk/qnū and *Knaağğī, Kinahhi* through the supposed Hurrian *ikna*, but it must be borne in mind that uk/qnū means "blue purple," while Greek *phoinix* means "red purple."

As for the suffix -ni/a in *Kn'n* and *Kinah-ni/a* (of the Amarna letters), Ungnad has already remarked that it is a Hurrian suffix, and both Lewy and Albright have rightly interpreted it thus. The Hurrian suffix -ne/i may be used in a variety of constructions; e.g., as attributive particle, which fixes the place of nominal components and has become frequent as a part of the stem. Again, as for the suffix -na which appears in the form *Kinah-na*, it must be remembered that Thureau-Dangin proved that -na is the plural counterpart of -ne; it should be noted, however, that in the Amarna letters this is the spelling peculiar to Abimilki of Tyre. Anyhow it is a Hurrian suffix to *Kna* and has become an inseparable part or an alternative form of the name. The

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9 RES, 1938, 2, pp. 49 ff.


11 Studies in the History of Culture, p. 25 and esp. n. 50.

12 Kulturfragen I, p. 13, n. 1. Already Ungnad assumed Kinah-ne/i to be the gentilic of *Kinah*.

13 s. Speiser, Annual, XX (1941), pp. 98 ff.

14 RA, XXXVI, p. 10.
fact, however, should be noted that the form Kinaḥ-ni/a is usual in the letters of the Phoenician princes of Byblus and Tyre in the Amarna correspondence, whereas the form Kinaḥ(h)i is usual in the letters of the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Alāšia, etc., as well as in the documents of Boğazköy. Without arriving at any far-reaching conclusion, it may be said that the form Kinaḥ-ni/a was already common in Phoenicia in the Amarna Age.\textsuperscript{15}

In order to clarify the term Kn'-Kn'a, importance must be attached to a new Egyptian document, namely a stele of Amenophis II, discovered a few years ago in the ruins of Memphis, for which I am grateful to Mr. B. Grdsefoff (Cairo), who was also kind enough to send me a transliteration and translation of the inscription. It is a report of two campaigns of Amenophis II in Asia: one in the year 8 in central and northern Syria, and the second in Palestine in the 9th year of his reign.\textsuperscript{16} In his first campaign Amenophis II got as far as Niya\textsuperscript{16a} and Trisâh, which is mādît Zalhî (in the neighborhood of Ugarit) of the Amarna letters.\textsuperscript{17} On his way back he passed Kadesh on the Orontes, hunted in the forest of Rûbâw, which is probably Lab'û of Tiglathpilesar III, Biblical לֶכֶת תַּחַת (now Labweh on the Orontes)\textsuperscript{18} and returned by way of Ḥāṣābu and the Sharon plain to Egypt. Amenophis gives the following list of captives from Syria (ll. 15-16):

550 maryana, 640 Kyn'nu, 232 sons of princes, 323 daughters of princes, 270 concubines of princes. At the end of the inscription there is another list of captives (ll. 29-30): 217 princes of Rûnw, 179 brothers of the princes, 3600 'prw, 15200 ḫḏw, 36300 Ḫrûw, 15070 N3pḏw, 30652 of their wives.

The author of the document distinguishes four "ethnic" groups in Syria: Huru (cuneiform Ḫurrû, Uguritic and Hebrew חור), the inhabitants of the Egyptian province Huru, i.e., Syria and Palestine; Nugasu, the inhabitants of the land Nugas, cum. Nuḥašše in northern Syria; Šûsu, the nomads, and finally Apîru, the Ḫapîru of the cuneiform documents and the 'prm of a recently published Ugaritic text. Even in the present document the 'Apîru appear as only a small section of the population of Syria and Palestine, and their connection with the "Hebrews" of Biblical literature is still probable.

As for the term Kyn'nu = Kina'nu it must be borne in mind that it is a noble caste placed on a par with the maryana "chariot warriors"—the Syrian aristocracy. This is borne out by their number and their being mentioned between the maryana and the sons of the princes. When we come to consider the class here mentioned, it is obvious that it refers to the moneyed class—the plutocracy of the coastal and the trading centres of Syria and Palestine, because the term Kena'an, Kena'ani, means in Biblical sources "merchant, trader," and in particular, "Phoenician trader." Cf. especially Isaiah 23: 8:

\textsuperscript{15} Kn. 109: 46; 131: 61; 137: 76; 148: 46; 151: 50. The Accadian gentilic of Kinaḥ(h)i is found only once: Kinaḥâ'u, Kn. 9: 19; s. Albright, JBL, LIV (1935), p. 186.

\textsuperscript{16} See the report of Badawi, ASAE, XLII (1943), pp. 1 ff.

\textsuperscript{16a} On Niya see Smith, Alalakh and Chronology (1940), p. 37, n. 102.

\textsuperscript{17} Kn. 126: 5.

\textsuperscript{18} See my article in BJPEs, XII (1946), to be published shortly.
According to this verse the Canaanites, i.e., traders, formed the aristocracy of Tyre in the 8th century B.C. In Ez. 17: 4 stands in parallelism with (cf. Ez. 27: 3): the “land of Canaan” is here the “Land of Traders,” i.e., the Phoenician ports. It follows also that in Ez. 16: 29 is “Chaldaea, the land of merchants.” In like manner it is possible to interpret in Zeph. 2: 5. The expressions and similarly, again have the same significance. In Zach. 11: 7, 11 one must doubtless read, in accordance with the LXX, “the sheep merchants.” The most interesting verse, however, is undoubtedly Job 40: 30, where particular note must be taken of the parallelism and . The latter word recalls the stem hbr, which is to be found both in Accadian and in Canaanite. The primary meaning of Accadian huburu is obviously “company, community.” Old-Assyrian bit hubüri and Middle-Assyrian bit hu/iburni (with the Hurrian particle -ne/i!) means “store-house” (“community house”). and Ugartic bit hbr (Keret I, ll. 172-3), literally “community house,” has probably similar meaning. Of greater significance, however, is the passage in the Report of Wen-Amun (cir. 1100 B.C.) in which we read that at the port of Byblus there were 20 ships which stood in hubur (hbr) with Smendes, prince of Tanis, and at Sidon were 50 ships in similar relation to a man Wrktr, probably the head of a great trading company. There can be no doubt that the term hubur refers to the development of a mercantile organization in the Phoenician cities. In reference to that Albright says: “Thanks to the khubur it was possible to find the necessary capital with which to build and outfit trading fleets, as well as to protect them after they were built. These merchant fleets were still employed mainly in trade between Egypt and Phocicia.” What is said here of the “Golden Age” of the Sidonians during the Early Iron Age fits very well into the Late Bronze Age. We must imagine great traders in the ports and business centers organized into trading companies, with fleets and storehouses. It is worth noting the passage in 2 Chr. 20: 35-37 where we find the stem hbr in the same sense: . In Biblical Hebrew the stems hbr and hbr haven’t fallen together, but in the quoted examples it is still possible to recognize the Canaanite meaning of hbr. The expressions and above-mentioned passage in Job, which are probably equivalent to , obviously come from current Canaanite usage. It follows that they were the heads and the members of the trading companies—a class of great importance and influence, particularly in the Phoenician coastal towns. Since Phoenicia became the centre of highly developed purple industry, and purple was the main export of the Phoenician traders, it follows

21 Studies, etc., pp. 30-7.
that *kina' (kna'), kinaḥhu in Nuzi Accadian, received the connotation of "merchandise par excellence of the Canaanites," i.e., "red purple," whereas the Canaanites themselves called it 'argamānu, as known from Ugaritic and Hebrew. It should be noted that in Jer. 10: 17 there has been preserved the word הִנֵּה in the sense of simple merchandise, the word being translated in the LXX as νπόταοις and in the Targum Jonathan as sḥōrāh.

As to the geographic name "Canaan," Hebrew and late Phoenician Kn'n, cun. Kinah(h) i, Kinaḥni/a, Egyptian p₂ Kn'n, one can trace a double connotation in the term ever since its first occurrence in the Amarna Age. It refers both to the Egyptian province of Syria generally and to the Phoenician coast in particular. In the Amarna letters it usually refers to the Egyptian province of Palestine, Phoenicia and Syria, as in the letters of Pharaoh and of the kings of Babylonia, Alašia and other countries. The fact must be noted, however, that Rib-Addi of Byblus and Abimilki of Tyre make frequent use of this geographic term, written as Kinahni/a, which was certainly more current in the coastal region than inland.

This double sense of the term is well illustrated in the Biblical sources. On the one hand it is a geographic name of wide connotation, embracing Palestine, Phoenicia and Southern Syria, namely all the regions under Egyptian suzerainty at the time of the 19th Dynasty. Hence the application of the Egyptian name p₂ Kn'n to the Egyptian provinces of Asia at the time of Sethos I, Ramesses II, Merneptah and Ramesses III, which was identified with Huru, the name of the province in the days of the 18th Dynasty. In this connotation the Israelites employed the name K'na'an until the time of the Kingdom, but it undoubtedly dates back to the time of the Conquest, and the Canaanites are therefore the inhabitants of the whole of the Land of Canaan (see particularly Nu. 13: 17-21; 34: 1-2; Judges 1, etc., and also Gen. 10: 15-19). On the other hand Canaan is the land of the Sidonians, and the Canaanites are the inhabitants of the Phoenician coast and Phoenician settlements in the Jordan Valley (Nu. 13: 29; Jos. 5: 1; 11: 3), which is similar to the use of Phoinikes and Sidonioi by Homer. Hence Sidon appears in the Table of Nations as the eldest son of Canaan (Gen. 10: 15). The development of the term "Canaan" from an appellation of the important class or caste of traders to mean Phoenicia and the Egyptian

22 Argamānu (Ass. argamannu) is probably delivered from Anatolian argam-, Hittite arkkammas "tribute"; cf. Albright, ibid., p. 25, n. 50.
23 Jer. 10: 15: אֶפֶס מָאָרִים כְּנַהְרָן is translated in the Targum Jonathan: מַנְּהַרְבִּים מְאָרִים מַהְוִית.
24 Kn. 8: 25-6; 9: 19-20; 30: 1; 162: 41; AO 7095. Note [p]i-ḥa-ti ša Ki-na-ḥi, "the province of Kinah," in the letter of the King of Alašia to Pharaoh (Kn. 36: 15) as worthy of special notice.
25 As opposed to "Canaan" the Syrian regions from the Lebanon to the Euphrates are included in the term "Land of the Hittites" (Josh. 1: 4). See my History of Palestine, I (1938), p. 162.
26 LXX: ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Φοινίκης ὁ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν for מלך הכנענים אפר סיוון. Cf. the expression in Kn. 74: 19-20.
27 Heb. בןעני, Eg. Kyn'nuw, refers primarily to a class just as ḥupšu, חַפְּשֻׁ.
province of Syria generally, may have taken place in the 15th century B.C. At that time the word Kn’ had received its specific connotation, namely the particular merchandise of the Canaanite traders, i.e., red purple. The fact should be noted that whereas the inscription of Amenophis II recognizes the Kyn’nu as a special class of people in Syria, p3 Kn’n as the name of the country entered into use in Egyptian only in the last quarter of the 14th century.

NEW SUMERIAN LITERARY TEXTS

THORKILD JACOBSEN

As one reads Dr. Kramer’s new book one becomes imbued with a sense of gratitude toward the author for what he has given here. Indeed, one feels indebted to all—not least the editors of the Annual—who have contributed to making the appearance of Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur possible. For they look so unspectacular, the damaged tablets and tiny fragments which fill the pages of this volume; and yet their importance for our knowledge of the finest achievements of Sumerian culture can hardly be overrated. They are part of the very foundation on which that knowledge rests, they are source materials.

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The contents of the volume are so rich and varied that one finds it difficult to choose texts for special mention. The importance of even the smallest fragments is well exemplified by No. 9, which has enabled Professor Geers to piece together the greater part of the text of the third tablet of Luğal-e, thus adding considerably to our knowledge of this important heroic myth of the god Ninurta (See Professor Geers’ forthcoming review of the volume in JNES). Similar feats have been performed—again and again—by Dr. Kramer. No. 32, for instance, was recognized by him as containing the beginning of the myth of Inanna

םיינ, הניבי, and probably י빗נה—hapiru (hapiru); on these terms see Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 109.