Acknowledgements

I would like to thank in particular my supervisor, Professor D.J. Wiseman, Professor of Assyriology in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for his patient guidance and help through the course of this research. I would also like to thank those who have kindly read and commented on all or part of this work at various stages, including Professor H.W.F. Saggs, Mr. A.R. Millard, Dr. M.J. Selman, Mrs. S. Littman and Mr. R.G. Evans. Lastly, and most of all, I would like to thank my wife, Morven, for her patience, encouragement and typing, since this time could not have been spent without her support. Proverbs 31:18b, 29.
Abstract.

Idiomatic Expressions in Hebrew and Akkadian Relating to the Head.

David Weston Baker.

This study sets out to determine the meanings of a limited number of gestures in Hebrew and Akkadian and to compare them intra- and interlinguistically. The first chapter presents the anthropological and linguistic approaches to a study of these gestures recorded in texts, and concludes that the only method available at the moment which can determine their meanings is to analyse each in the context in which it occurs.

Chapters II - IV analyse a number of these gestures, namely those in which the object of the verb is either the head, face, forehead, cheek, or hair. It is noted that the gestures are used literally, metaphorically, symbolically, and idiomatically.

In Chapter V a comparison of the gestures in each and both languages is undertaken. First, the various contexts in which the gestures are found are studied, with a note being made of the different gestures sharing the same context, or semantic field. Then a study is made of the semantic range, or range of meaning of the various gestures. Conclusions are then drawn concerning the viability of methodology employed in a study of phrases of this kind, as well as the assistance which can be derived by a comparative study of the gestures in providing support for an interpretation or for suggesting other possible meanings. Note is then made of the new interpretations and other information obtained by this study.
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Abbreviations.

The abbreviations used are those indicated in the Provisional List of Bibliographical Abbreviations of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vol. 9, L (1973), pp. vi-xvii, and Other Abbreviations, ibid., pp. xix-xx. Biblical abbreviations follow *IDB*, pp. xxix-xxx. Additions and alterations include:-

**ANET**[^3]  See bibliography under Pritchard, J.B.

**ATT**  Alalakh Tablet No. Cited from D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*.

**BAL**  See bibliography under Borger, R.

**BB**  See bibliography under Brown, F.

**BH**[^3]  See bibliography under Kittel, R.

**BHS**  See bibliography under Ellinger, K.

**Bright, History**  See bibliography under Bright, J.

**Cent.**  Century, centuries.

**Dhorme, Job**  See bibliography under Dhorme, E.

**Ee**  *Enuma elish*

**GAG**  See bibliography under von Soden, W.

**GCBC**  Goucher College Babylonian Collection number.

**Gesenius-Kautsch**  See bibliography under Couley, A.E.

**Gilgamesh**  Cited from R.C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*.


**'Idiomatic Accadian'**  See bibliography under Oppenheim, A.L.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kas.</td>
<td>Kassite</td>
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<tr>
<td>KB</td>
<td>Keilinschrift Bibliothek; see bibliography under Koehler, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB³</td>
<td>See bibliography under Koehler, L.</td>
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<td>LAS</td>
<td>See bibliography under Parpola, S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'emploi</td>
<td>See bibliography under Dhorme, E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>Septuagint, cited from A. Rahlfs, ed., <em>Septuaginta</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNB</td>
<td>Louvre (Musées Nationaux, B) number.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td>Masoretic Text.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEB</td>
<td><em>New English Bible</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Or. NS</td>
<td><em>Orientalia New Series</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTL</td>
<td>Old Testament Library</td>
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<td>Peake</td>
<td>See bibliography under Black, M.</td>
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<td>SU</td>
<td>Tablets from Sultantepe-Urfa.</td>
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<td>Thontalfelfund.</td>
<td>See bibliography under Winckler, H.</td>
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<td>W</td>
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Chapter I: Introduction

The problem with which this thesis will deal is the interpretation and understanding of idiomatic expressions which relate to the head. These will be limited, for this thesis, to those instances in which the head is the object of a physical gesture, e.g. striking or raising. The head in particular was chosen since, due to its salient position on the body, it is a focus for gestures. These occur in various contexts, including legal, economic, historical and religious. Study of these gestures will thus elucidate a number of these important areas, while still being manageable within the scope of this study.

Akkadian and biblical Hebrew will be the languages under discussion. Due to the limited Hebrew corpus, all of the relevant gestures in the OT can be studied. Since the Akkadian literature is much more abundant, an exhaustive study of it cannot be undertaken here. The main emphasis will be on the Hebrew material, with the comparative study limited to those Akkadian passages found relevant in light of the Hebrew. There will also be included, however, discussion of relevant Akkadian gestures which do not have a Hebrew equivalent or have one in which another body part, possibly not part of the head, is involved. The aim of this research is to establish as far as possible for this limited set of gestures their meanings and their relationships within and between the two languages.

The study of such gestures has already been undertaken to some extent by anthropologists, who study them as they can actually be observed.1 They can see that the gestures have meaning since

they alter the behaviour of those to whom they are directed,¹ and can study them in situ with the possible aid of the participants. Since the ritual gestures lead to a change in behaviour, they are a means of communication.² The gestures are then symbolic since they represent something which, when understood, brings about a situational change, but does not cause this change itself.³ This is to differentiate the literal aspect of the gesture, such as the striking of the cheek resulting in tears, from its symbolic significance, i.e. why the cheek was struck and what is the new relationship which results between the parties involved.⁴ While the literal aspect of the various gestures will be noted, the main concern of this thesis, where possible, will be with their symbolism.

As has been noted, the anthropologist generally restricts his study to observable gestures. These can be repeated and explained, if need be, by a native informant.⁵ Apart from this 'exegetical' (so Turner) method of determining the meaning of a symbolic gesture, the anthropologist can study the changes brought about by the

1. R. Firth, loc. cit., p.2.
3. This is in keeping with The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary's definition of symbol as: "Something that stands, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation)" (p.2108, col.3).
gesture and how the symbol is used, since the meaning of one gesture is not determined in isolation but in its relationship with other gestures. He must also study the whole cluster or field of related symbols.

Also, and of primary importance in this thesis, the gesture must be studied in its context, since the meaning is not arbitrarily assigned, but comes from the situation in which it occurs, by those participating in the ritual, and also the other actions occurring in its field. The context is important since not only can one gesture symbolise two or more different things (polysemy), it can also at times symbolise opposite things (antonymy).

The gestures in this study, however, are not observable, except rarely by their representations in contemporary art, nor are they repeatable. It is necessary to approach them through the study of the texts, that is, linguistically, which has its own difficulties. The modern linguistic study of meaning (i.e. semantics) has only a relatively brief history. In addition, determining the meaning of symbolic gestures falls into an even less developed area of study than that of general semantics, namely the study of idioms.

1. 'Operational dimension' of symbols - V. Turner, loc.cit., p.12; R. Firth, op.cit., p.85.
4. R. Firth, op.cit., p.175.
Even today there is no consensus of opinion as to the definition of 'idiom', even less as to the correct method of its analysis.\(^1\)

Y. Bar-Hillel, in one of the earliest papers on the subject of the analysis of idioms, studied the problems offered by them to machine-translation of languages. He proposed a definition of 'idiom' which illustrates the problem. He said that an idiom is a phrase in which, even though each component word can be understood by the use of a dictionary, the phrase as a whole cannot be understood. The phrase means more than the sum of its components.\(^2\) It is this definition which R. Hudson accepts in his review,\(^3\) and which is used in this thesis.

U. Weinreich saw the problem caused by idioms to the Chomskian, transformational theory of grammar, since "under the rubric of idiomaticity we are concerned with complex structures that can be recognized and analysed but not naturally generated by any specific machinery so far proposed".\(^4\) In 1969 he tried to analyse idioms to see if any 'machinery' could be put forward to generate their meanings. Weinreich finally came to the conclusion that "the relation between idiomatic and literal meanings is so unsystematic as to deserve no place in the semantic theory". One can know the relationship between the literal and the idiomatic only in retrospect, after having already established the meaning of the idiom.\(^5\)

1. Cf. R. Hudson's review of A. Makkai, Idiom Structure in English (1972) in Journal of Linguistics II (1975), pp. 73-80, in which three different, current definitions are discussed.
3. Cf. n. 1 above.
5. Ibid., p. 76.
Symbolic gestures show graphically the problem as stated by Weinreich, since each symbolic gesture contains both the literal, observable gesture and the symbolic, unseen meaning of the gesture. The meaning of the gesture is idiomatic as defined by Bar-Hillel (p. 4 above) since neither the component parts of the actual gesture nor the component words used for the gesture in the texts can yield the meaning of the gesture as a whole, even if each of these components is completely understood, either anthropologically or lexically. Compounding the problem still further, an idiom, like other words and phrases, does not have only one specific meaning. The examples below will show that one idiomatic gesture can have several different, and possibly unrelated, meanings.

Weinreich's conclusion is of importance to this thesis in that one of the main aims of the research is to establish the meanings of idioms which have previously been misunderstood or not understood at all. Since there is no formula which delivers the meaning of an idiom, another method must be used. This will be the detailed analysis of each phrase in its context in order to establish the meaning each time it is used, thus returning to the method of analysis used by the anthropologist.

This study of context to find the operational meaning of the idiom involves several aspects. The first is determining the wider, linguistic environment in which the idiom occurs. In its widest sense, this includes the edition or recension of the text used.

For the OT, this will be that part of the eclectic Masoretic text now available in BHS, ¹ or, where the former is not yet in print,

¹. I.e. Genesis - Judges, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Minor Prophets, and Psalms.
that of BH. For the Akkadian examples, the latest recension of each text will be used.

It is also imperative to determine the more immediate, literary context of the idiom. This involves the literary form of the passage in which it occurs (i.e. whether the passage is legal, historical, religious or the like) as well as the style. The date of the text must also be established, where possible, since the meaning of a word or phrase does not necessarily remain static through time. Also, the non-verbal context must be noted, especially in this study of gestures. This includes the historical situation in which the action occurred, if that is possible to determine, as well as those who are involved, whether the god, the king, or some other person, male or female.

Since the immediate linguistic environment of a term directly affects its meaning, this must also be noted, e.g. if there are prepositions, suffixes, constructs, etc. involved. Also the semantic field of each idiom must be examined. This involves words which are related in some way to the idiom as indicated by contextual similarities and parallels. Since meaning arises from relationships within the context and the semantic field, different semantic fields and contexts mean different words, or at least different meanings of one word,

1. The dates given for the OT texts are those of current critical, scholarly, opinion, as reflected by O. Kaiser, Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems (1969, transl. 1975), unless otherwise noted. These dates are generally the latest dates possible for the texts, most of which are considered to have been redacted from earlier sources. The dates given for the Psalms, however, are my own unless indicated. The Akkadian texts are dated according to the date or period of the copy, which is also often much later than the original.
i.e. polysemy. It must be noted how the semantic field is divided among the constituent idioms in order to determine why one idiom from the field is used instead of another in a particular context.²

A start was made in this area of idioms relating to the head in Hebrew and Akkadian by Edouard Dhorme in his L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien (1923). In this work, Dhorme included a brief discussion of some of the symbolic gestures with which this thesis will be dealing under his area of 'metaphor' which he calls "l'humanisation de la nature" in which "les noms des diverses parties qui composent le corps humain soient transférés ... aux objets inanimés".³

In JAOS 61 (1941), 257-271, A.L. Oppenheim published an article entitled "Idiomatic Accadian (Lexicographical Researches)" in which he collected and discussed idioms containing names of parts of the body from neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian sources, mainly letters. A number of these idioms are in fact symbolic gestures and thus are relevant for this study.

In addition to these two works of wider scope, there have been a few studies of single gestures or of a restricted group of gestures.⁴ Translators of texts also often comment on

3. 'The humanising of nature' in which 'the names of the different parts which form the human body are transferred to ... inanimate objects', L'emploi, p.2.
4. E.g. E.M. Cassin, RA 34 (1937), pp.145-16 in which pūtam mābāsum is discussed, and A. Draffkorn Kilmer, JAOS 94 (1974), pp.177-183 in which ina appi šadādu and related symbolic gestures are discussed.
symbolic gestures in conjunction with their translation. In addition, the dictionaries at times present their interpretation of the meaning of a gesture, usually listing this meaning under the discussion of the component verb rather than that of the body part involved in the gesture. Such references will be given within the discussion of a specific action. Many articles present the translations of idioms as conclusions without a discussion of how these translations are arrived at. This thesis will present the evidence and arguments for the conclusions made.

In order to determine the meaning of the idioms, each is studied synchronically, or at least a note is made of the period in which it is used. First the literal meaning and use of the body part involved and of the action performed upon it is established. Then follows a study of the idiomatic gestures in each of the various contexts in which it occurs in each language, Hebrew first, then followed by Akkadian, as has been explained above. On the basis of this study, in addition to a critical analysis of the previous interpretations of the idiom, a meaning is proposed or adopted. After all the idioms are studied, a comparison is made of the various different idioms occurring in similar contexts, both within the same language and, comparatively, in different languages. In order to provide a wider basis for comparison, the study is not restricted simply to the head itself, but also to some of its parts. These include the face, the forehead, the cheeks, and the hair. This comparative study of contextual similarities avoids the dangers inherent in a comparison based solely upon etymological or cognate grounds, even though these will be
noted since they at times provide useful insights. This study also allows comparison between idioms occurring in similar contexts but involving different parts of the body or different gestures. This in turn leads to a discussion of why specific parts or gestures were used in some contexts.

There is also included a diachronic study of the various idioms, if they have continued in use through an extended period of time. This notes whether the idiom has retained, lost, or changed its meaning through time as well as if whether the meaning may have transferred from one idiom to another.

Finally, a study is undertaken of the semantic fields and how they are divided between the various idioms. This division is compared between Hebrew and Akkadian. In addition, the semantic range of the individual gestures is noted to indicate the different contexts in which the gesture occurs and the different meanings it might have. This is also done comparatively.

The nature of this thesis has limited the range of gestures which can be studied. These will be restricted to those expressed in the form of a verb and a direct object, possibly accompanied by a preposition. This allows inclusion of such phrases as פָּסָּ֑נְעָ֠ו and קַכָּתָּ֑מ (kēm), 'to cover the head', but rules out such extended clauses as קַכִּים יַֽעְנָ֑ו 'to put dust on the head'. Also excluded from study are single verbs which implicitly include a part of the body in their meaning, e.g. פָּסָּ֑נְעָו, 'to veil (the face, head)'. There are also several phrases which have already been widely discussed and which will not be covered here, e.g. phrases relating to the abbuttum.
Chapter II

The Head

A. The Hebrew שלו and the Akkadian רֶשֶׁע(m)(SAG) both signify the physical head. The uses of both have extended to include the uppermost part of a physical object, and of a quality (i.e., 'best'). Both also denote the 'front' or 'beginning,' and are used of the 'person'; an example of synecdoche.

רֶשֶׁע and the Akkadian qaqadu(m)(SAG.DU) also signify the head as well as the more explicit 'top of the head'. qaqadu(m) has the additional meanings of the 'upper part' and 'beginning,' as well as 'capital.' רֶשֶׁע does not have these.

ןָה occurs only once, signifying 'bone marrow,' and there-

1. This is accepted by the lexicons and is supported by the same meanings of cognate words in other Semitic languages. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p.10 and L'emploi, p.19-20.

2. E.g. a mountain (Gen.8:53; ADAT 8, p.359:30). Cf. for other examples BDB p.910 (sub שֶׁלֶם 1,2) and AHw., p.974 (sub רֶשֶׁע(m) 8).

3. Cf. BDB p.911 (sub שֶׁלֶם I 3, 5) and AHw.,(loc.cit., E).

4. Cf. BDB,(loc.cit., 4a) and AHw.,(loc.cit., C).

5. Cf. BDB,(loc.cit., 4b, c) and AHw.,(loc.cit., D).

6. E.g. K.4226:11 in CT XXX, p.44. Cf. also 1.3 (pp. 18, 21 ).

7. Cf. ZZ 42 (1939) p.149:146 which refers to a single variant qad-qan-di.


10. Cf. AHw., p.900 (sub qaqadu(m) 6,8, and 9 respectively).

11. 'the marrow of his bones is moist' (Job 21:24). In post-biblical Hebrew, plural is used specifically of the brain.
fore is not relevant to this study. The cognate muḫḫu(m)(SAG;UGU) is used of the skull.¹ E. Dhorme stated that this is an example of the contents (the brain) giving its name to the container (the skull).² muḫḫu(m) extended in usage to be a preposition meaning 'on, concerning'.³

ḫiṣṣu and the Akkadian gulqullu(m) also mean the skull.⁴ gulqullu(m) is only used as the skull per se (or a container of the same shape),⁵ while ḫiṣṣu is also used to signify the whole person⁶; another example of synecdoche. Neither noun will be discussed here.

B 'to raise, carry, bring'

In both Hebrew and Akkadian there are several verbs occupying a similar semantic range to 'to raise'. The cognates  וב and našū(m) are used to signify the physical lifting of objects.⁷ They also mean 'to carry',⁸ which is within the same semantic range.

2. So L'emploi, p.20.
3. Cf. AHw., p.668 (sub muḫḫu(m) B); GAG {115h}.
6. E.g. Ex.16:15; Num.1:2.
7. Cf. BDB, p.670 (sub וב 1a) and AHw., p.762 (sub našū(m) II G I I).
8. Cf. BDB, p.671(loc.cit. 2a, e, f) and AHw., p.763 (sub našū(m) II G II).
Both have the head or its parts as their object.

The verb בָּהַ in the Qal-stem is a stative verb and means 'to be high, exalted'.¹ When used in the Hiphil-stem, the verb is transitive and is used literally for physical raising,² as well as metaphorically for exalting.

םַעְּנָעַי also has this intransitive meaning of 'to be high'³ with the transitive meaning 'to raise' in the D-stem.⁴ The head and its parts occur with forms of the verb in both stems.

וֹלָה and the Akkadian elû(m) are used intransitively for 'to go up'.⁵ Both are transitive when used in other verbal stems, in Hebrew the Hiphil-stem and in Akkadian the D- and ง-stems.⁶ The Hebrew verb is not found with the head or its parts in the OT. יִלְוָ(m), however, is so used, and so is relevant here.

Several other Akkadian verbs share this semantic range.

dekû(m) has a wide usage including removal,⁷ mobilizing of troops and workers,⁸ as well as lifting or raising.⁹ It is

1. BDB, pp.926-927 (sub בָּהַ Qal).
2. Ibid. (loc.cit., Hiph.)
3. Delitzsch HDB, p.684 (sub וֹלָה I).
4. Ibid. (loc.cit.; II).
5. Cf. BDB, pp.748-749 (sub מַעְּנָעַי Qal); CAO E, pp.114-125 (sub elû 1-3); AHw., pp.206-208 (sub elû(m) IV G B).
7. CAO D, pp.124-125 (sub dekû 1).
8. Ibid., pp.125-128(loc.cit., 2d, e; 3).
with the last meaning that the head and its parts occur as the
object. Similarly matābu(m) has the same meaning of lifting or
raising, and also includes transport and delivery in its field. (u)
abālu(m) and its variant babālu(m) share the semantic range
of these verbs in their use for 'carrying' or 'bringing' objects.
It is not used of the head itself but is used with the face as
its direct object.

1. לָיָן, 'to raise (the head)'

   לָיָן occurs in several different OT contexts,
including death, imprisonment, and the conducting of an
inventory. It also occurs in the negative in the context of
defeat or oppression and in the positive when an enemy of
Yahweh plots against him. Once it is used metaphorically of
city gates upon the arrival of the king.

220-221 in which A.L. Oppenheim notes the partial synonymy of
matābu, našō and dekū in this portion of their semantic field.
2. Ibid., (loc.cit., 1,2).
3. Cf. CAD A1, pp.10ff (sub abālu A).
4. Gen.40:19-20 (E); I Chr.10:9 (fourth-third cent. B.C.).
6. Ex.30:12; Num.1:2,49; 4:2,22; 26:2; 31:26,49 (all P).
7. Judg.8:28 (D); Job 10:15 (fifth-third cent. B.C.); Zech.2:4
(sixth cent. B.C.).
8. Ps.83:3 (pre-exilic).
9. Ps.24:7, par.9 (Solomonic).
1.1 

 Shard occurs in the context of Saul's death in I Chr.10:9, in which the Philistines, coming to strip the bodies of the fallen following the battle with Israel, found Saul's body: ... (10) 'They stripped him and raised his head and his equipment .... They placed his equipment in their gods' temple and impaled his skull in Dagon's temple.' Here shard is literally 'raise the head', which is used for 'to decapitate', and is not idiomatic. 

1.2 shard occurs in several verses as a reflexive action. Those involving people share the context of either seeking to inflict, or being in a state of, subjection or 

1. In the parallel account in I Sam.31:9 (D), the phrase is replaced by 'and they cut off his head', which shows that by the time of the Chronicler the two phrases were synonymous. I Sam.31:10 records that Saul's equipment was placed in Asherah's temple, but that his corpse ( ) was impaled on the wall of Beth-shean, which is probably where Dagon's temple was (I Chr.10:10); cf. RLA II, p.100 (sub Dagan). Upon a similar victory, David also beheaded his enemy, Goliath (I Sam.17:54-D). 

2. This interpretation has been accepted by commentators: e.g. H.W. Hertzberg, I + II Samuel (1965, rep.1974), p.233. 

3. Judg.8:28; Zech.2:4; Ps.24:7 par.9 (of gates); 83:3; Job 10:15. Cf. 1.3, 1.4, which concern action being done by one person to another. 

4. Ps.83 speaks of Yahweh's enemies and those who hate him who: 'against your people they craftily plot, and conspire against your treasured ones'. 

5. Judg.8:28 speaks of the Midianites: 'And Midian was humbled before the Israelites .... Zech.2:4, speaking of the four 'horns', a metaphor for Israel's enemies: which will scatter Judah ....' In Job 10:15 the speaker is: '... sated with ignominy and seeing my oppression'. 

oppression. When speaking to Yahweh, the Psalmist says: 'for your enemies are boisterous and those who hate you raise their head' (Ps.83:3). In contrast, those who are oppressed or subjugated cannot 'raise the head'.

E. Dhorme interpreted as showing one who is "exultant and proud". Those who could not 'raise the head' were interpreted as being downcast or broken in spirit. In that case, this action is literal but symbolises self-satisfaction and so has a greater meaning than if it were simply literal.

1. In Judg.8:28, the humbled Midianites 'did not continue to raise their heads ...'. Job says that if he sins, Yahweh will not forgive him (v.14) and one to him if he does sin (v.15): 'such that a man will not raise his head ...', because of his ignominy (Job 10). In Zech.2:4, the four horns will scatter Judah: 'such that a man will not raise his head ...'.


4. In Ps.24:7, par.9, is extended to inanimate objects when gates are commanded: 'Raise your heads, you gates, and be raised, you everlasting doorways. The King of Glory is coming.' This has been interpreted by W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms (1939, rep.1959), p.187 and A. Weiser, The Psalms (1952), p.235, as an order for the gates to open for the approaching procession. It could also refer simply to the very high city gates which were found in the ancient Near East, e.g. the Balawat gates.
Another context in which \( \text{חתן} \) occurs is that of imprisonment. In these accounts the prisoner had previously been a person of importance, either a 'chief-steward', (Gen.40:20), or a former king of Judah (II Kings 25:27, par. Jer.52:31). In each case, the ruler of the country 'raised the head' of the prisoner. The prisoners were then either returned to their former positions, or given honour. Jer.52:31 adds: 'לַחֲצֵה וּרְאֵה, ... 'He caused him to go out of prison'. Release from prison is implicit in the Genesis passage if the steward were to perform his duties.

1. Gen.40:13,20; II Kings 25:27 par. Jer.52:31. In each of these passages, and those in the following sections of this thesis, the noun is preceded by the object-marker \( \text{n} \).

2. In the first instance: 'וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ, וְגַם יָנֶס בְּנֵי בָּבֶל, שָׁוְא אָבְדְתָה אֵלֶּיה שָׁלְחָנֵי יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ' 'On the third day was the pharaoh's birthday and he held a feast for all of his servants. He raised the head of the chief steward' (Gen.40:20). In Gen.40:13, Joseph had told the steward that this was what would happen: 'פַּהֲקֵנַה מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ ... 'Pharaoh will raise your head'. In the second: 'וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ פַּרְנֵס בַּבֶּל, וְגָרָה וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ מֵאֹתֵי בַּבֶּל, שָׁוְא אָבְדְתָה אֵלֶּיה שָׁלְחָנֵי יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ' 'Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, raised the head of Jehoiachin, king of Judah' (II Kings 25:27). This is exactly parallel to Jer.52:31.

3. 'וַיְבִא בִּנְבוּךְ אֶל הָאָרֶץ, וַיִּבְרָא יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ וְגַם יָנֶס בְּנֵי בָּבֶל' 'And he returned the chief-steward to his stewardship' (Gen.40:21).

4. 'וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ פַּרְנֵס בַּבֶּל, וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ מֵאֹתֵי בַּבֶּל, שָׁוְא אָבְדְתָה אֵלֶּיה שָׁלְחָנֵי יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ' 'He spoke kindly with him and set his seat above the seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon' (II Kings 25:28). Jer.52:32 var.: 'ומָשָׁחַ אַלּוֹתֵי נַחֲלָם וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ' ... .

5. II Kings 25:27 only says that Jehoachin's head was raised 'from prison': 'וַיִּקָּר יִרְאֵי מַעֲבַדְתַּיִךְ מֵאֹתֵי בַּבֶּל' From the parallel passage, it would appear that this is an elision of the verb 'לָחֵץ'.

1
These similarities in the context of these two accounts indicate that שָׁלַחְתָּם means the same in both.

In this context has been interpreted in several ways. D.B. Redford translated the phrase in Gen. 40:13 as a metaphor meaning "to restore one's fortunes". This is an inadequate interpretation in the light of the Jehoiachin account since he was not 'restored', which implies a return to a previous state, but was given new honour. The explicit statement of the restoration of the steward to his post which immediately follows the 'raising of his head' in Gen. 40:13,21 would be redundant, or else epexegetical, if this interpretation was adopted. שָׁלַחְתָּם has also been interpreted as 'to release from prison', which also leaves the possibility of redundancy caused by the explicit reference to Jehoiachin's release in Jer. 52:31. This could also be an epexegesis used for stylistic reasons. The possible redundancy is alleviated by E.A. Speiser's translation of שָׁלַחְתָּם as 'to pardon'.

1. Cf. p.5 for a discussion of this concept of meaning being related to context.


5. A possibility suggested by A.R. Millard in private correspondence.

6. Genesis (1964), p.308. He views this as a development from the literal "lifting the head of a depressed person" to "comforting and pardoning". The possible development of the phrase to 'comfort' is straightforward, but the further step to 'pardon' is not so clear. Cf. also J. Khanjian, in An Or 50 (1975), p.392 (sub 31·d).
this interpretation on the grounds that the baker, of whom the phrase is also used, was not pardoned, but Speiser postulated a three-way word play based on נושא הת with different meanings for the action here and in the case of the baker.

J.A. Montgomery appears to interpret נושא הת metaphorically when he translates II Kings 25:28 as "Evil-Merodach ... lifted up the head (i.e. the person) of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison." (emphasis his). This would be an example of synecdoche in which the head stood for the person or individual. The metaphorical extension involves the verb being extended in use from 'physically raising an object' to 'figuratively raising one from a lower state to a higher'. The phrase נושא הת could then be understood literally, with each part of it, when analysed, contributing to the meaning, rather than as an idiom, which is not analysable from its components.

This interpretation is suitable in both of these accounts, but another interpretation will be shown below to be better (p. 27).

2. Genesis, p.308, "Pharoah will review (cf. p.19, n.1 and 1.4, p.27) the cases of his two disgraced appointees, pardon the Cup-bearer, but behead (cf. 1.1, p.14 and pp. 20-21) the baker."
4. Cf. L'emploi, p.21 where this usage of the noun is given. This parallels the English use of the word in such cases as 'three head of sheep'.

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occurs twice more in the same Gen.40 account, this time concerning the chief baker, whom Joseph told:

'In another three days the pharaoh will raise your head from you, and will hang you on a tree ...' (Gen.40:19). This the pharaoh did. This use of בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים כָּלָה נַפְשָׁהּ אֲשֶׁר-רָאָשָׁהּ מֶעְלֶה בְּרַעֲלָה אֲדֹנָיו לֵיל-יִשָּׂרָאֵל.'

In another three days the pharaoh will raise your head from you, and will hang you on a tree ...

This use of בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים כָּלָה נַפְשָׁהּ אֲשֶׁר-רָאָשָׁהּ מֶעְלֶה בְּרַעֲלָה אֲדֹנָיו לֵיל-יִשָּׂרָאֵל is distinct from the previous uses both in form, since it occurs with the preposition מֶעְלֶה, and in result, since it leads to death, not release from prison. The preposition, which does not occur with בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים כָּלָה נַפְשָׁהּ אֲשֶׁר-רָאָשָׁהּ מֶעְלֶה anywhere else in the OT, literally involves separation. In this case, the separation is that of the head from the body. This literal interpretation of בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים כָּלָה נַפְשָׁהּ אֲשֶׁר-רָאָשָׁהּ מֶעְלֶה is followed in the LXX. G.R. Driver opposed this interpretation on the grounds that "a headless man cannot be hanged." He called for the deletion of the preposition, as J. Skinner had done previously, calling it either a gloss or an anticipation of the same preposition at the end of the verse. R. de Vaux, however, cited OT instances

1. בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים כָּלָה נַפְשָׁהּ אֲשֶׁר-רָאָשָׁהּ מֶעְלֶה בְּרַעֲלָה אֲדֹנָיו לֵיל-יִשָּׂרָאֵל ... (20) ... and he raised the head of the chief steward and the head of the chief baker among his servants.' Cf. E.A. Speiser's translation on p.18, n.2.

2. This is shown by the use of בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים later in the same verse: ...וּבִשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים ... ' ... and birds will eat your flesh from upon you.'

3. בִּשְׁלֹשָׁהּ נֵצֶרִים ... 'Pharaoh will cut off/take away your head from you.'


in which the body was hanged after the execution (e.g. II Sam.4:12). This was done, or the body impaled, as a mark of infamy, or to set an example.¹

A.R. Millard suggested that קַשׂ אֵשֶׁת מֹשֶה might be interpreted as 'to single out' in this context.² Each of the people involved in these passages was in some way singled out, for good (the steward and Jehoiachin) or for bad (the baker).³ If this is accepted, the whole phrase, including the preposition, must be an idiom. Otherwise, קַשׂ would not be understandable in the context and would have to be deleted. This deletion would result in all of the uses of קַשׂ אֵשֶׁת מֹשֶה in Gen.40 and in the Jehoiachin passages having the same form, and possibly the same meaning. The deletion of the preposition does not maintain the integrity of the biblical text which, unless there is no other alternative, should be accepted.

Textual integrity can be maintained by interpreting the Gen.40 passage as a somewhat macabre play on words using two different meanings of קַשׂ אֵשֶׁת מֹשֶה; one, without קַשׂ, indicating a favourable future for the one to whom it was addressed and the other, with the preposition, indicating just the opposite, i.e. death, have been suggested.⁴ If this

². In private correspondence.
³. In each account, a specific event occurred which would have led to this singling out. In the case of pharaoh, it was his birthday (Gen.40:20) and in the case of Evil-Merodach, he had just ascended the throne (II Kings 25:27, par. Jer.52:31: וַיַּגֶּד מִלָּה הָאָדָם וַיָּרָך מִלָּה וַיָּרָך מִלָּה).
word play exists, 'שתה וְאָכַף' used in Gen.40:19 could be literal, meaning decapitation, and in vv.13 and 20 as well as the Jehoiachin accounts could be idiomatic, meaning something like 'to pardon', 'to release', or 'to single out', which has a neutral connotation, not meaning of itself for good or ill. These could not be understood literally as an example of synecdoche in which 'שתה' stood for the person, who was raised to a higher place, since the baker in v.20 was not elevated like this even though his 'head was raised'.

1.4 'שתה' occurs eight times in four passages concerning inventories of people\(^1\) or spoil.\(^2\) Exod.30:11-16 contains laws concerning inventories and Num.1-4, 26 and 31 deal with actual inventories.\(^3\) The law states: \(ךֵּ֔נָּק שָׁתֵ֖ה יַ֑הֲעֵ֖בְּרֵ֣בֶ֫ל בּוֹרֶ֗שׁ לִ֤י לִ֙יוֹתָ֖ה בֵּשַֽׁקְרַ֖ק אָֽחָֽהּ\) 'If you raise the head of the Israelites to register them, then let each give a ransom for his life to Yahweh when you register them, so that there will be no plague among them when they are registered' (Exod.30:12). As shown by the grammatical construction of the protasis of this law, \(ךֵּ֔נָּק\) is subsequent to \(שתה\) and the two actions are in some way related as part of a process.

1. Exod.30:12; Num.1:2, 49; 4:2, 22; 26:2; 31:49.
2. Num.31:26; this includes prisoners and captured animals.
3. All are attributed to P.
occurs in the context of in four other passages. In Num.1 Moses and Aaron are commanded:

'Raise the head of all of the Israelite congregation ...' (v.2). All men over 20 who are able to serve: '... appoint them to their army ...' (v.3), but concerning the Levites: 'but do not register the Levite tribe and do not even raise their head from among the Israelites. Appoint the Levites over the Tent of Testimony ... and they will serve it ...' (Num.1). In Num.31 army officers came and told Moses:

'... your servants raised the head of the warriors which we command and not one man of them was found missing' (v.49).

which is so closely related syntactically to in these passages, has itself a range of meanings which are determined by context. Even in these few passages this includes 'register' (Exod.30:12) in the Qal-stem, 'appoint to various tasks' (Num.1:3,50) in the Hiphil-stem, and 'find missing' (Num.31:49) in the Niphal-stem. All of these meanings are semantically related by being different steps in a single process.² All, however,

1. Cf. Num.4:22-23 in which the Gershonites are to 'have their head raised' ( and those over 30, and under 50: ... 'appoint them, all who come ...'

2. But cf. E.A. Speiser in BASOR 149 (Feb., 1958), pp.20-21, who subsumes all of these meanings into one, "to attend to with care".
concern the individual. Even when all of Israel are involved (Exod. 30:12; Num. 1:2), the individuality is stressed, e.g. each person must give half a shekel (Exod. 30:13), each male is numbered 'head by head' (Num. 1:2), or each is given a specific task (Num. 1:50).

E.A. Speiser interpreted מְאֹד and מְאֹד מְאָרָה as being parallel, synonymous, terms.¹ There are several points supporting this interpretation. Two synonyms are often used in parallel as a literary device, and this synonymous parallelism could be what is found in Num. 1:49. This could, however, be an example of another literary device in which emphasis is given by a later or more important action being denied or forbidden, followed by the denial or forbidding of the earlier or less important action.²

E.A. Speiser also compared Num. 1:2 (p. 22) with Num. 3:15, which reads: מְאֹד מְאָרָה מְאֹד מְאָרָה מְאָרָה מְאָרָה מְאָרָה מיִמְּלֵךְ מְאָרָה. 'Register the Levites according to their fathers' house, according to their families, every male from one month old upwards, register them.'³ In this verse, מְאֹד מְאָרָה is used in the same syntactical position as מְאֹד מְאָרָה in Num. 1:2, which appears to be what led Speiser to see them as synonymous. There is a difference in non-verbal context between the two passages, however. In Num. 1, the tribes

1. Ibid. Cf. also J.A. Sanders, 'Census', IDB (1962), p.547, who interpreted מְאֹד מְאָרָה as a periphrasis of מְאָרָה.
2. Cf. another example in Gen. 3:3 (J), where Eve said she was not to eat the fruit, or even to touch it.
3. BASOR 149, p.20. This verse appears to directly contradict the command in 1:49 that the Levites were not to be numbered or 'raised of head' (cf. p.22). This is, however, a different context since the Levites have already been separated from the people for a specific task after the other tribes had been registered.
are travelling through the desert as a homogenous group, while by Num.3 the Israelites have been separated into their component tribes. Also, the Levites in Num.3 had been physically set apart from the rest of Israel, while in the first chapter the tribes were all travelling together, as already pointed out.¹

In Num.4:29 the third line of Aaron's descendents (בֶּן בֶּן בֶּן) are to be appointed to specific tasks, but instead of saying to 'raise their head' (cf. vv.1,22), יָשָׁב יָשָׁב יָשָׁב is used.² The syntax is different here from the other two verses, with יָשָׁב coming at the end rather than at the beginning of the verse, as יָשָׁב had done. This could be only an ellipsis of יָשָׁב which was not considered necessary since it had already been mentioned earlier in the same context.

A counter-argument to the synonomy of יָשָׁב and יָשָׁב תַּחַת מַעֲשָׂה יָשָׁב was already mentioned in the discussion concerning Exod.30:12.³ In that verse, יָשָׁב תַּחַת מַעֲשָׂה and יָשָׁב are two steps in a process rather than two synonymous ways of expressing the same action. Since they are two different, though related, actions, it is probable that they have the same relationship in the other passages sharing the same context. B.S. Childs marked

¹. 'Bring the Levite tribe near and cause them to stand before Aaron, the priest. They will serve him.' (Num.3:6). Cf. p.23, n.6 above.
². (Num.4:29).
this difference in Exod.30:12 by translating each differently: "When you take a census of the Israelites for the purpose of registration ...". He blurred this distinction, however, in v.14 when he translated by "Everyone who is numbered in the census", giving to the meaning of 'census' which he had previously given to .

There are, in addition, two similar passages in which does not accompany . In Num.4:2, the Kehathites are to have their 'heads raised' ( in the same way as the Gershonites (v.22) but the further command: 'appoint them ...' (v.23) is missing ( v.3), even though these people too are given tasks to perform (cf. 4:22). The other passage concerns booty: 'Raise the head of the prize-booty, man and beast ...' (Num. 31:26). Here the phrase is applied to animals as well as man. In this case, there is no task assignment or registration ( ), but the booty is divided and distributed.

As the gathering of the people was part of the context used to determine the relationship between Num.1:2, which used , and Num.3:15, which used (cf. 23-24 ), it is also evident within the Num.1 passage itself.


2. Exodus, p.521.
When Moses was commanded by Yahweh to 'raise the head' of the Israelites and register or appoint them (cf. p.22), he chose men to assist him (vv.4-16), and

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'They gathered together all of the congregation ... they had themselves registered by genealogy, by their families according to their fathers' house ...' (Num.1:18). Here 'registration' (פִּקֵד) was explained by the more specific 'to be entered into the family roll' (ריציתלזר) while 'raising of the head' was replaced by 'gather together' (הקהל).

Another passage relating to yet another registration of people aids in interpreting the relevance of 'gathering together' to the understanding of נסה את ראש. In II Sam.24 (D) David, whom Yahweh had moved to count the people, told Joab: שמעו כל בְּנֵי-שבטי ישראל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יָדוֹר בְּשֵׁם-יהוה הקצאו את-הכָּל שְׁבוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל ... 'Go out among all of the Israelite tribes, from Dan to Beer-sheba, and register the people so that I will know the number of the people' (II Sam.24:2). Here again the verb מתן is used in the census process and it is again the second step in a process (cf. Exod.30:12, p.21). In this verse, however, the first step of the process was to go out among the people (משמע), while in Exod.30:12 the

1. That this registration is what v.2 meant is stated in v.19: רڡרנ תמצה את-נוה ה-משמע בְּשֵׁם בח社區 פֶּרֶץ רצוי, 'As Yahweh had commanded Moses, so he registered them in the Sinai wilderness'.

2. This gathering was possible at this time since the people were travelling together and would have been in a relatively small area.

3. יֲנָה את-שבטי-ישראל ואת-יהוד ... ' ... Go, number Israel and Judah' (II Sam.24:1).
first step was to 'raise the head' of the people. As well as the time difference between these two incidents, there is also a difference in non-verbal context. At the time of David, the Israelites were spread throughout the country, so those who would count them had to go out to all of the places in which they were (i.e. מִצְרַיִם). For this the verb שָׁנֵש was used. In the time of Moses, on the other hand, the Israelites were in a smaller area and could be gathered together into one place (לְגָאֹי : Num.1:18). It is in this context in which שָׁנַה occurs. This non-verbal context of areal proximity is shared by all eight of the occurrences of שָׁנַה used in this context of an inventory. In the Exod.30 and Num.1-4 and 26 occurrences, the phrase is used of those within the Israelite group, while in Num.31 it is used of a consolidated group of spoil (v.26) and of a separate group within the nation, the army (v.49).

The evidence suggests that the interpretation of as 'to single out' best fits the context and has the advantage of fitting the verses in 1.3 as well. If used of a number of people, this implies their being grouped. It also implies setting an individual or group apart, either physically or metaphorically, for some purpose.

2 שָׁנַה, 'to be raised'
2.1 שָׁנַה occurs only in the Psalms, twice each in the Qal and Hiphil stems. The former concern enemies

1.Pss.27:6 (Solomonic); 140:10 (Davidic).
2.Pss.3:4 (Davidic); 110:7 (tenth cent. B.C.).
who are surrounding the Psalmist. In one he tells of Yahweh’s help in days of need and says:

'And now my head is raised above my surrounding enemies. I will offer in his tent offerings with shouts, I will sing and sing with accompaniment to Yahweh’ (Ps.27). The context of joy shows that the state indicated by the 'raised head' is desirable when the Psalmist is facing his enemies. The opposite case holds in Ps.140:10 in which the Psalmist asks Yahweh:

'Do not provide, Yahweh, the cravings of the wicked, his plots, do not fulfill. Selah. Raised of head are those who surround me; may the evil of their lips cover them'.

1. MT reads: 'בְּאֶדֶמָה כֶּפֶן אֶל-קַסֵּם...' (6) but the textual emendation restores the chiasmus between the verses and eliminates the uneven balance of the strophes in both verses. Cf. RSV, NEB who adopt this emendation.

2. The second example, not having an element of comparison between the enemies and the Psalmist but rather being a description of the state of the enemy, does not have this preposition.

3. The Psalms, p.249.

M. Dahood, on the other hand, interpreted the gesture in the first example as indicating military, rather than moral, superiority. It is not possible from the context to determine the exact nature of this gesture, which is understood as being literal, but it is clear that it implies some form of superiority. The action thus has symbolic significance.

2.2 Both times that שָׁהֲרָם occurs, it denotes an action performed by Yahweh. The Psalmist says: 'But you, Yahweh, are a shield for me, my glory and the raiser of my head. I call to Yahweh and he answers me from his holy mountain' (Ps.3). Here Yahweh 'raises the head' of the Psalmist to his benefit. Both W. Weiser and M. Dahood interpret שָׁהֲרָם as referring to the Psalmist's honour. This is a satisfactory interpretation, since it includes some kind of active help which is indicated by the context.


2. "To restore his honour before me", A. Weiser, Psalms, p. 117; "defends my honor", M. Dahood, Psalms, p. 118. Dahood, ibid., adds the idea of victory, referring to Gen 40:20 as an equivalent usage, i.e. "and gives me victory over my adversaries". This verse is not equivalent, however, since this is not the meaning established for שָׁהֲרָם in this context (cf. 1.4, p. 27 where 'to single out' is proposed). Also, a different verb (שָׁהֲרָם) is used in Genesis than in Psalms (כֹּל) which, unless the opposite can be shown, suggests a different meaning. It could be said that this is a poetic variant of שָׁהֲרָם כֹּל, but the meanings do not correspond. J. Khanjian suggested a comparison with שָׁהֲרָם כֹּל meaning "to pardon", etc. (cf. 1.3, p. 17) in Anir 50, p. 392. 'To single out' is not appropriate in this passage.
2.3 Yahweh, after judging the nations and 'striking the head' all through the land: 'He will drink from the wadi on the way, therefore he will raise the head' (Ps.110:7). The structure of the verse indicates that the king is the result of the previous action or actions. A. Weiser proposed that the verse is not part of the psalm per se, but is rather ritual instruction to be performed when the psalm is used. This is a possible explanation, but it is not discernable from the text itself. Others have attempted an explanation by textual emendation.

M. Dahood, after a completely different interpretation of the beginning of the verse (i.e. "the Bestower of Succession set him on his throne, the Most High Legitimate One lifted high his head") proposed to follow the Syriac and two Hebrew texts which read rather than , making the verb reflexive, which could be the case even if the variant reading was not adopted. The alternative, that the king's head is raised, does not appear acceptable either since it is not clear how it is related to, and dependent upon, drinking from the wadi. The Syriac and several Hebrew manuscripts also read rather than , but this emendation does

1. Cf. , pp.54-55.

2. He states a possible parallel with an unspecified Ugaritic text in which the king drinks from a sacred fountain in order to receive strength for war. If the Psalm reference is to Yahweh, it does not appear to occur in the right place in the Psalm since the judgement and punishment which would require the additional strength have already taken place. If on the other hand the instructions refer to the king (v.1), this could be in reference to his leading his forces from the holy mountain (v.3).

3. , p.112.

not seem to lead any closer to a satisfactory interpretation of the verse. All that appears possible to say is that 'raising the head' is idiomatic since it has some significance which is not clear from this single occurrence in this context.

3

našû(m), 'to raise'

rēšā(m)našû(m) occurs in a number of different contexts, including prayer, sacrifice, building, divine epithets, suffering, favourable omens, the delivery of people or objects, as well as divine benevolence.

3.1 An NA example of rēša našû occurring in divine epithets concerns Marduk, who is: (3) kaḫ-tu našā-ā re-ši zi-ī-ma

nam-ru-ti šā bu-an-na-ne-e (4) šu-tū-ru, 'honoured, with raised head, with shining visage, whose features are

1. E.g. K.2360+i:10 in Gilgamesh IX - NA; MNB 1848 V:18 in R Acc., p.154 - NB. In both cases the head is literally raised in order to address the god.

2. E.g. VAT 9518:10, 11, 12, in Tul, p.43 (translit. only) - UB. The action is literal and does not have any symbolic significance other than as an omen.

3. E.g. JRAS Cent. Suppl. (1924), p.IX:25, par.27 - Ub; K.7669:15, 18 in CT XXXVIII 1 (pl.1) - NA. In both of these, 'head' is metaphorically transferred to the 'top' of buildings, and the phrase indicates high buildings rather than a gesture.

4. VAT 10105:3 in KAR 104 (pl.183) - NA; K.4809:24 in IV R pl.1; K.8235+:12 in Za 4 (1889) p.245 - NA; VAT 263+:r. 11,13 in SBH 9 (pl.19) - Sel.

5. E.g. VAT 150:17 in Winckler & Abel, Thontafelfund 7 (pl.6a) - EA; RS 25.460:13', par.15' in Ugaritica V (1968), p.435 - Ugar.; K.2774+ in Gilgamesh XII:149 - NA. Cf. also SU 51/7 ('Gilgamesh') in JCS 8 (1954), p.91, where the action is literal, i.e., Enkidu, who is dead, does not raise his head: (r.12) u šē lā ināša reššu. cf. III F b.2, p.123, fn.1.
surpassing! 1 \text{našā rēši}, which is the stative or verbal adjective here and in each of the other passages mentioned on p.31, n4 is in the context of other praiseworthy attributes. 2

A. L. Oppenheim interpreted \text{rēša(m) našû(m)} as being an expression of pride, 3 which gives the phrase a reflexive sense. W. G. Lambert translated the phrase in a different text as "you are exalted." 4 Both of the interpretations are acceptable in this context, and there is not enough evidence to lead to a choice between them.

\begin{itemize}
\item[6.]
\begin{itemize}
\item E.g. BM 22447:16 in CT III, pl.2 - OB; AO 7028:3 in RA 38 (1941), p.80 - OB.
\item E.g. YBC 3717:8-9 in YOS VI 200 (pl.LXVII); YBC 4051:6-7 in ibid., 206 (pl.LXXI); VAT 3017:17 in VAS V 12 (pl.8) - NB.
\item K.3343:8' in IV R, pl.20, 2 - NA.
\end{itemize}
\item[7.]
\begin{itemize}
\item K.4809:24, IV R, pl.1, šīru, nāram Ekur; VAT 263:9, SBH 9, uttata'ad, nīr ... ša ŝamē; etc.
\item 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.252.
\item \text{\textit{An}a-šā-a re-šā-a-ka} - K.8234:12 in AFO 19 (1959-1960), p.82. This might also be the use of the phrase in SU 51/46A:r.9' in STI 170(pl. LXXXV), which is broken but reads: (9') na-šā-a re-e-ša šar-ra-šu-û, 'With raised head, majestic'. The verb here is in the same grammatical form and is also in the context of a praiseworthy attribute.
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
3.2 reša(m) našû(m) occurs in several passages relating to death or suffering. After Enkidu had died in the underworld: abi(AD)-šû u ummi(AMA)-šû reš(SAG)-su na-šu-û, 'his father and his mother raise his head' (K.2774+). In this passage and others with a similar context, the head is raised in order to look after or comfort the person who is sick or dead, by supporting them. It is thus a literal action.

In a tablet from the Isin period, a sufferer said:
(1) i-na qa-ti ap-li-im (2) re-ši ú-la a-na-ši, 'I cannot look after myself, (i.e. raise my head) by an heir' (A0 4318). Here having an heir is equated to 'raising the head'. The idea of being looked after has been given to the phrase reša(m) našû(m) itself rather than the action of raising the head, so the phrase is idiomatic.

1. Cf. p.31, n.5.
2. Gilgamesh XII:149.
3. Cf. VAT 150:17, Thontafelfurd 7, in which Burnaburias, king of Babylon, wrote to Naphururia, king of Egypt: (16) ki-lí ma-ar-sa-ku a-šu-û-a ul isé/-me-e/ (17) am-mi-ni re-eši la ís/-ši/ 'Didn't my brother hear that I was sick? Why did he not look after me?' Oppenheim, in 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.252, interpreted the phrase as 'to comfort'. J. Khanjian proposed "to restore the well being of an individual" for RS 25,460:13', par.15, Ugaritica V, p.435 in AnOr 30, p.392.
4. TCL I 9 (pl.VII). J.J.A. van Dijk, in La sagesse suméro-accadienne (1953), p.121 recognised this as being one of the 'righteous sufferer' discourses.
5. It could be argued that the phrase here connotes pride (cf. p.32 ) which would be derived from begetting an heir. The next part of the text tells of other deprivations of the comforts of life (e.g. food, 11.3-8, fine clothes, 1.6, and oil, 1.7), which suggests that the idiom denotes a similar context.
In several OB texts, 'raising the head' is a favourable result of an omen, probably with this same meaning. An example is an OB lecanomancy text which says that if the oil dissolves at sunrise: (69) ... *i-lu-um re-eš a-wi-lim i-na-aš-ši*, 'the god will look after (i.e. raise the head of) the man' (BM 22446). The antithetical omen of the oil dissolving at sunset indicates grief (*lumun libbi, 1.70*).

G. Pettinato translated *rēša(m) našû(m)* by "unterstützen" 'to support'. This support and care is thus not confined to contexts of sickness but also to such general situations as this as well as more specific situations such as a military expedition or international relations.

3.3 In a number of NB texts, *rēša našû* is used in the context of men escorting another man for delivery to someone

1. E.g. BM 22447:16, CT III, 2; AO 7028:3, RA 38, p. 80; YBC 4541:28 in *YOS X, 47* (pl. XCVIII); YBC 4589:6 in *ibid.*, 53 (pl. CXIII).

2. CT V, pl. 6.

3. *Die Úlwahrsagung bei den Babylonien II* (1966), p. 31. Cf. also *AHU*, p. 763 (sub *našû(m)* II 3d) "sich kümmern um", 'to care for' for this text and others in this section.

4. BM 22447:15, CT III, 2; *niš rēšim sâb(ERIM), HA) harrânim(KASKAL) zittam ikkal*, 'the raising of the head; the expeditionary force will partake of the spoil' in which *rēša(m) našû(m)* is equated with sharing the booty.

5. KBo 1, 29:12 (pl. 61) in which two gods: *inašû rēški* and will give peace and brotherhood between Egypt and the Hittites.
else, usually a temple authority. It is recorded that ūmu ša rēṣu īnaššū, 'when his head is raised' they bring him (ibakkamma) and hand him over (ināndin). The syntax indicates that these three actions are stages in a process. R. Dougherty pointed out that rēṣa nāṣū occurs in a similar context to ērēṣu, 'to request', but this similarity does not prove equivalence of meaning. This difference is clearer when it is noted that in the first instance it is the person who is brought to the officials whose head is 'raised' by a third party, while it is the official to whom the person is brought who requests (ērēṣu) him.

A.L. Oppenheirn also listed a number of texts in which rēṣa nāṣū occurred as part of a similar process. The person brought was given to others, such as the king, instead of temple officials. He translated rēṣa nāṣū as an idiom: "to cite, to summon (somebody)".

All of these examples are part of a process of gathering for some purpose. Desire for the delivery is expressed, either as a command of the official or the king.

1. E.g. YBC 3717:8-9, YOS VI 200; YBC 4051:6-7, ibid., 20b; cf. AJSL 46 (1930), p.89 and following for further examples.
2. YBC 3801:7-8 in YOS VII 157 (pl. LX ). Cf. CAD Al, p.7 (sub abāku A 4 c) for other examples with similar form.
3. AJSL 46, p.85. Cf. e.g. YBC 3852:6-7 in YOS VI 234 (pl LXX ): ūmu ša išatammu u lušangū (8) ša ḫanna īriššūnutu ibbakōnim (8) ana išatammu u lušangū inamdinnuš.
4. E.g. K.616:19 in ABL 127, p.119 and others.
5. 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.252-253.
or by reša, then the 'head is raised' (reša našû), followed by the person being brought (abāku), and delivered (nadānu). It is clear from these texts that the action reša našû is part of the process prior to bringing the person (abāku). Grammatically 'raising the head' is transitive, being done by one person to another.

In view of the cumulative evidence, the best English translation of reša(m) našû(m) appears to be 'to single out', which denotes preparation for a special purpose. This interpretation maintains a semantic link with the individuality, which is expressed by reša(m), used in synecdoche for the person or individual. The English 'single' in the translation expresses this individuality.

1. Note should be made that paqādu also occurs in this context. E.g. K.616, ABL 127: ḫu-a-teā-ti-ā-te-ē  isə-hi-it-te-ša-ke-su-nu kal-eš-ē (6) pa-an i-ša-mu-šar-kis(MES) (7) ap-ti-qid-su-nu išar (9) sum-ma šarru(LUGAL) be-lī (9) reš(SAG)-su-nu i-na-sī (10) pa-an i-ša-mu-šar-kis(MES) (11) ina urukal-ša šu-nu, 'The apprentices went with me, I appointed them as officers. If the king my lord raises their heads as officers, they are in Kalḫu.'

2. The meaning of reša našû occurring in a curse, in the MA version of the Etana epic, found in AFU 14 (1944), pl.IX, is ambiguous. Following a break, it records: (4) /DIŠKAK/ku(TUKUL) mul-ta/r-pa-di-du el(UGU)-šu li-sir (5) 15a/aš-maš iša aq-si ma-re-su liš-si (6) 15a/ša-maš lim-na ana qat(SU) ma-ru-ši lu-me-li, 'May the pursuing weapon go directly at him; may Šamaš raise the murderer's head from him; may Šamaš give over the wicked one to the hands of the striker' (K.155). This literal translation is supported by the parallel use of the preposition in Gen.40:19: יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽנָה יְֽn

Speiser, however, translates 1.5 by "May Shamash single him out from among the killers." This meaning of reša našû has just been noted above, but this translation requires a plural reading of the noun, i.e. ša-giší, rather than a singular, i.e. ša-giši. The long, final vowels in this text are usually marked, e.g. 1.7 gal-la-a for gallâ, which indicates that this is a singular form, weakening Speiser's interpretation.

E. Ebeling in AFU 14 (1944), p.299 translated reša našû by "zur Rechenschaft ziehen", 'to bring to judgement'. This does not explain the use of ina in the immediate context of the idiom.
3.4 Non-animate objects also occur as objects of \( rēša \) naṣā. An MB legal text concerning repayment of a debt owed by Śumā to Ḫibīta records: (17) \( a-di \) re-eš šēzēri(NUMUN) Ḡu-ma-a i-na-āš-šu4a-/na/ Ḥi-bi-ia i-nam-din-nu, 'When Śumā raises the head of the field, he will give it to Ḫibīta' (VAT 3017). Here \( rēša \) is extended in use to be used of a sound field but its exact meaning is unclear. Again \( rēša \) naṣā is a step in the process. After it is done, the field is given to another. The translation 'to single out' could also apply here, but another interpretation is suggested by some of the other texts suggesting that more than this is meant.

An MB kudurru records that two officials sent to help settle a dispute concerning ownership of a field: (6) ... re-eš eqli(A,SÅ) Ḡu-a-tum (7) iš-šu-ma 30 šēzēri(NUMUN) (8) im-šu-bu-ma (9) a-na M u-un-na-bit-tum (10) ... ū-kin-nu, 'they raised the head of that field. They measured 30 acres, and ruled for Munnabittum' (MDP VI:pl.9). In this case there was only one field under dispute, so it would not need to be singled out. The field was, however,
measured (maṣāḥu), and raṣa naṣū has also been interpreted as meaning 'to reckon', a case of epexegesis. A similar interpretation was also suggested by others for similar texts.

This interpretation fits well in these passages and also in other texts. In two passages, immediately following the 'raising the head' of a field or gold, a detailed report is sent. This would be expected after an inspection, but would not be the result of merely singling something out. This meaning of 'to reckon, determine the extent' is idiomatic in this context.

3.5 raṣa naṣū occurs in an N食品安全 meal prayer to Šamaš concerning the god's relationship with the world: (B) Šamaš(U) a-na ma-a-ti re-ši-ka taš-ša-ša, 'Šamaš, you raise your head to the land' (K.3343). This is in the immediate context of the benevolence of Šamaš towards the creatures of the earth and

1. Cf. ULZ 23 (1920), p.153, "die Zahl, Summe aufnehmen, zählen", 'to reckon the number or sum, to compute'.
2. E.g. CAD E, p.406 (sub ešeru 2b) "survey"; V. Scheil in MDP VI, p.34 "mesurer", 'to measure'; S. Parpola in LAS , p.223 "to check"; also A.L. Oppenheim, 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.252-253, "to examine".
3. BM 90827, BBSt., pl.IX.
5. BM 90827 III: 1 , tēmu; 83-1-18, 5:16, barīstu.
6. Iv R 20, 2.
his opening of the door of heaven. In form, the action is reflexive but it is directed towards another (ana māti). The phrase also occurs later in the same prayer: (36) Ḫamaṣ(UTU) mi-ša-ru ri-is-su i-na-aš-ši-ik, 'Ḫamaṣ, justice raises his head to you' (K.4803). This is in the context of the wicked getting his just punishment. The action is again reflexive but directed towards someone else as indicated by the pronominal suffix -k.

A.L. Oppenheim interpreted the first of these occurrences of rēša naṣū as a god looking favourably at his worshipper, while AHw. interpreted it as "sich kümmern um", "to look after". The favourable aspect is evident from the other good things which the god did in the context, but Oppenheim's interpretation is not provable from the text. The interpretation of the AHw. is weakened since the meaning it proposes is usually expressed by a different form of the phrase in which one person raises the head of another (cf. p. 33) rather than the reflexive form found here. The second occurrence of the phrase in the prayer also involves a good and just action, but no definite interpretation of rēša naṣū in either occurrence in this context.

1. Cf. the same form in Gilgamesh IX 1:10 on p. 31, n. 1 above in the context of prayer.

2. S. Langdon stated in OECT 6, 51 that K.3343 and K.4803 are parts of the same prayer.

3. The dative suffix -k is used rather than the independent preposition ana.


5. P.763 (sub naṣū(m) I 3 d ).
appears to be possible.

4  šaḫ(m), 'to be high, raised'

4.1 The stative (Zūstand) verbal phrase rēša šaḫ occurs only in a few texts, \(^1\) in the context of joy, \(^2\) prayer, \(^3\) and suffering. \(^4\)

4.1.1 In an Amarna letter, Zimridi, a Sidonian official, writes of himself when he heard the king's command\(^5\): (15)

\[ \text{ū yi-ḥi-di ḫub-bi-ia ū (16) yi-ša-qi rēšI(SAG)-ia ū en-nam-ru} \]

(17) 2 ānī(IGI)-ia, 'my heart rejoiced and my head was raised and my two eyes shone' (VAT 323).\(^6\) The high head is a reflexive physical response to the joy expressed in this context, as are the sparkling eyes. This is then a literal usage of rēša šaḫ, which does have a special connotation, i.e. 'joy'.\(^7\)

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1. K.20394:1-4 is a lexical list which provides Sumerian equivalents for šaḫ ša rēši but does not serve to clarify the meaning of the phrase since it does not supply an actual use in context, i.e.: (1) SAG.ŠU ša-ḫu-ur ša re-ši (2) SAG.ZI ša šaš (3) SAG.IL šaš (4) GU.ZI ša šaš, II N 30, 1.

2. VAT 323:16 in Winckler & Abel Thontafelfund 90 (pl.93) - EA.

3. K.6477+:16 in BMS 2 (pl.4) - NA.

4. K.2518+:4 (and parallels) in Lambert BWL, pl.4 - NA (probably from Kassite origin).

5. Thontafelfund 90: (13) ū inūma istem iwat (14) šarri ḫili inūma ixtapar ana ardišu, 'And when I heard the word of the king my lord that he sent to his servant'.

6. Ibid.

7. A.L. Oppenheim in LFM p126 translates 1.16 as 'I hold my head high ...' which does not reflect the stative nature of the verb. Cf. VAH II 144, 16 (p.601) and CAD ū, p.26 (sub ḫaḏū 2), where the stative is reflected.
4.1.2 ṭēṣa šaqû is also used to describe a god, Ninurta, in an NA prayer of praise to him: (16) ina É.KUR bit(É) ta-gi7-la-a-ti ša-qa-a re-ša-a-ka (17) id-din-ka-ma dÈn-lîl abî(AD)-ka (18) te-rit kul-lat îlânî(DINGIR.MEŠ) qa-tuk-ka tam-ḫat, 'Your head is raised in Ekur, the house of advice, for Enlil, your father, has given you command of all of the gods, which you hold in your hand' (K.6477+). Here the head has been raised by another, resulting in this state, or else it could be reflexive. This appears to be another literal use of the phrase in which ṭēṣa refers to the individual who is 'elevated' or 'honoured', as explained by the following two lines. There is also the element of 'singling out' from among all of the other gods in order to be placed in authority over them which the phrase could idiomatically contain within its semantic range, but the paucity of similar examples does not allow the definite inclusion of the latter interpretation into the semantic range of ṭēṣa šaqû.

4.1.3 The speaker in Lulûlu has been wrongfully attacked even though he was righteous. His active lips and shouts have been silenced (11.71-72): (73) ša-qa-a-tum re-ša-a-a ik-nu-uḫ qaq-par-𒈗𒉌 (74) liḫ-bi kab-ba-ra-a pi-rit-ti ū-tan-anīṣu, 'My raised head bowed to the ground. My stalwart heart, fear weakened (K.2518+). In each case, a positive attribute

1. BMS 2. šaqû is the feminine dual verbal adjective. Ebeling in Handerhebung, p.25 n.25 states that Ninurta has two heads, but cf. e.g. VAT 9721:2 in KAR 39(pl.70 - MA)+ K.8601:7 in JRAS (1929), p.764, and K.162:18 in BAL III, pl.57 (NA), in which the noun also occurs in the plural form (SAG.MEŠ) but without the idea that some multi-headed being is involved.

2. Lambert, BUL, pl.4.
of the speaker has been negated by the uncalled for attack. The context does not supply enough guidance to provide a definite interpretation of the phrase here. It could be a reflexive action showing joy (cf. 4.1.1, p. 40) or pride (cf. 1.2, p. 14; 2.1, pp. 27 ff, and especially 5.2, p. 47).

4.2 The transitive D-stem, i.e. ῥāṣa šagqū, 'to make high, raise the head' occurs in the context of prayer to, or praise of, a god.

A Ludlul text is broken in the immediate context of the phrase: (8) .Layer (X) ḫ-ti qa-ti iṣ-bat (9) .Layer (X) ḫ-
im-ba-ṣa-an-ni (10) ḫ-Marduk(AMAR, U7TU)ḫ-ṣa-qi re-ši (11) ḫ-im-ba-as rit-ti ma-bi-/ši7-ia, 'he grasped my hand, ḫ... ḫ
he struck me, ḫ-Marduk ḫ-raised my head, striking the hand of those who struck me' (VAT 9442). Previously the god had given the speaker life (uballītanni, 1.4) and pulled him from the ḫubur (ina ḫubur iṣduganni, 1.7), so these subsequent actions are probably also beneficial. W.G. Lambert translated uṣaqqi ῥāṣi here as "he restored me", in reference to the raising of a head bowed down in grief.

1. This ambiguity of ῥāṣa šagqū is especially effective in this poetic passage, and could well have been a deliberate choice by the author for exactly this reason.

2. In 'Ištar's Descent into the Underworld', Asušanimar is told that after he has had Eṛškigal utter an oath: (r. 18) ṣu-qi ῥāṣāš (SAČ, MES)-ka a-na ḫushal-zī-qī uz-na ṣu-kun (19) e bē-er-tī ḫušal-zī-qī lid-nu-ni ṣē(AM, MES) ina lib-bi lu-ul-tā-ti, 'raise your head, turning to the water bag. "Please, my lady, may they give me the water bag that I may drink from it!" (K. 162, BAL. L57. The parallel VAT 9729 in KAR 1 f1. 37 is MA.). Here the petitioner is to raise his own head prior to a prayer. This is a usage similar to that of ῥāṣa naṣū in which the head is literally raised to address a deity (cf. p. 31, n. 1), except in this instance the petitioner is apparently face to face with the god who, however, is still superior and so to be looked up to.
This interpretation is similar to that which was found for reša(m) našō(m) in a similar context (cf. 3.2, pp. 33-34), with the meaning 'to look after'.

In another example of the phrase used explicitly in the context of a petition to a god, the righteous sufferer says: (4) ila(DINGIR) ḫal-sī-ma ul ḫid-dī-na pa-ni-šu
(5) ū-ṣal-ṣī ta-tar-ri ul ū-šā qa-a re-ši-šu, 'I asked the god, but he did not present his face; I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head' (SU 51/32).

3. Lambert, BUL, pl.18.

4. L.9 is difficult to understand, unless it refers to the mābiṣu in l.11, rather than to the god who was helping.

5. BUL, p.59.

6. Ibid., p.300, note on IV 10. Grief is explicit in K.8601+; JRAS (1929)p.764:(b) di-im-ti tu-um-tal-la-an-ni (7) reši(SAG.MES) šu-qiqi, 'you filled me with tears; raise my head', which is also mentioned by Lambert. Cf. K.2537 which Lambert says is similar in BUL, p.300: (11) eprt(SAYAR. MES) mu-ti ma-la-a rit-ta-su (12) ūmu-um-mu pi-ta-at pa-ni-su (13) Ut mu-še qa-at re-ši-su.

1. Lacunae supplied from K.2518+ in Lambert BUL, pl.4, which also reads the final šu as ša, showing that the action of 'raising the head' is reflexive. Cf. also Lambert BUL, p.288, note on 1.5, regarding the preferability of the reading ušaqqa to ıšaqqa.

2. Lambert, BUL, pl.8.
In these two parallel lines the head was not raised nor the face presented when the god was petitioned. The raised head and presented face are both stated as if they are the response normally expected from a god when he received a request. *raša šuqqu* has been interpreted as an idiom meaning "to pay attention to"\(^1\) and "to look at"\(^2\). This interpretation is strengthened by the parallelism in a bilingual prayer to Enlil which says: (r.6') *ki-niš nap-lia-su* /liq-bi-ka/ (r.8') /reš-ši-ka šu-uq-qi-šu /liq-bi-ka/, "Look on him favourably", /may he say to you/\(^7\). "Lift up your head to him", /may he say to you/\(^7\)! (K.5992).\(^3\) Here the parallel is explicitly 'to look at favourably', which, in this context, would be 'to answer the prayer'. Since the prayers are for aid from the god, this is the meaning of *raša šuqqu*, i.e. 'to help'. This is a more specific development of the idiom than 'to look after' (p. 33f) since it is only used regarding answering prayer, but it is also a broader extension than that since it is used of help in other cases than suffering or bereavement.

5

\(^{\text{ullû(m), 'to make high, raise'}}\)

*raša(m) ullû(m)* occurs in OB and NB texts. There are

1. Lambert *BWL*, p.288,
2. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.254.
3. *OECD VI*, pl.IV. Alternative lines are in Sumerian.
two uses of the phrase, one with inanimate objects (buildings, cities, etc.)¹ and one with animate objects (people and gods).² It is only the latter use which is relevant here. There are also two different uses of reša(m)  ullû(m) with people as the object of the phrase, those in which the action is reflexive,³ and those in which the action is done by one person to another.⁴

1. E.g. LH II 42-43 in BAL III pl.3; Hammurapi Sippar 16-17 in BAL III pl.1, etc. Cf. CAD E, pp.125-126 (sub  elû  5a 1'); AHw.208 (sub  elû(m) IV D 1b) for further examples. All of these texts concern building with reša(m) being metaphorically extended from the physical head to include the 'top' of a building, wall, etc., which is literally raised in the building process (cf. reša(m) naṣò(m), p. 31, n. 3). In several texts the verb  ullû(m) is used by itself with the same meaning, e.g. BM 102404, CT XXXVII 1: (78) dur(BAD) Sippar(ZIMBIRKî) (79) kîma šadîm(KURû) raîm (80)  ullû 'I raised the wall of Sippar like the mountain'. Cf. CAD E, p.126 (sub  elû  5a 2') for further examples. This is apparently an elision of reša(m) which does not affect the meaning since height, which would be associated with reša(m), is still emphasized even when the noun is elided (i.e. kîma šadîm). The meaning remained constant from the UB period to the NB period.

2. Cf. CAD E, p.126 (sub  elû  5b 1'); AHw, p.208 (sub  elû(m) IV D 3) for a number of examples.

3. E.g. VAT 2645 IV:16 in VAS I 33 (pl.22) - UB (cf. BAL II, p.47 for a bibliography of Sumerian and Akkadian parallels); BM 34773:293, par. BM 34633 in Lambert BUL, pl.24 - NB; III R, pl.12, slab 2:25 - NA. The last mentioned text is one of Sennacherib's bull-inscriptions which records him sending his men downstream in boats while he marched on the land: (25) i-na  ul-lu-û re-ši-ia ul-tu a-bi 18 pu-rat-ti a-di kib-ri/ tam-tim ma-lak 2 biru(DANNA) qaq-qa-ra, 'When I raised my head from the bank of the Euphrates to the shore of the ocean, a distance of two double-hours'. The next section is partially unreadable but could possibly be reconstructed as: (26) kali kalu ana/tal, 'all of the whole I saw'. G. Smith, in History of Sennacherib (1878), p.93, l.72, postulated 'I saw?', but read the sign as: i / x × x / and so apparently arrived at this interpretation simply by conjecture. If this reconstruction is valid, the action is literal, allowing the king to see for a distance.
5.1 In an OB building inscription of Samsuiluna concerning the king attaining the desires of his heart, he writes:

(16) \textit{u₄-mi-ša-am in re-ši-in e-li-a-tim} (17) \textit{in re-ša-a-tim}

(18) \textit{ṭ bu-ud li-ib-bi-im} (19) \textit{a-ta-al-lu-kam}, 'I walk daily with a raised head in joy and happiness' (VAT 2645). This state, described by the adjective, is the natural, physical response to a feeling of joy. This is a similar context to the one in which \textit{rēša šaqû} occurs as a stative (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}\text{Ü}st\textsuperscript{stand}}) verb with the same meaning (cf. 4.1.1, p.40).

5.2 The phrase is used in the context of the lack of joy in the Babylonian Theodicy in which a sufferer says that he is not given help even if he shows humility and is unobtrusive:

(293) \textit{re-ši-ia₅ u₁-ulu qa-qa-ri a-na-at-ta-al₁} (294) \textit{re-šîš u₁ a-dal-lal.ina pubur(UKKIN)} \textit{it-ba-ra-ti₁}, 'I do not raise my head; I look at the ground. As a slave I do not glorify among my associates' (BM 34773 and par.). This is a literal physical action as shown by

\begin{align*}
\text{............}
\end{align*}

4. E.g. VAT 5798:18 in \textsc{vas} X 215 (pl.54) - OB; VAT 8235:r.6 in \textsc{kar} 59 (p.104) - MA; K.1349:14 in Winckler Sammlung II, pl.1 - NA; Bu.1929-10-12, 1:11 in Thompson Esarh. pl.1 - NA; BM 102404:106 in \textsc{c}t \textsc{xxxvii}, pl.4 - OB; VAT 9030:r.31 in \textsc{kar} 58 (p.102) - MA; VAT 3097 1:16 in \textsc{vas} 1 38 (pl.33); I R, pl.67 I:15 - NB; K.1989+:43' in Postgate Royal Grants, pl. XXI - NA; Pagnon Inscriptions sémithiques, pl. XII, col. III:6', 10'; pl. XIII, col. II: 4-5 - NB; and possibly D.T. 64 +: 11 in \textsc{ct} \textsc{xxxiv}, pl.6+ IM 3209 +:13 in \textsc{studies} on the Ancient \textsc{palestinian} World, ed. J.U. Wevers and D.B. Redford (1972), p.163 (cf. p.161) - NA.

1. \textsc{vas} I 33.

2. (291) \textit{ribit āli(URU)-ia u₄du ūb₃u nēbiš} (292) \textit{rīgmu u₁ iššapu iššapil atmā}, 'to the city square I come quietly; my cry is not loud, my speech is subdued' (BM 34773 and par., Lambert, \textsc{bwl}, pl.24 - NB).
its opposition to 'looking at the ground' as well as its accompanying the other physical action of lowered speech (1.292). In form, 11.291 and 292 use epexegesis in order to say the same thing twice, i.e. 1.292, serving as an explanation of 1.291. Ll.293 and 294 seem to share this same relationship, forming a chiasmus with the preceding two lines. This division of the text into two-line strophes is indicated by W.G. Lambert by his separation of them into stanzas. If this is correct, the lowered head is to be explained by the next line, which also is ambiguous. Lambert and R.D. Biggs translate adallal by "I worship", in which praise is directed towards another. CAD, however, translates these lines as "(modest) as a slave, I was never boastful in the assembly of my colleagues". Here adallal was not directed towards another but referred to the speaker. In this case, the lowered head indicates the opposite of this self praise, so the raised head would indicate 'pride' and 'self-esteem'.

3. Ibid.

1. BUL, p.89.
2. Ibid. and ANET, p.604 respectively.
3. Read atallal.
4. I/J, p.294 (sub ītbāru b).
5.3 In a typical example of one person 'raising the head' of another, Esarhaddon wrote: (8) ša abḫī(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)-ia rabūti(GAL.MEŠ) abḫī(ŠEŠ)-šú-nu se-šu-ru a-na-ku (9) ina qí-bit dAš-šur ... (10) ... abū(AD) ba-nu-u-a (11) ina puḫur(UKKIN) abḫī(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)-ia ṭāšī(SAG.MEŠ)-ia ki-niš ul-li-ma (12) um-mi an-nu-ú ma-a-ru ri-du-ti-ia, 'Of my big brothers, I am their small (brother). At the command of Aššur ... my father, my engenderer, duly raised my head from among my brothers saying, "This is my successor to the throne"' (Bu. 1929-10-12,1). 1 Several features of this passage are shared with others in which ṭāša ulla occurs in a similar context. The subject of the verb in each case is a god or else a god instigates the action. 2 Also, the person is given leadership 3 or given special treatment in some other way. 4

In each case, the person is set apart from his fellows in some way. ṭāša ulla, in these passages, has been translated as: 'to raise aloft', 5 'to elevate', 6 'to exalt', 7

1. Thompson Esarh., pl.1.


3. E.g. māru ridūti, 'crown - princeship' in this text; šarrūti, 'kingship' - VAT 3097:1b, VAT I 38, BM 102404+: 107, CT XXXVII, pl.4; rēšū māti, 'shepherding the nation' - Layard 38:5; bi'elu/belūti, 'lordship' - VAT 3097:17, VAT I 38; I R, pl.67:15; mu'ur kišatti, 'leading the world' - K.1989+43, Postgate Royal Grants, pl.XXI, and KurAššur ana wa/tari - K.1349:74, Winckler Sammlung II, pl.1; rabūti(TOL.GAL.MEŠ), 'officials' - Pognon Inscriptions
'to choose', 'to nominate', and 'to put in office', which range from the literal to the idiomatic.

This parallels the usage of הַשְּׁנֵי (1.4, p.27) and רָשָׁה(m) נָשָׁו(m) (3.3, p. 36) in which the head is a synecdoche for the person, who is singled out. The similarity of context suggests that the same meaning occurs for רָשָׁה ušlu here.

.............

סְמִיתֵקֶס, pl. XII, col. III 9. Ibid., ll.4-5 are broken before רָשָׁה ušlu, in 1.6. A.L. Oppenheim restores this gap, concerning Nabonidus' mother, by "to become a governess" in ANET 3, p.312.

4. šakānu šum tābu, 'establish a good name' - Pognon Inscriptions Semitiqes, pl. XIII, col. II 6; Cf. nabū šumu, 'call the name' VAT 8235 r.b, KAR 59; ettum muštarhat u kanšt, 'unique, haughty and pampered' - VAT 5798:19; VAT X 215; VAT 9030: r.32, KAR 58, also shows a special relationship with Ninurta: abu(ŠEŠ) talīmeka gābit abūti gībi banīti, 'your favourite brother, who intercedes for me; who speaks favourably'.

5. OIP II,p117.

6. CAD E, p.126 (sub elû 5b).


1. ANET 3, p.312.
2. CAD K, p.385 (sub kiniš b).
3. ANET 3, p.312.
4. This singling out or choosing is explicit in Sargons annals which record of Marduk: (9) ... ia-a-ti šarru(LUGAL) kēnu(GI,NA) ... (10) ... ke-niš ut-ta-an-ni-ma uš-la-a re-ši-ia, 'I, Sargon, ... he duly selected, raising my head' (Winckler Sar. 30,(pl.14)).
raša dekû occurs only in two NB letters¹ and a hymn to Šamaš from Aššurbanipal's library.² A letter from two women to their brother asks why he has not acted kindly towards them and continues: (11) re-eš-di-ka (12) di-ki-ma Šamaš(UTU) a-mur, '... raise your head, look at Šamaš' (AO 8821),³ followed by the chiding question 'aren't you my son, and didn't I raise you?'.⁴ In this text, as in the other two, the head is raised in order to look at the sun, i.e. Šamaš.⁵ It is generally interpreted that this looking at the sun made the person tell the truth.⁶ This could also be related to raising the head to pray to the god (cf. p. 31, n. 1. Also cf. p. 91, n. 4), but these few texts do not permit a definite meaning of the phrase to be ascertained.

1. BM 64380:10 in CT XXII 222 (pl. 40) and AU 8821:11-12 in TCL IX 141 (pl. LIII).


3. TCL IX 141.

4. (12) ... ul mār(DUMU)-Da (13) atta ul anākuma urabbikā.

5. BM 64380, CT XXII 222: (10) re-ši-ka di-ki-e-ma (11) Šamaš(UTU) a-mur; K.2860, IVR 19, 2: (12) de-ka-a re-ša-ši-na i-na-ašt-ta-lu nu-ur Šamiši(UTUSI). In the two letters, the verb is an imperative, while in the hymn it is a stative.

6. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p. 253 "alluding probably to some kind of oath"; CAD AII, p. 22 (sub amāru A 5 Šamaš a), "an exhortation to speak the truth", cf. CAD D, p. 727 (sub dekû 2 f 2 d); LFM, p. 193 "Lift up your head and tell the truth by looking toward the Sun god."
matābu, 'to raise'

matābu is also rare, the only extant texts being NA.¹ The phrase occurs in the first section of the body of a letter: (5) ... šulmu(DUmu) a-na (6) pi-git-ti ša bit(É) ku-tal-li (7) re-si-šu in-ta-at-ha², 'It is well with the supplies³ of the outbuilding. Its head they raised' (K.618).⁴ matābu must have a positive meaning since it occurs in the context of šulmu. L. Waterman translated it as "he is of good courage".⁵ P.S. Landersdorfer derives a meaning of "trösten, erfreuen", 'to comfort, to cheer'⁶ (cf. 4.2, pp. 42-43). These explanations, however, are based mainly on a comparison with the literally synonymous phrases mentioned and not on an analysis of the text, since the latter does not supply enough information to lead to a definite interpretation. While any of these explanations are possible, they cannot be taken as proven.

1. K.618:7 in ABL 9 (p.10) and K.1285:12 in Craig ABRT I, pl.5.
2. intatba < imtatba, cf. GAG § 31g.
3. piqittu could either be the material supplies (AHw., p.865 (sub piqittu(m) 1)) or the inspection (cf. TPD ) of the building(loc.cit.2). It has also been translated as a person, e.g. "overseer" in Waterman RCAE I, p.9; "team" in CAD K, p.607 (sub kutally in bit kutalli a); "der Verwalter", 'the administrator' in E. Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts aus der Sargoniadezeit, p.82, n.1.
4. ABL 9.
5. RCAE I, p.9. Cf. Behrens, Briefe, p82,"guten Mut sein", 'to be of good courage'; which he says is synonymous with reša našū.
6. Altbabylonische Privatbriefe, p.12. He agrees with Behrens and stated that šaqū ša reši is also synonymous to reša našū/matābu.
The other occurrence of reša matāhu is in a dialogue between Nabû and Aššurbanipal in which the former says:

(11) sa a-na-ku da-ba-bu tābu(DUG.GA) at-ta-na-ad-da-nak-ku
(12) a-mat-tah reš(SAG)-ka ú-šat-tah la-an-ka ina bit(É)
É-maš-maš, 'the good things which I say I will repeatedly give to you. I will raise your head, I will cause you to prosper in the Emašmaš' (K.1235). This was interpreted similarly to the previous example, based on the same comparisons. In this case it is explicitly the god who performs the action, which is again desirable, but a specific translation is still not justifiable.

1. Craig ABRT I, pl.15. Translation of ušattah lānka from CAD L, p.79 (sub lānu a).
3. Behrens, Briefe, p.3.
4. None of the other words for the head (cf. pp. 10-11) occur as the object of any of these verbs.
Several verbs include striking a physical blow in their semantic range. מָגַשׁ, found only in the Qal-stem, is used exclusively of animate beings such as individuals or nations. It is also used with the head (שָׁרֵא) as its object. The Akkadian mahāṣu(m), while also being used of blows upon animate beings, is also used of striking other objects, and has other meanings as well. It occurs in several stems, and is used of the head and its parts.

The verb מָגַשׁ is used of striking a physical blow or blows upon beings or objects. It is extended to be used of a military attack and victory. It is even further extended to include inflicting a plague or similar debility. The verb in the Hiphil-stem, is used with the head and its parts as its object.

The verb מָגַשׁ, a hapax legomena, occurs with the head (רְכָּמ) as its object in a context which leads to the conclusion that it also concerns a physical blow. מָגַשׁ also

1. Cf. e.g., bDB, p.5b3 (sub מָגַשׁ); KB, p.540 (sub מָגַשׁ).
2. Cf. e.g., AHw., pp.580-582 (sub mahāṣu(m) G 1,5,7 and passim).
3. E.g. ibid. (G 2 and passim).
4. Cf. BDB, pp.645-646 (sub מָגַשׁ); KB, pp.615-61b (sub מָגַשׁ).
5. Cf. BDB, p.646 (sub מָגַשׁ Hiph.3; Hoph.5); KB, pp.615-61b (sub מָגַשׁ, hif.1 and passim).
6. Cf. BDB, p.646 (sub מָגַשׁ Hiph.4; Hoph.6,7).
7. Judg.5:26 (D). Cf. KB, p.541 (sub מָגַשׁ qal), "zerschme-
ttern", 'to smash'.
includes striking a physical blow within its semantic range,\(^1\) and is used once of the temple.\(^2\) Both of these last verbs indicate a blow that was literal and was done to cause death.\(^3\)

\(n\text{\textsubscript{ér}}u(m)/n\text{\textsubscript{ár}}u(m)\) is used of a physical blow upon individuals and groups,\(^4\) and is used of the head (\(\text{rē\textsubscript{ā}a}(m)\)). \(\text{rās}u/r\text{ā}śu\) also means 'to strike a physical blow' as well as 'to kill', which is part of the same semantic range,\(^5\) and has gaggada as the direct object.

1. \(\text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}\), 'to strike (the head)'

\(\text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}\) is the direct object of \(\text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}\) in three verses.\(^6\)

The Psalmist describes God as the God of salvation who controls death (v.21): \(\text{רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹאֵבִים קָנַת הָאָדָם רְמֹaֵbivim qanat hāemād; 2(22) שִׁפְרָה יָתָרְפֶּשֶׁת אֵצִיקֵת בַּקָּטָרָה סְפֻּרְנֶה; 'For God will strike the head of his enemies, the hairy head of the one who walks in his

1. Cf. \(\text{BDB}, \text{p.1075 (sub \text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}}); \text{KB}, \text{p.1039 (sub \text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}: 1).}\)
2. Judg.4:21 (O).
3. In the poetic account of Sisera's death at the hand of Yael: \(\text{כִּי לִפְתַּח לְשׁוֹנַהוּ רָכַבְתָּ לְחֵם וַתִּתְחַתֵּל וְיָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם וַתִּתְחַתֵּל וְיָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַkְthālētām qanāt hāemā; Her hand she extended to the peg, her right hand to the worker's hammer, and she hammered Sisera, she struck his head, striking and piercing his temple' (Judg.5:20). In the corresponding prose account (4:21), the actual blow itself is recorded as: \(\text{רָכַּבְתָּ לְחֵם וַתִּתְחַתֵּל וְיָכַקְתָּ לְחֵם יָכַkְthālētām qanāt hāemā; 'And she struck the peg on his temple and it settled to the earth ...'. From these two passages it is clear that a literal physical blow was struck on the temple. The first verse uses epexegesis for emphasis (i.e., \(\text{רָכַּבְתָּ לְחֵם וַתִּתְחַתֵּל וְיָכַkְthālētām qanāt hāemā; \)). The gesture has no apparent idiomatic meaning.'

4. Cf. \(\text{AHu.}, \text{pp.780-781 (sub \text{rē\textsubscript{nê}}(m), \text{nā\textsubscript{är}(m)).}\)
5. Cf. \(\text{AHu.}, \text{p.959 (sub \text{rās}(m)). \text{K.4230 IV:16 in CI XII, pl.43 gives the lexical equivalence of SAG.GIS.RA re-e-su/ṣu. This is the same Sumerogram as for nē\text{r}u/nā\text{r}u in \text{K.4230 IV:10, op.cit. SAG.GIS.RA RA nē-e-rū.}\)

guilt' (Ps.68). Grammatically, the verb has two direct objects, שָׁמַר and שָׁמַרְתּוּ. The subject of the verb here and in the other two verses, all of which are in a poetic style, is Yahweh and in all three verses the object of שָׁמַרְתּוּ is Yahweh's enemies. In two cases, the effect of the action is longlasting.

A. Weiser interpreted שָׁמַרְתּוּ in Ps.68 as meaning 'to put the enemies to the ban'. It is not clear how he derived this technical meaning from the context or the other uses of the idiom. A translation of 'to subdue' is consistent with the context since it involves victory over ones opponents, but connotes a longer state of subjection than does simply 'to defeat'. This translation is supported by Akkadian parallels (cf. 3, p. 6b).

Apart from Ps.68:22 שָׁמַרְתּוּ is also the probable direct object of יִתְנַחְמֶנ in Num.24:17 (E). Balaam, in this oracle concerning Israel (cf. v.19) said:

מְמָשְׁקַב רֵעַ הַשָּׁמַע מִשְׁפָּרֵא לִבּוֹ, מִלַּאפָרְק כָּל–בו–שֵׁית.

'A star comes from Jacob and a staff arises from Israel.

1. These two are treated as synonymous for the sake of this poetic parallelism, as are כָּל מַיִם and מִשְּפָּרָה כְּמָשָׁרָה. Cf. M. Dahood, Psalms 1:1–50, op.cit., p.47, note on v.17 concerning the כָּל / מִשְּפָּרָה pair. There does not appear to be any need for Dahood's reading of the verse as "... split their skulls as he marched forth from his heavens" in Psalms 111:51–100 (1974), p.131, since it would destroy the synonymous parallelism which occurs in the preceding and succeeding verses.

2. Ps.110:1: דִּקְוַת אָבִיבֵךְ וְרָבֵל נָגָבָה. referring specifically to the enemy kings (v.5) throughout the world (v.v). Hab.3:13: שָׁמַר אָבִיב...

3. In Ps.68 it is contrasted to the continuing salvation of Yahweh (vv.20–21) and in Ps.110:2 dominion is established. In Hab.3:13 salvation is also mentioned but no length of time is given.

It strikes the temple of Moab and the head of all the sons of Seth. This is in the context of a poetic description of the victory of Israel and the dispossession of her surrounding neighbours. Again יִמְסָא מְדִינָה occurs in the context of military superiority with the idea involved of a long-lasting dominion. This inclusion of 'victory' into the semantic range of יִמְסָא מְדִינָה gives a similar range to that of מְדִינָה, which as was noted above (p.53), also includes the idea of 'attack' and 'defeat', as well as simply 'striking a blow'.

In several other poetic passages, מְסָא is used in a similar context which suggests a similar meaning to the verses studied above. The verb does not have מְסָא as its direct object, but this could be the result of the elision of the object, מְסָא, from the clause.

2. מְסָא מְדִינָה, 'to strike'

מְסָא מְדִינָה does not occur in the Akkadian texts, while מְסָא מְדִינָה occurs in several different contexts.

2.1 מְסָא מְדִינָה, 'to strike the head'

5. The MT reads יִמְסָא מְדִינָה, a hapax legomenon. The emendation (cf. BHS 8, p.51, n.9 on v.17) is based on a similar predicate in Jer.48:45. This is apparently a minor scribal error based on the similarity of the two signs. The emendation is supported by the occurrence of the resulting idiom in Ps.68:22 as well.

1. יִמְסָא מְדִינָה (18)

2. E.g. II Sam.22:39 (D); Ps.18:39 (Davidic); 89:11 (pre-exilic, W); Job 20:12 (fifth-third cent. B.C.).
2.1.1 qaddadam mahāsum is used in an OB royal inscription from Dēr in which Anu-mutabil is praised as a strong man, beloved of Ištaran: (7) šakkanak (GIR.NIT) (8) Dērim (BAD.DINGIR ki) (9) ma-qi-is (10) qa qa-ad (11) um ma-an (12) An-ša-an ki (13) Elamtim (ELAM Tim) (14) Šī mas ki-im (15) û ri-is (16) Ba-ra-ab-ši-im ki, 'governor of Dēr; striker of the head of the troops of Anšan, Elam, and Šimašim and smiter of Ubarašim' (BM 91084, par. IM 58333 I:14 - II:8).² The parallel texts continue: (24) ī-i-na-me7 (25) i-na ti-ir-ti (26) dIštaran (KA.DI) (27) be-li-šū (28) qa qa-ad (29) um ma-nim (30) ši-a-ti (31) im bu-sú-na (32) ik ru-ub ma, 'When he had struck the head of those troops at the command of Ištaran his lord, he prayed!' (0. 202).³

It is not possible to make a definite interpretation of qaddadam mahāsum based on these texts since not enough information is given in the context and not enough historical background is known. All that is derivable from the texts is that the action was done by a king to the troops of other countries at the instigation of his god and was a commendable action for him. This is shown by its inclusion in a list of praiseworthy attributes of the king. It is not even clear from the texts themselves whether the action was to the good or ill of the other countries involved, since

1. The participial form of rāsum/rāšum, 'to strike', paralleling the form of māhīs, cf. I.J. Gelb in MAD 3, p.233 (sub R'xš ). Cf. AHw, p.972 (sub rāšu(m)2 c) where the word is read re-šu(!), 'Helfer', 'helper'.

2. BM 91084 in CT XXI, pl.1 and IM 58333 in Sumer 15 (1959) pl.3 which itself is paralleled in 0.262 published in Speleers Recueil 4 (p.1). The parallel was noted by T. Jacobson in AJSL 44 (1928), pp.261-263.

ri-ia, which is in the immediate context, is ambiguous, though generally conquests are recorded rather than aid, and the majority of scholars interpret qaqqadam mahāsum to signify defeat of the countries mentioned. The Hebrew parallels (cf. 1, pp. 54-56), though from a later period, support this interpretation.

2.1.2 qaqqadam mahāsum occurs several times in the context of lawsuits. All examples of this usage are from the OB period and from peripheral areas (e.g. Alalaḫ, Mari and Susa).

G. Dossin established the meaning of the idiom 'striking the head' by examining an OB letter from Mari. In it, two men are to undergo the river ordeal while the 'one who strikes their head' (lūmāhiš qaqqadišunu) is to be held in prison. If the men are found innocent by the ordeal, he (lūmāhiš qaqqadišunu) will be burnt, but:

(24) ... šum-ma awīlū(lū.meš) (25) im-tu-tu an-ni-ki-em (25) bitati(ē.meš)-šu-nu ni-ši-šu-nu (27) a-na ma-hi-lūš qa-qa-di-šu-nu (28) a-na-ad-di-in, 'If the men die here,


2. Cf. e.g. T. Jacobsen, op.cit., p.262; Sollberger IRSA, p.251; E. Ebeling in RLA 1, p.399 (sub Ebaḫu); contra Ahw., p.972, loc.cit.

3. The nominal form mebiš qaqqadam, 'a blow on the head', is used in an OB omen text of the enemy (lukur). I.e. YBC 4628 i:24 in YOS X 36 (pl. LXIV). Cf. also the form in K.159:8 in PRT 105 (p.56) - NA. This supports the interpretation that qaqqadam mahāsum refers to a defeat.

4. Symbolae ad Iura Orient Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae, ed. by J. Friedrich, et al (1939), p.113:15, 22-23, 27 (trial); MDP XXII 1 (p.1):16 (adoption); op.cit. 16 (p.24):26; XXIII 166 (p.1):20-21 (land division); op.cit. 235 (p.99):22f (broken);
I will give their property and their people to the one who strikes their head."

Dossin interpreted "mābis qaggadam as "accusateur", 'accuser'. He based his interpretation on a similar UU law-case, LH42, which says that in a trial by the river ordeal, he who is charged with the crime (in this case sorcery) shall go into the river: (42) šum-ma nārum(dī) (43) ik-ta-ša-sú (44) mu-ub-bi-ir-šu (45) bīs(Ē)-su i-tab-ba-al (46) šum-ma a-wi-lam ṣu-a-ti (47) nārum(dī) (48) ú-te-ab-bi-ba-šu-šu-ma (49) iš-ta-al-ma-am (50) ša e-li-šu (51) ki-iš-pi id-du-ū (52) id-da-ak, 'If the river overcomes him, his accuser shall take his house. If the river proves that man pure and he is saved, he who cast the sorcery upon him shall be put to death'.

Dossin pointed out the parallel between the mubbirum and the mābis qaggadam in the two texts. Both would be punished by death if the person on trial were innocent and both would be rewarded with the goods of the man who was found guilty. The meaning of the word mubbirum is

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5. 'Un cas d'ordalie par le dieu fleuve d'après une lettre de Mari', in Symbolae ad Iura Orient Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae, op. cit., pp.112-118.


2. For a study of the river ordeal cf. A. Lieberman, ibid.

3. Cf. Deut.19:18-19 (D) where the false witness is to receive the punishment due to the defendant if proved guilty. Cf. also Dan.13:62 (second cent. B.C.).
generally accepted as meaning 'accuser',\(^1\) since he is the one who laid the claim which brought about the suit. Due to the parallels with the mubbirum, and since the mābis qaqqadam is the one who instigated the suit in this case,\(^2\) the mābis qaqqadam is also to be understood as 'the accuser'.\(^3\)

All eight tablets from Susa, as well as four containing the literally synonymous mubha mabāsu, 'to strike the skull',\(^4\) include a cautionary formula directed against any who might contest the transaction recorded on the tablet. Part of the formula is common to all: (13) a-na me-e i-la-ak-√ma/ (14) i-na me-/a/ √u/I-li-i/ (15) Ša-dzi qa-aq qa-as-su li-im-ba-as,\(^5\)

'(Whoever disputes the tablet) will go into the water. May he come out of the water. May the god Sazi strike his head' (MDP XXIV 381).

1. Cf. AHw., p. 4 (sub abāru III D 2), "bezichtigen", 'to accuse'; BAL I, p.XLVII (sub abālu), "bezichtigen"; Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws I, p.59, "has accused ... made a charge".

2. Cf. LHf2:50-51, 'he who cast sorcery upon them'.


5. Lacunae filled from the parallel tablets. MDP XXII (op.cit.) 1:15 and 16 (op.cit.):25 read ku(?)-li-i but cf. L. de Meyer, L'accadian des contrats de Suse (1952), p.170 and A. Lieberman, op.cit., p.160 n.73 who interpret the sign as a simple scribal error of neglecting one vertical stroke. MDP XXII 1 (op.cit.) :16 and 166 (op.cit.):21 read lim-ba-si, for which cf. de Meyer, op.cit., 116 n.2. MDP XXIV 341 (op.cit.) omits ina mā luli. The other three tablets use the same formula as that found in 11.13-15 above.
As in the Mari example, the idiomatic 'striking the head' is in the context of the river ordeal. In the Susa texts it follows the ordeal rather than proceeding it, which would seem more logical if, as at Mari, the ordeal were a result of the gesture. Because of this order, the precative lullt, 'may he come out', could well be read as a possibility which, if actualized, would lead to the following parts of the curse: 'should he come out of the water, then may the god Šazi strike his head'. Additional parts of the curse are added: e.g., 'may the fear of god and king rest on his head', or 'may the ban of the god and king be cast on his head'.

A. Lieberman recognised the different literary forms and terminological distinctions between these tablets and those in which the ordeal was used as a means of judgement. The formula here is rather prescribing part of a punishment which was to keep anyone from challenging the original document. The phrase could then be a call for Šazi to 'punish' the guilty person by literally striking his head.

1. Cf. Lieberman, op. cit., p. 41, "Let him go to the water (to prove his charge) and let him (so much as) come up, and the god Šazi will smash his skull ....".

2. (16) ha-at-tu ša ili(DINGIR) ū šarri(LUGAL) (17) i-na qa-qa qa-di šu li-ša-ša-ki-in in MDP XXIV 381 (op.cit.). Cf. also MDP XXII 1 (op.cit.):17-19.

3. (22) /ma-mitš ili(DINGIR) ū šar-ri (23) /inža mu-hi-šu li-in-na-di in MDP XXIII 106 (op.cit.).


6. Ša-dzi - the three other tablets read dyša. He is the son of dID in K.4332 III:28 and K.4349 III:80 in CT XXIV, pl.16 and pl.28 respectively.
The same phrase occurs in an U8 text from Alalah which concerns a dispute between Tatteia and her brother, Yarimlim, over the control of a village. She said that their father had given it to her, while he charged that he had done so by mistake. Tatteia then said:

(13) 1a-ri-im-li-im (14) ga-/ga-di-ia/ li-im-ḫu-ṣa-ma  
(15) xx/x/x li x/xx/j, 'May Yarimlim strike [my head],'

which he then proceeded to do before three witnesses. The village then passed to the control of Yarimlim (li. 22-24).

The interpretation of gaggadam maḫaṣum in this text is impeded by the lacunae in 1.15, but some observations can be made from the remaining context. The action, when performed before witnesses, resulted in the transfer of control of the village to Yarimlim, the subject of the action, from Tatteia, the object. 'Striking the head', however, could not symbolise the actual transfer of control since Tatteia would not have asked for this action to be taken (1.14) unless she thought that her claim to the town

1. (1) ašum  ṣur  Našṭarbi-[ki] (2) mī Tatteia (3) ana Yarimlim (4) amūl(LU) Alalah[ki] (5) īrūm umma šēma  
(6) ṣur Našṭarbi-[ki] (7) abī šašim ṣuṣālim (8) umma Yarimlimma (9) abī ina baṣṭimma (10) ša kullim  
(11) ʿiddinak/k/1, 'Concerning the town of Našṭarbi, Tatteia disputed with Yarimlim, the governor of Alalah. She said, "My father assigned to me the town of Našṭarbi." Yarimlim said, "My father wrongfully gave you what was to be withheld"' (ATT/39/122 in Wiseman Alalah 11).

2. Ibid.

(18) maḫar[IGI] ṣa Am-mu-ir-ḫa mār(Dumu)  
(19) ṣa maḫar[IGI] Na-mi ṣa Da-gan  
(20) ga-ga-ad mi-Ta-at-/te-a-ia/ (21) im-ḫa-ṣa-ma.
would be upheld. 'Striking the head', since it is done formally in front of witnesses in this dispute context, must then relate to some recognised legal procedure by which the case could be decided. The gesture could be an idiom for 'to accuse' or, more appropriate in this context, 'to institute a formal suit'. This interpretation is problematic since the claim was already being contested, and statements had apparently been given prior to this action taking place. Perhaps this gesture was the start of the formal action (rāqāmum) before witnesses (11.17-19), while the previous statements were introductory, explaining the cause of the case rather than reflecting the formal opening statements.

This text is different from the others so far discussed since the water-ordeal is not mentioned, unless it is in the lacunae. There does not, however, appear to be enough space for this. In addition, there is no mention of the ordeal later in the text where it would be expected due to the action of qaqqadam mabāsum being again mentioned.

In spite of the observations made above, there is not enough evidence derivable from the context of qaqqadam mabāsum in this case to provide a definite interpretation.

2. irgum, 1.5.
3. 11.5-11.
2.2 *muhba(m) mahāṣu(m)*, 'to strike the skull'

*muhba(m) mahāṣu(m)* occurs in several different contexts, including a lion hunt text,¹ a medical text,² a personal epithet in a medical ritual text,³ an incantation ritual,⁴ and legal texts.⁵

1. K.6085:2' in Bauer Asb., pl.43 - NA. This text from Ašurbanipal's library, speaking of lions, records:

   (1') *(š)al-šu kalītā(BIR.MES) am-ḥa-as-ma ul [xxx] x /
   a-šū E x /
   (2') *li-bu-u muḥ-ha am-ḥa-as-su-su ma [xx] /
   ū-ba-ti-iq-ma a-xx/
   (3') ṭa-an-šu ma-at-nu-šī

'The third, I struck the kidneys ...; the fourth, I struck his skull ...; the fifth, I cut his sinew ...'. Striking the head is here to be understood literally, as part of the hunt, since it is one of a list of literal actions.

2. MLc 2639:10' in JCS 2 (1948), p.305 - NB. *muḥba maḥāṣu* occurs in this text several times in its static form, e.g., (10') *šumu(ma[DIn]) ina muḫḫi(UGU)-šu maḫiš(SIG[18]-ma  uznā(GES'TU')-šu l(a(NU) ṭemā(SE.GA a) ṭat(SU) ṭiktar(XV),  'If he is struck in his skull and his ears do not hear, it is the hand of Ištar'. The parallel of *muḥba maḫiš* with *uznā la ṭemā*, which is a physical debility, shows that the former is also such a debility. *muḥba* is the literal skull which is afflicted (*maḥāṣu*), a metaphorical extension from a literal, physical blow.

3. 339c+ IV:9-10 in KUB XXIX 58 (pl.48) - Bogh. When used as an epithet, *maḫiš muḫḫi* occurs in the context of an enumeration of diseases and demons: (8) *di-a ma-aš-tu  di-a-bā-su  di-a-ha-zu (9)  ṣabtu(Dlu)-uš e-nu-un-qal  ki-ša-ti maḫiš  (10)  mu-ub-hi mu-ra-am-mu  šerāni(SA)  mu-ub-bi-il (11) li-iq pi-i, 'Whom Ṭamašu, Lābuṣu, or Ṭabazu have seized, or the warden of the woods, who strikes the skull, who makes lose the muscles, who dries up the palate'. Since *maḫiš muḫḫi* is only used as an epithet, without further explanation, it is not possible to accurately define it, but a partial interpretation can be derived from its semantic field. The context concerns undesirable bodily afflictions, either personified (11. 8-9a) or described literally (11.9bff). *maḫiš muḫḫi* is the same participial form as the following literal physical debilities and should also be considered as literal, possibly a headache, or some other similar affiction which could be caused by a blow to the head.

4. K.2728+:148 in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.21 - NA. The person receiving the incantation is to set demons on the sorceress: (148) a-mah-baṣ muḥ-ha-ki ū-ša-an-na ṭe-en-ki  (149) a-dai-laḫ li-ba-ki ta-maš-ši-i širi(UZU.MES),  'I will strike your skull, I will alter your report; I will confuse your heart (so) you will forget the oracles'.

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¹ K.6085:2', pl. 43, NA
² MLc 2639:10', JCS 2 (1948), p. 305, NB
³ KUB XXIX 58, pl. 48, Bogh
⁴ K.2728+:148, Tallqvist Maqlu, pl. 21, NA
2.2.1 As noted above, mubba mahāṣu occurs four times in the cautionary formula of legal texts from Susa. The form of the formula is somewhat different from that in which qaqqada mahāṣu occurs, but the meaning appears to be the same because of the identity of context. The shared semantic range of qaqqada and mubba in this context is also shown by the parallel of imubbāṣu (MDP XXIV 377:19-20) which is used instead of ina qaqqadīṣu (MDP XXII 1:17-18, cf. p.61, n.2). mubba mahāṣu, like qaqqada mahāṣu in this context, signifies a literal part of the punishment which is to befall the one who suffers the curse.

All of the other actions are literal and are done to keep the sorceress from practising her craft. This leads to the conclusion that 'striking the head' is also a literal, physical action done for the same reason.

5. MDP XXII 131 (p.142):15-16; XIV 374 (p.65):7; 376 (p.68):16-17; 377 (p.70):18 (all concerning gifts) - OB.

1. p.60, n.4 and p.64, n.5.

2. 2.1.2, p.60. MDP XXII 131 has: (13) a-na me-e lī-li-līk-ma (14) l-na pi-i _WM-ar-di (the instigator of the tablet) (15) Ša-zī mu-ha-šu (16) li-im-ša-šu. Here the precative liliik occurs rather than the present form of the verb. The other three texts have only part of the clause. The one who disputes:

(6) i-la-ak-ma i-na me-e lu-li/-i/ Ša-zī mu-ha-šu li-im-ša-šu (XXIV 374); (15) i-na a-wa-at ília(DINGIR) Ša-zī(LUGAL) / (x) / (16) li-sī Ša-zī mu-ha-šu
(17) li-im-ša-šu (XXIV 376); (17) i-me-e lu-li/-i/ Ša-zī/
(18) mu-um-ha-šu li-im-ša-šu (XXIV 377) (the preceding line is broken, so could contain some mention of entering the water).
rēṣam nērum, 'to strike the head'

rēṣam nērum occurs in an OB royal inscription from Ur. Following a break, the text reads: (1) nēr(SAG.GIŠ.RA) (2) rēš(SAG) (3) Uruk(UNUḠi) (4) û Ur(ŠEŠ.UNUḠi) (5) išruq(A.MU.RU), 'the striker of the head of Uruk and Ur deposited this' (UM 14936). The probable historical context of the text is known. This tablet apparently refers to Sargon I since another inscription tells of his conquest of Uruk and Ur. It records that he smote (SAG.GIŠ.RA) both cities. Since Sargon retained control of these cities during the rest of his reign, nēr rēšim, when describing his relationship to them, seems to describe something with a longer lasting effect than simply a military victory, although this must be part of the meaning of the phrase. The extended effect is contained in the range of 'to vanquish, subdue', which has also been proposed as the meaning of qaqqada(m) mahāsu(m).

1. UM 14936:1-2 in Gadd UET I 6 (pl.II).
2. Ibid. The transliteration of SAG.GIŠ.RA follows ibid., p.3 although, as has been noted above (p.54 n.5) the Sumerogram is also equivalent to rāsu. SAG could be either rēšam or qaqqadam, which was read by Gadd.
4. Ibid., 11.29-40.
5. Ibid., 11.13,37.
There are also occurrences of nārum without an object used in similar contexts with the same meaning. This might well be an elision of the body part as the direct object.

4. qaqqada rāsu/rāšu, 'to strike the head'

The phrase qaqqada rāsu occurs only once, in an Amarna letter. Ammunira reports that he has prepared troops and equipment for the king: (31) 𒆜𒆜Nibātu a₃₃-₃₃-₄-

The context here is similar to that in which qaqqadam mabāsum/nārum occur (cf. 2.1.1, pp.57-58 and 3, p.66), where the meaning was established as 'to vanquish, subdue', which also appears to be the meaning here. It has already been noted that rāsu was used alone in a similar qā context, with the same meaning. This could well be the elision of qaqqadam as the direct object. If this is the case, the phrase could not be a dialectical variant of qaqqada(m) mabāsu(m)/nāru(m) used only at Amarna, since it would also be used in Dēr.

1. E.g. BM 116455:4 in UET I 9 (pl.II). Cf. also CBS 13972 II:29-40, passim in PBS V 34.


3. This reading 'a₃₃ is adopted in AHu., p.959 (sub rāsu(m) G.2), rather than the more usual reading ba, which was used in VAB II, p.584, l.31.

4. Cf. 2.1.1, p.57, and n.1.
'To turn (around)'

comes from the Proto-Semitic root referring to the face. As a verb it is used for 'to face', as in changing direction. There are no OT occurrences of the verb with the literal head (שָׁמַר / תָּפֹר, etc.) as its object, but it does occur in this grammatical relationship with the face.¹

The Piel- and Hiphil- stems are transitive, and the verb in both of these stems occurs with the face as the direct object, but not the head itself.

occupies a different part of this semantic range and, as an intransitive verb, meaning 'to go around'.² It is not of relevance here. The Akkadian sabāru(m) shares its range³ as well as including the transitive 'to turn (around)'.⁴ The verb is used with the head ( qaqqadam) and the face as the direct object.

1. It does occur three times in the OT with as its object, i.e. I Sam.13:17-18 (D); Ezek.10:11 (fourth cent. B.C.). In the first passage, refers to a group of raiders who go out of the Philistine camp: רֳכִים וְאַרְגָּלִים מֵאֵזְגָּרָב וְאַרְגָּלִים מֵאֵזְגָּרָב (17) מִשְׁקַדְתֵּיהֶם (17). Cf. VT 19 (1969), p.3. In the second passage, designates the first, or leader in Ezekiel's vision of wheels within wheels: בְּיָדָן וְאַרְגָּלִים מֵאֵזְגָּרָב וְאַרְגָּלִים מֵאֵזְגָּרָב... In neither passage does refer to the physical head, so it is not relevant to this study.

2. Aram. קֶבֶר

3. E.g. the march around Jericho (Josh.6 passim - D). Cf. BDB, pp.685-686 (sub בֶּבֶר Qal 2).

4. Ibid., p.686.

5. Cf. BDB, p.695 (sub רְפָא).


7. Ibid., pp.1005-1007 (loc.cit., G3, 4 and passim, D).
qaggadam subhurum, 'to turn the head'

qaggadam subhurum occurs only in an OB letter from Mari. In it, the writer tells the king that he is going to another kingdom with organised troops:

\[
\text{iq-tu 'a-na-ku ga-du-um ga-bi-\text{im ka-as-ri-im} (r12') i-na ma-a-tim ki a-ka-aš-ša-du šarrum (LUGAL) ma al-XX(?)} (r13') ga-ga-sú a-šar ša-\text{ni ú-ul ú-sa-ab-ha-\text{ar} XX (r14') qa-qa-su a-sar sa-\text{ni u-ulu sa-ab-ha-\text{ar}} X X \text{. 'After I, with the organised troops, have arrived in the land, I will turn his head towards another place'}} \text{(ARM II 23).}
\]

The broken ends of each line cause difficulty in interpreting qaggadam subhurum. In 'turning the head' the king would be redirecting his attention from one place to another (ašar šanat). Whether in this text the action means something like 'to send troops to' or even 'to set out towards' a place cannot be determined, although both are acceptable in the context. The lack of parallel occurrences forstalls a definite interpretation.

1. ARM II 23 (pl. XXVII):r.14'. Cf. 48 (pl. LXII):16-19, which concerns the lack of response on the part of some villagers to an order to assemble. The writer instructs the king: (15) lú-be\-el ar-nim i-na ne-<pa>-ri-im li-du-ku-m/a/ (16) qa-ga-as-sú li-ik-ki-su-ma (17) ù bi-ri-it a-la-ni-e ... (19) li-sa-bi-ru, 'May they kill a guilty man in prison, may they cut off his head and take it around between the villages' (ARM II 48). The sign PA is supplied by G.F. Jean in ARMT II, p.102. Neparum is the Mari variant (cf. ARMT XV, p.233 [sub neparum]) of nuparu, cf. AHw., p.804 (sub nuparu(m) I).

The text could, however, be left unamended, resulting in the guilty person being killed 'by a blow', ina nērim, but this verb is unattested at Mari. In this case the verb in the G-stem is used, and the head is literally taken around in order to instill fear so that the commands would be carried out. The action is not idiomatic.

2. Šābim kašrim, l. r.11'.
Both נדנדה and נָשְׁכָּל mean 'to move back and forth', the former ranging from slow through rapid oscillations,\(^1\) with the latter used mainly for the faster motions.\(^2\) The head occurs as the direct object of both verbs in their transitive Hiphil-stem. The Akkadian nāṣu(m) also has this meaning,\(^3\) and is found with 'head', qagqadam, as direct object in the transitive D-stem.

kamāmu(m) and itmū(m) mean 'to nod the head'.\(^4\) Since the head is not the explicit direct object of the verbs, they will not be independently discussed here.

1. שָׁכְרָה

שָׁכְרָה occurs twice in a close grammatical relationship with a form of נדנדה, once as an instrumental subordinate to a Hiphil form of the verb, i.e. שָׁכְרָה נְגַל הַפֶּן,\(^5\) and once in a genitive construction with the related noun לָכָי, i.e. לָכָי- שָׁכְרָה.\(^6\) Both passages are poetic.

1. Cf. BDB, p.626 (sub נדנדה Qal); KB, p.600 (sub נדנדה qal).
2. Cf. BDB, p.631 (sub נָשְׁכָּל); KB, p.503 (sub נָשְׁכָּל).
3. Cf. AHu., pp.761-762 (sub nāṣu(m)).
4. Cf. CAD K, p.102 (sub kamāmu). Note AHu., p.430 (sub kamāmu), "mit den Zähnen knirschen", 'to gnash the teeth', which is given along with "schüttelt sein Haupt", 'he shakes his head'. Cf., also CAD I/J, p.298 (sub itmū); AHu., p.771 (sub nāwû(m) II 97). Cf. VAT 1006B+col. X: 24ff in LTBA II, pl.5:(24) nu-uš qa-qa-du i-ta-mu-u (25) ka-ša-su "(26) ka-ma-mu ka-ša-su.

5. Jer.18:16 (late seventh cent. B.C.).
6. Ps.44:15 (possibly pre-exilic - ו).
The verbal form occurs in the context of the people forgetting Yahweh and going another way: שֹׁרְרֵהוּ עִלְּם מִלְּעֵבֵר עֵלֵיָה יְהוָה לְבִינֵי בֵּרַאשִׁים
'to make their land a waste, an eternal whistling.' Every passerby will be appalled and will shake his head' (Jer.18:16). The shock which is felt at the sight of this destruction is apparently indicated by the 'shaking head'.

The second passage concerns the scorn of Israel's neighbours for her: 'You have made us a disgrace to our neighbours, derision and scorn to those around us. You have made us an example among the nations, a shaking of the head among the peoples' (Ps.44). In this context of mockery and abuse, 'shaking the head' is a sign of scorn.

The verb itself in the Qal-stem without an object also occurs in the context of mourning and pity, as well as destruction. Pity is a likely response to the sight of destruction and is another possible interpretation of Jer.18:16. The verb also appears in Ps.69:21 (Davidic) in the context of shame and insults (cf. Ps.44:15 above).

1. Whistling occurs in other cases when people see destruction and are appalled, e.g. 1 Kings 9:8 (D); Ezek.27:26 (fifth cent. B.C.), and Lam.2:15 (cf. p. 72n.6).


4. Cf. also לְפָנִים, Lam.1:8 (sixth cent. B.C.).
These verses apparently have the 'head' implicit as the direct object.

This gesture has two connotations, according to its context, i.e. 'scorn' and 'shock'. In both it could show unbelief, whether genuine (e.g. Jer. 18:16) or mocking (e.g. Ps. 44:15-16). The lack of further examples of the gestures prevents making more than this general interpretation.

This gesture occurs six times in poetic passages, in the context of disgrace, the reaction to seeing destruction, scorn, and pity. In each of these contexts, the reaction was to shake the head. The gesture is accompanied by whistles and clapped hands in Lamentations when the passers-by see Jerusalem's ruins. This again suggests the possibility of sympathy for the fate of the city.

When the Psalmist is scorned, the people show their scorn through their actions: 'All who see me mock me, they stick out the lip and shake the head' (Ps. 22). The context indicates that the

2. הָרָעָה - Ps. 109:25 (Davidic).
3. Lam. 2:15 (sixth cent. B.C.).
4. לְעָשׂוּ - Ps. 22:8 (Davidic); לְעָשׂוּ - II Kings 19:21, par. Isa. 37:22 (D).
6. קָפַע עָלֵיוֹ נִלְכָּדְתָה בְּעָשֹׂו וְעָבְנָה וָרָעָה רָעָה רָעָה 'All who pass down the way clap their hands at you, they whistle and shake their heads' (Lam. 2:15). Cf. p. 71, n. 1.
7. Cf. also the false sympathy of Job 16:4, which has the form רָעָה אַלָּכָּת נִלְכָּדָה לֹא רָעָה נִלְכָּדָה... This makes explicit the reflexive character of the action, its instrument and its target.
two physical actions are an epexegetical explanation of the mockery shown. The two other passages in which the action occurs in this context show that this scorn was not always shown directly to the person but sometimes was done slyly.  

3.1 In Enuma eliš, when Anu found he could not defeat Tiamat: (86) uš-ḫa-ri-ir-ma dAššur(šar) qaqq―raqqa-ri

i-na-at-ta-al7 (87) i-kam-ma-am a-na dš-a ú-na-ši

qaqqas(SAG.DU) / su7, 'Aššur was mortified, he looked at the ground, he nodded to Ea, he shook his head' (En. II). The gesture occurs in a context of fear brought about by the realisation that none could face Tiamat. It is an epexegesis of the previous verb, and is apparently an indication of this feeling of fear.

3.2 In the other text, Kummá went into the underworld and was overwhelmed by Nergal's radiance: (54) ... i-na-ša-al-an-ni-ma

1. "םלְשׁה יִרְעַיְיָה מְלָא צְהָלָה...she shook the head behind you, daughter of Jerusalem" (II Kings 19:21, par. Isa.37:33).

2. MLC 2639:24′ in JCS 2 (1948), p.305 - NB. Cf. p.64, n.2. Due to the accompanying literal, physical symptoms, the 'shaking head' must also be literal.

ú-na-a-šá qaqqas (SAG.DU)-su (55) /ri-qim-šu û-dan-nin-am-ma
... ez-zi-ša a-li-ia i-ša-as-si, 'He looked at me and he shook his head. He shouted loudly ... roaring at me in anger' (VAT 10057). Here the context of wrath suggests that this gesture expresses anger in some way. Neither text provides enough information to show if the gesture was more than a reflexive response to these two strong emotions.

F 'to seize, hold'

PIN, in the Qal-stem, is a stative (Zustand) verb meaning 'to be strong or firm'. The causative 'to strengthen' is expressed by the Piel-, and several times by the Hiphil-, stems. The semantic range of the Hiphil-stems has also extended to include 'seizing'. In this stem, the verb occurs with the head (לָּחי) as its object.

kullu(m) also means 'to hold' in the sense of grasping, in which it is used with the head and the parts as object, as well as in the sense of 'to contain'. Its range also includes

1. ZA 43 (1936), pl. III – IV.
2. Cf. BOB, p. 304 (sub PIN Qal I); KB, pp.290-291 (sub PIN qal). The head is the object of PIN in the Qal stem in II Sam. 18:9 (D) in describing Absalom's head being caught (PIN qal) in a tree, which does not involve an action on the part of another and so is not relevant here.
3. Cf. BOB (loc. cit. PIN); KB, p.291 (loc. cit. PIN).
5. Cf. BOB, p.305 (loc. cit. 3); KB, p.291 (loc. cit. 1, 2).
6. II Sam.2:16 (D). This is in the context of a contest between the followers of Joab and Abner: שָׁמַיָּהוּ בִּטְחֵנָה, 'Each man seized the head of his opponent with his sword in his opponent's side. They fell together'. The head was seized here so that the enemy might be killed, and is therefore literal, with no apparent symbolism and so does not contribute to this work.
7. Cf. CAD K, pp.508-511 (sub kullu 1); AHw., p.502
other related meanings such as 'to exercise control' and 'to uphold (laws)'.

The semantic range of *sabātu(m)* also contains seizure, as well as containing, with other related meanings. The head and its parts occur as object of this verb.

Several other verbs include seizing or holding in their semantic range, but none are used with the head or some part of the head as an object and so are not relevant here.

1. *kullu(m)*, 'to hold'

1.1 *reša(m) kullu(m)*, 'to hold the head'

*reša(m) kullu(m)* occurs in several different contexts including mathematical computations, the collection and preparation of various things, and in greetings formulae.

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(sub *kullu(m) II 1-4*).

8. Cf. *CAD K*, pp.511-512 (loc.cit. 2); *AHw.*, p.503 (loc.cit. 8).


2. Cf. e.g. *CAD §*, pp.5-21 (sub *sabātu* 1-4), pp.23-24 (loc. cit.7), *AHw.*, pp.1066-1071 (sub *sabātu(m)* I, II and passim).


5. E.g. *mor* and the Akkadian *abāzu(m)*, as well as *kullu(m)*.


1.1.1 As one stage of computation in some OB mathematical texts, the writer instructs, regarding a number $x$: reška likil. Later in the same computation, he then calls for the use of the number $x$: ša reška ukālu, in further computation. The idiomatic 'to be ready' is possible here and has been listed by the dictionaries, who apparently interpret the number $x$ as the subject of the clause. A reading of rēšum as the object in this context, which is also possible since there are no case-endings due to the suffix, gives the non-idiomatic: 'may your head hold' the number $x$. In the context, this is an instruction to memorize or remember the number in order to use it at a later time in the computation. Since the phrase is unambiguous if understood literally, there is no need to suppose that it is used idiomatically in this context, even though the idiomatic usage cannot be definitely ruled out (cf. 1.1.2, pp. 76 - 78). In later texts, no such formula for remember a number is used, rather the number is simply given and then used subsequently in a further stage of the computation.

1.1.2 Several texts employ reša(m) kullu(m) in the context of collection and preparation of something. A typical example


2. IM 52301: r. 6 - r. 7, Sumer 6 (1950), pl. 1 following p. 148, and TMB, p. 219 (sub kul).

3. "bereitstehen", 'to be ready', in AHw., p. 503 (sub kullu II 12 b). Cf. also "let x wait for you", in CAD K, p. 517 (sub kullu 5 f 3'). Also cf. 2.1.2, p. 81.

4. E.g. the Seleucid text AO 6484:4-6 in TCL VI 33 (pl. LXI).

5. Examples of grain, sheep, silver, dates, troops, etc. are listed in the dictionaries. Most are OB but some are later.
is an OB letter concerning silver in which the recipient is told: (6) ḫašāp (KU.BABBAR)-ka ṣi-mi-id-ma (7) re-ša-am li-ki-il, 'Prepare your silver! May it hold the head' (BM 80810).¹ The recipient is told to bring the silver to Babylon upon the arrival of another letter (11.8-12).

This phrase is clearly idiomatic since an inanimate object is the subject of the active verb. A.L. Oppenheim translated rešām li-kīl here as "let (it) remain (there) to be disposed of",² and R. Frankena as "damit es bereit ist",³ 'so it is ready'. This preparation in anticipation of an imminent order to dispatch the goods is what is conveyed by this text.

I would suggest that in all of these instances a satisfactory interpretation of reša(m) kullu(m) is 'to wait in expectation of something happening'.⁴ The person, or event, waited for is often denoted by the genitive with the construct of reša(m). For example, in a Mari letter to Šamši-Adad, Yasmah-Adad wrote that he was in Qatunan:

(13) a-di be-li (14) a-na Šu-be-at dEn-lili (15) i-ka-aš-ša-
/diša-an (16) i-na Qa-at-tu-na-an ki (17) re-eš be-li-ia
ū-ka-[al]., 'Until my lord arrives at Šubat-Enlil I am ready

1. CT XXIX, pl.40.
2. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.255.
4. Cf. "to wait for, to be at the disposal of" in CAD K, p.516 (sub kullu 5 f 1'); "zur Verfügung stehen", 'to be available'; "bereitstehen", 'to be ready' in AHw., p.503 (sub kullu(m)) II D 12 a, b). Cf. also G. Dossin, ARMI I, p.42 and J.R. Kupper, ARMI VI, p.79 who translate the idiom as "être prêt", 'to be ready', and G. Dossin, op.cit., p.53, ll.38,41, by "attendre", 'to wait for'.

¹ C.T. XXIX, pl.40.
² Idiomat. Accadian, p.255.
³ AbB II, p.111.
⁴ Cf. "to wait for, to be at the disposal of" in CAD K, p.516 (sub kullu 5 f 1'); "zur Verfügung stehen", 'to be available'; "bereitstehen", 'to be ready' in AHw., p.503 (sub kullu(m)) II D 12 a, b). Cf. also G. Dossin, ARMI I, p.42 and J.R. Kupper, ARMI VI, p.79 who translate the idiom as "être prêt", 'to be ready', and G. Dossin, op.cit., p.53, ll.38,41, by "attendre", 'to wait for'.
and waiting for (i.e. holding the head of) my lord' (ARM I 37). šamši-adad instructed him not to wait for him in Qatunan (reša la tukal)¹ but to proceed elsewhere. The interpretation of reša(m) kullu(m) as 'to be held ready for immediate use' is supported by this and similar examples.²

1. Ll.31-32. Here the person waited for is denoted by the pronominal suffix added to reša. Cf. also AO 3959:23 in Thureau-Dangin TCL I, 35 (pl.XXII) and in CAD K, pp. 516-517 (sub kullu 5 f). Further examples of this genitive construction are: e.g. ARM I 17 (pl.XXIII): 41-42; II 80 (pl. XCVIII):13-15, VAT 7796:10-17 in WAS XVI 104 (pl.43) and in CAD K, loc.cit. In CAD K, p.517 (sub kullu 5 f 14') a different interpretation is given for K,1396:13-14 in ABL b33,(p.584) which reads: (13) ... šemar(HAR) burasi(GUSKIN) patar(GÍR) burasi(GUSKIN) subat(TUG) sa ši-il-li (14) reš(SAG) Aššur-zér(NUMUN)-ipuš(DU) u-ka-la translated "they are holding a golden ring, a golden dagger and an umbrella for PN". This could be seen as a metaphorical transfer of rešum from designating the part of the body to designating the person as a whole (synecdoche), which is then metaphorically transferred to inanimate objects. The phrase reša kullu could then be interpreted literally as 'to hold the thing (until the need for it arose)'. The genitival constructions, however, show that this cannot be the correct interpretation. In the Mari example quoted, grammatically it is the head of the king (bēlīa) which is held, as it is the head of Aššur-zér-Ipuš in this text rather than the objects.

2. P. Koschaker in Bürgschaftsrecht, p.11, and E. Dhorme in L'emploi, p.21 posited yet another interpretation for reša(m) kullu(m) when it is used in the context of an 06 grain loan, e.g. CUB 1522:14 in BE VI/I 103 (pl.63). Warad-Sin had accepted a loan of 60 GUR of grain, i.e., (1) aššum 60 ŠE GUR ... (5) 1Arad(IR) Sin(XXX) ... (6) ana qiptim ilqu, but the king subsequently declared a moratorium of loans, i.e., (7) u šar/rum/ šar/am iškunuma. The two creditors, wanting the grain returned, came to Warad-Sin and said: (13) še-um ša ni-id-di-na-ak-kum (14) re-ša-am li-ki-il, 'May the grain which we gave to you hold the head'. This idiomatic phrase was translated by Koschaker, op.cit., as "du bist für uns verantwortlich", 'you are responsible to us' and by Dhorme, op.cit., as "servir de cautionnement", 'to serve as a guarantor'. Since it was Warad-Sin who received the loan, and no one else is mentioned as a guarantor, or as assuming responsibility for it, the responsibility would necessarily rest upon the debtor. Instead of proposing these technical meanings for reša(m) kullu(m), the previously mentioned 'to hold ready at the disposal' of the creditors is satisfactory in this context, since the creditors would be demanding the preparation of the grain pending the immediate recall of the loan.
1.1.3 Several sources also assign to ṛēṣa(m) kullu(m) the additional meaning of 'to provide'. In one of the common occurrences of the idiom in greetings formulae from the DB period, after asking that life and peace be granted, the writer adds: (7) ilum(DINGIR) na-ṣir-ki re-eš-ki a-na da-mi-ig-ti (8) li-ki-il, 'may the god, your guard, hold your head for good' (VAT 703). This could equally well be understood as 'provide you with good', or as 'have good ready at your disposal'. Both are part of the same semantic range of readying something for use and actually giving it to be used. There is thus no need to posit a number of "homonymous idioms" of ṛēṣa(m) kullu(m) when one interpretation satisfactorily explains all of these uses.

1. E.g. CAD K, p.517 (loc.cit. 2'); "to procure (give)" in 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.254-255; "Versorgen", 'to provide' in AHu., p.503 (loc.cit., 12 c).

2. VAS XVI 1 (pl.1).

3. Cf. "dem Empfänger alles Gute verleihe", 'grant the recipient all good' in Stür XXXVIII (1967), p.31. Cf. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.255, "may hold your head = may be yours".

4. Cf. "zur Verfügung stehen", 'to be at the disposal', in AbB 6, p.3.

2.1 qaqqada(m) kullu(m), 'to hold the head'

qaqqada(m) kullu(m) occurs in OB economic texts, and an OB letter.2

2.1.1 In three OB texts, qaqqada(m) kullu(m) concerns payments of rent,3 a loan,4 or wages.5 The phrase occurs towards the end of each text, immediately prior to the witnesses and date, and following the amount which is to be paid. Each records, of a party previously unmentioned in the text6: (ana) qaqqasti ... ukål,7 '... holds his head', or: ... mukîl qaqqadišu,8 '... is the holder of his head. qaqqada(m) is ambiguous in these texts since it could stand either for the physical head or for 'capital'.9 The latter is the most straightforward interpretation since it allows for a literal translation of the phrase as '... held his capital' which is understandable in this context.

2. ARM II 39 '(pl.LI):56.
5. VAT 651:6 in Meissner BAP 61, kîṣru.
6. Two are people and one is Ninurta.
7. Gautier Dilbat XLV:r.4-5 and LI:r.2-3. The latter does not have ana. In the gap (...), a name is given.
8. VAT 651:10-11, Meissner BAP 61. In the gap (...) the person is named.
as meaning 'to guarantee the capital'. Even if the phrase is an idiom, with qaqqada(m) referring to the literal head, the meaning would be similar to 'to guarantee' in this context. 

2.1.2 qaqqadam kullum occurs in a Mari letter. Yasim-El was chided for withdrawing troops which had previously been promised to another ruler, Haqbu-ħammu, for his defence. Yasim-El writes to Zimrilim: (54) ... aš-šum ša be-li (55) ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi ša i-qa-ab-bi-kum te-pē-eš (56) aš-šum ki-a-am a-na a-wa-tim qa qa-di ú-ka-al-šu, 'Because my lord wrote this to me: "What he says to you, do!", because of that, I will hold my head for the word' (ARM II 39).

This has been variously interpreted. C. F. Jean translated part of the passage as an idiom: "pour l'affaire je me fie à lui", 'I put my confidence in him concerning the matter'. From this it appears that he understood -šu ('lui', 1.56) as referring to Haqbu-ħammu. Grammatically, however, this is not the case since -šu must refer either to qaqqadi, i.e. 'my head, I will hold it', or to ana

1. Cf. M. Schorr's review of J. É. Gautier, op. cit., in the Vienna Oriental Journal XXIV (1910), p. 335 where he interprets Gautier Dilbat Li:t.r, 2-3 as 'bürft für den Schuldner', 'he stands surety for the debtor'. Cf. also Koschaker Bürgschaftsrecht, p. 2 and CAD K, p. 516 (sub kullu 5 e 21), 'he guarantees for him'. Gautier himself (op. cit., pp. 83, 88) translates the phrase 'le capital ... (en) jouira' '... enjoys the capital', which does not seem appropriate since these people are not mentioned elsewhere in the text, least of all that they were the ones who benefited from the transaction. B. Meissner in BAP, p. 138, on VAT 651:10-11, interpreted the participial form of the phrase as designating 'ein Beschützer', 'a protector' and translated qaqqada(m) as 'Haupt', 'head', in ibid., p. 55.
auatim, which would necessitate an idiomatic meaning for qaggadum kullum. Finet translated the clause "il défend mes intérêts (?)", which is similar to the "Beschützer" of Meissner. It is not clear who the subject of the clause would be in this case, since Zimrilim had ordered Yāšim-El to obey Yaqba-ḫammu (l.55), who would not be supporting ('schützen') Yāšim-El, but was rather opposing him by sending a complaining letter to Zimrilim. CAD translates as "I am waiting (?) for the order (of my lord)". This also leaves difficulties since it appears from the context that the order to obey Yaqba-ḫammu had already been given (l.55). If so, the phrase could denote some response to the command of the king, such as 'to obey'. The paucity of occurrences, however, makes any definite interpretation of the phrase in this context as yet only conjecture.

2. CAD, K, p.516 (loc.cit., 5 e 2'), includes the occurrence of the phrase in IM 51312:10-11 in Sumer XIV (1958), 4 (pl.4) as possibly having this meaning. The context is broken, and the text itself(9) 2 rēdū(UKU,US) i-nam-€XX (10) qa-ga-di-šu nu lu ū-ka-₃al (11) ū qa-ga-di lu u-₃u₃-la-₃u₃) is not economic, as were the other texts cited. Goetze (ibid., p.21) interpreted the idiom as meaning "to stand for", presumably with the idea of representation, which is included in the meaning of 'to guarantee', but since the tablet is broken, not enough of the context remains to determine the exact meaning of the idiom.

3. ARMT II, p.89, 1.56.
4. The subject of the verb could also be 'he'.

1. ARMT XV, p.246 (sub qaggadum 1).
2. Cf. p.81, n.1.
3. K, p.516 (sub kully 5 e 1').
G  'to cover, hide'

is used, mainly in the Qal-stem, with the meaning of 'to overlay' which includes in its range the idea of hiding. It is used of parts of the head. The Akkadian kašù(m), also meaning 'to cover', is not used with a part of the body as its object.

shares the same semantic range as the more common and, in the Qal-stem, is used also of the head.

occurs in the Hiphil-stem as the transitive verb 'to hide'. It is not used of the head itself, but with designated parts of the head as the object.

is used in the Piel-stem mainly in the context of wrongdoing with the idea of 'covering over' so as not to be punished. It is also used of parts of the head, i.e., , but not of the head itself.

is rare in the OT but where found, it appears to mean 'wrap' or 'hide'. The face, but not of the head itself, occurs as object of the verb.

2. Cf. CAD K, p.294 (sub kašù A); AHw, p.463 (sub kašù(m) I), which attributes to it a West-Semitic etymology.
3. Cf. BDB, pp.341-342 (sub ); KB3, p.325 (sub ).
4. Cf. BDB, p.711 (sub ); KB, p.669 (sub ).
5. Cf. BOB, pp.497-498 (sub Pi. 2ff); KB3, p.470 (sub Pi. 1 dff).
6. II Sam.19:5 (D); I Kings 19:13 (D); Isa.21:10; 27:7 (eighth cent. B.C., red. third cent. B.C.).
7. In I Sam.21:10 (D), Goliath's sword is said to be behind the ephod: בַּעֲשָׂר הָבָד 'a veil, to veil'. Cf. BDB, p.532 (sub ); KB3, p.497 (sub ).
katāmu(m), 'to cover, conceal, overwhelm', includes the same semantic range as חפש. It is used of the head as well as its parts.

arāmu(m) also means 'to cover over, envelope', and is used of parts of the head, as in pāna(m) arāmu(m).

kullulu(m) is related to the kullulu-headdress and itself means 'to cover, veil' (with this headdress). Here reference is often to the 'face' while the 'head' is not explicitly stated to be the object.

Several other verbs include 'covering' in their semantic range but are here omitted as making no direct contribution to this study.

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1. Cf. CAD K, pp.298-303 (sub katāmu); AHU., pp.464-465 (sub katāmu(m)). Cf. MAH 15850+:538 transliterated in Landsberger and Civil MSL IX, pp.134-135: (538) U + TUG(du-ul) ka-ta-mu (539) a-ra-mu (540) pu-su-mu (541) ur-ru-mu, which are several verbs meaning 'to cover, veil'.

2. Cf. CAD AII, pp.228-230 (sub arāmu).

3. Cf. CAD K, pp.518-519 (sub kullulu); AHU., p.503 (sub kullulu I and II).

4. E.g. edāhu, ḥalāpu, sapānu, יִפְּס.

5. Eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.
to a sealed book which cannot be read because of its seal.

Even though this clause is unique in the OT, it is possible to make several observations about it. The object of the phrase, מַעֲרֹת, has the same function, syntactically as well as semantically, as the object of the proceeding verbal phrase, נְבֵעֲרָה. Since these two halves of each phrase have the same meaning, it is probable that this is an example of synonymous parallelism, which is common in Hebrew poetry. In that case, since the idiom נְבֵעֲרָה has the same syntactical function as יִפְעָר, it probably has the same meaning, or at least shares its semantic range with יִפְעָר. The meaning of both is shown in the following verse, in which Yahweh is closing the eyes and covering the head in order that the prophets and seers will not be able to understand what visions they receive. Therefore, the phrases נְבֵעֲרָה שַׁלֵּךְ and יִפְעָר would mean 'to withhold understanding' when used in this context of Yahweh's revelation. These both are comparing the actual outer eye which can be covered to prevent seeing, to the inner eye of understanding which can be metaphorically covered to forbid understanding.

1. Cf. II Sam.24:11 (D) where a נְבֵעֲרָה is called a נַעֲרֹת, and II Kings 17:13 (D) where the two also occur together.

2. This assumption is strengthened by the occurrence of synonymous parallelism in the previous verse (נְבֵעֲרָה נְבֵעֲרָה יִפְעָר יִפְעָר). 

3. It is not to say that visions are not received but that they are not understood, just as the book was given but it was not readable. This would be contra A. S. Herbert, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters 1-39 (1973), p. 168, who said that the divine word was to be understood as being withheld completely.
In the earliest, the plight of Judah during a drought is described: מים נעוריכים ריקים נשיא ובכליים לא-getDisplayים. In the earliest, the plight of Judah during a drought is described: מים נעוריכים ריקים נשיא ובכליים לא--displayים (3). מים נʿויכים ריקים נשיא ובכליים לא-Displayים (4). מים נועירוכם ריקים נשיא ובכליים לא-Displayים

'Your great ones send their servants for water. They come to the cisterns; they do not find water. They are ashamed and humiliated and cover their heads. Because of the ground, dismayed because of the lack of rain in the land, the farmers are ashamed, they covered their heads' (Jer.14).

The context indicates that covering the head is a sign of shame. The phrase is also used of people weeping and sorrowing in the other two passages.² The action is commonly interpreted as a sign of grief.³ This does not take into account, however, the use in the context of shame, unless shame produced grief. It is possible that the two emotions were viewed as the same, or it could be that they were both shown by the same outward sign even though they were in fact different. It is not possible to determine this precisely from the limited texts.

1. II Sam.15:30 (D) - twice; Jer.14:3,4 (sixth cent. B.C.); Esth.6:12 (early second cent. B.C.).

2. As David fled from Absalom he went up the Mount of Olives: עלה ובו דבוכה ראש ולב יצרו מכחו רמים. אבשלום צעירה או-Displayים, '... going up and weeping; his head was covered, and he was barefoot. Each of the people who were with him covered his own head and went up, going up and weeping' (II Sam.15:30). Also when Ahasuerus instructed Haman to honour Mordechai, whom he had been planning to kill: מיאת את מרדכי ב<this should be a keyboard symbol for letter>ר ית אוחי... '... and Haman hurried to his house, mourning and with his head covered' (Esth.6:12). The Jeremiah passage is also in the greater context of mourning (v.2).
3. *qaqqada(m) katāmu(m)*, 'to cover the head'

*qaqqada(m) katāmu(m)* occurs in the context of incantation and other rituals,¹ prayers² and letters.³

3.1 *qaqqada(m) katāmu(m)* occurs in two Mari letters written by the same woman, Inib-šarrim to Zimrilim.⁴ In one, Zimrilim is reported to have commanded: (4) *al-ki bīti(E)-ki šu-ta-aš-bi-ti-ma* (5) *šum-ma ĝ-ul ri-it-tum qa qa-ad-ki* (6) *ku ut mi má a t-la-ki-im*, 'Go! Gather your household! If it is not possible, cover your head


1. K.3169+:35 in CT XVII pl. 19 – NA; MLC 1872:21 (par. 1.44) in BRM IV 6 (pl. 4 & 5) – Sel. In the latter, performed in the case of an eclipse: (20) *... nišš(UKU MEŠ mātI(KUR) šu-bat qaqqadı(SAG,DU)-šu-nu šaḥtu(ŠA,GU,TU) ina lu-bar-ru-šu-nu qaqqas(SAG,DU)-šu-nu kat-mu*, 'the head-clothes of the people of the land are removed; their heads are covered with their clothes' (MLC 1872). Here the action of covering the head must be literal, because the headcovering is to be removed before it is done. The meaning of the gesture is not apparent from this text. In K.3169+:35, op. cit., the head is also to be covered with a garment (*šubātI*) prior to the ritual.


3. ARM II 113 (pl. CXXX): 5–6 and X 76 (pl. 33): 8–9 – 08.

4. ARM II 113 and X 76.

5. So CAD 5, p. 39 (sub *šabātI* 12 a 3′ a'). The verb is ambiguous, with a number of meanings.
and come to me!’ (ARM II 113). G. Finet,\(^1\) and C.-F. Jean,\(^2\) translate the clause literally, which is understandable in this context, as a preparation for travel. The significance of veiling, beyond the literal action which is not the direct concern of this thesis, is not discernible from these texts.

3.2 In a bilingual prayer, the writer asks Enlil the observer; (49) ... \(i-na-a-ka\) a-di ma-ti la \(i-na-ba\)
(50) ... \(kâ\) qaqq-ad-ka su-bat tu-kat-ti-mu \(a-di\) ma-ti\(^3\)
(51) ... ki-\(š\)a-ka ana su-ni-ka taš-ku-\(na\) \(a-di\) ma-ti\(^3\)
(52) ... \(lîb\)-ba-ka \(kîma\)(GIM) pi-sa-an-nu tak-tu-\(ma\) \(a-di\) ma-ti\(^7\), 'How long will your eyes not become weary? How long, you who cover your head with garments; How long will you lay your neck on your lap; How long will you cover your heart like a box?' (VAT 246).\(^4\)

In this prayer for aid, qaqq\(a\)d\(a\) kat\(₆\)mu is used in the context of other actions which appear to relate to not answering the prayer and providing aid. Just as the heart is covered like a box so no help can come forth, and as the head is placed on the lap, apparently to keep from seeing

1. ARM XV, p. 213 (sub kat\(₆\)mum).
2. ARM II, p. 193, l. 6.
3. Proposed by P. Jensen in KB VI/II, p. 84.
4. SBH I (pl. 131). Cf. also VAT 321+:17 in SBH 40 (pl. 72) where the head is also covered by a garment.
and being aware of the need, so the head is covered, possibly also to keep from seeing. This would be a metaphorical transfer from the physical blindness caused by blind-folding to the metaphorical blindness of the god who does not wish to help. These could also simply be the physical actions accompanying sleep, and so be strictly literal. The result of both interpretations is the same since the sleeping god, as well as the blindfolded god, would not be aware of the plight of the petitioner.
Chapter III  The Face

A  The cognates י"ע • : pānum(IGI) come from the Proto-Semitic word for 'face'. They both are metaphorically extended to denote the front part of things other than the physical head, and also develop prepositional and adverbial uses. pānum also extended to include in its semantic range the 'beginning' of a span of time.

 bunum shares part of this range since it also means 'face', especially as regards its features or outward appearance. It is also extended to include the appearance of inanimate objects, and also is used prepositionally.

B  'to raise, carry the face'

1 A form of י"ע • occurs twenty-eight times in the OT, in legal contexts, as well as those concerning

1. Cf. BDB, pp.815-816 (sub נגג and [נָנָנ့ (1-4); KB,76b (sub נגג 1-2, 6, cf. 7); AHw., pp.818-820 (sub pānu(m) I a passim); Holma Körperteile, p.13; L'emploi, pp.42-43.

2. Cf. BDB, p.816 (loc.cit. I 5); KB, p.766 (loc.cit., 3-5); AHw., loc.cit.


5. Cf. CAD B, pp.320-321 (sub bunu A 1); AHw., p.138 (sub bunu(m) II passim); Holma Körperteile, p.2; L'emploi, p.52.

6. Cf. CAD B, pp.321-322 (loc.cit., 2); AHw., p.138 (loc.cit., 1 c d)

7. Cf. CAD B, p.322 (loc.cit. 3).

8. Cf. Chapter II 8, pp.11-13 for the verbs examined.

9. Lev.19:15 (H); Deut.10:17 (D); Mal.2:9 (fourth cent.B.C.); Ps.82:2 (pre-exilic); Job 13:8,10; 32:21 (fifth cent. - third cent. B.C.); Prov.b.35 (post-exilic); 18:5 (pre-exilic); II Chr.19:7 (third cent. B.C.).
requests,\(^1\) and other favourable personal relationships or states.\(^2\) It is also used as a personal epithet,\(^3\) and once in an historical narrative.\(^4\)

1.1 When used in legal contexts,\(^5\) the action signified by 'וַיַּעֲבֹרִי is always condemned. This is explicit in Prov.18:5: 'רַאֲמֹנֵי שִׁפְיָם לְשֵׁר אֲשֶׁר לֹא-נְבָא אֵלָהִים מְפֹשָׁם 'Raising the face of the wicked is not good, to pervert a righteous person in judgement'. As well as condemning the action, the author places it in a context of an unacceptable legal practice, i.e., perverting justice.

In three other verses 'וַיַּעֲבֹרִי is also accompanied by taking bribes, which again would serve as a perversion

1. Gen.19:21 (J); I Sam.25:35 (D); Mal.1:8,9 (fourth cent. B.C.); Job 42:8,9 (fifth cent. - third cent. B.C.).

2. Gen.32:21 (J); Num.6:26 (P); Deut.28:50 (D); II Sam.2:22 (D); Job 11:15; 22:20 (fifth - third cent. B.C.); Lam.4:16 (sixth cent. B.C.).

3. II Kings 5:1 (D); Isa.3:3; 9:14 (post-exilic); Job 22:8 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

4. II Kings 9:32 (D). In this Jehu, returning from a battle, saw Jezebel looking out of the window at him: 'וַיַּעֲבֹרִי (32) יִרְאֶה מְפֹשָׂה †רַאֲמֹנֵי שִׁפְיָם לְשֵׁר אֲשֶׁר לֹא-נְבָא אֵלָהִים מְפֹשָׁם 'He raised his face towards the window and said, "Who is with me? Who?". Two or three eunuchs leaned out and he said "Drop her out" and they dropped her out' (II Kings 9:32-33). The literal use of the clause is clear since the window, being above Jehu, necessitated his raising his face in order to look up and see it and to speak to those in it. There is no apparent symbolic meaning to this gesture here.

of justice. The unacceptability of the action in this legal context is shown by its prohibition and disavowal, or by the consequent scorn and abasement. It is paralleled with other unacceptable practices, and is contrasted to acceptable attributes or procedures. The action is punished if it takes place. This semantic field of the idiom indicates that in a legal context it is a perversion of justice similar to altering the judgement on the basis of things other than the facts of the case, such as is done by bribery. Its occurrence with 'favouring the great'

1. Deut.10:17 speaks of the great Yahweh: יְהֹוָה יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'who does not raise the Face and does not take bribes'. Prov.3:35 describes the vengeance taken upon the guilty man by a cuckolded husband: יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'He will not raise the face of any cover-up, nor will he accept if you increase bribery'. In II Chr.19:7 judges are admonished to fear Yahweh: יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'for with Yahweh there is no injustice, or raising of face, or taking of bribes'.

2. Lev.19:15.


5. נָה תְּרִיָּה הָא רֶה, 'perverting justice' - Prov.18:5; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'judging, doing wrongly' - Lev.19:15, Psa.32:2; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'favouring the great' - Lev.19:15; secretiveness - Job 13:10; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'turning aside from the way'; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'causing to stumble'; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'ruin the covenant'; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'not keeping the way' - Mal.2:8-9; יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'giving distinction' - Job 32:21.

6. יִתְנָה בִּלְבֶד כֶּל, 'judging with justice' - Lev.19:15; Yahweh's positive attributes - Psa.82:2.


'making distinction' strengthen this interpretation as well as pointing to a more specific meaning, that of basing the judgement on the people who are involved rather than upon the evidence presented, in other words 'to show partiality'.

In the nominal form, the action of the idiom itself is indicated. The person to whom the action is directed is indicated either by appearing in a construct relationship with בֵּן in a verbal clause, e.g. לֶאַ בּוּ הָא אֶל 'do not be partial to the weak', or by a suffix. When the phrase does not have a construct or a suffix, the undirected action of showing partiality is indicated. In one instance, the sphere in which partiality is shown is explicitly stated, i.e., in legal matters. In each of these occurrences, the idiomatic phrase is transitive, that is one person shows partiality to (i.e., 'lifts the face of') another.


3. בֶּן כָּל - II Chr. 19:7; בֶּן הָא - Prov. 18:5.

4. Lev. 19:15. Cf. also Psa. 82:2; Job 32:21; Prov. 6:35 for other construct relationships.

5. 'Are you showing partiality to him if you dispute with God?' (Job 13:8).


7. Mal. 2:9 '... and showing partiality (i.e., raising the face) in the law.'
1.2 In other contexts נָשַׁת is also transitive, as shown by the subject of the phrase (indicated by the verbal affix) being a different person from the object (indicated by the pronominal suffix or construct formation with זו).\(^1\) נָשַׁת does not have a negative connotation in these passages. As an active verbal phrase it shares the semantic field with verbs denoting desirable actions or states.\(^2\) It is something requested or sought after,\(^3\) and cannot be expected if one does wrong.\(^4\) It is something which is done by Yahweh's messenger,\(^5\) who would be expected to do good. If the action is not performed where expected, punishment results.\(^6\)

Five of these verses are explicitly in the context of requests.\(^7\) In each case it is the petitioner, indicated by a construct,\(^8\) or suffix\(^9\) of חָיָה, whose face is raised

1. Gen.19:21 – בְּאַלְמָנָהּ נֶפֶשׁ בְּאַלְמָנָהּ; I Sam.25:35 – מִסְדִּיקָה...; Mal.1:8 – מִסְדִּיקָה...; Job 42:8 – מִסְדִּיקָה...; cf. v.9; Lam.4:16 – מִסְדִּיקָה... For Deut.28:50 – וַיָּשֶׁר נַעֲדֵה... , see the discussion on p.96.

2. Cf. Deut.28:50 and Lam.4:16 where it occurs with הי and Mal.1:8 with מָאָרָה.


4. II Sam.2:22; Mal.1:8.


6. Lam.4:16.

7. Job 42:8,9 – prayer to Yahweh to escape punishment; Gen.19:21 – request of Yahweh's messengers not to destroy some villages; I Sam.25:35 – a request to spare a life; Mal.1:8 – an a fortiori argument in which it is said that Yahweh will not accept unworthy sacrifices, which are to accompany prayers since even the governor (מָאָרָה) would not accept such petitioner gifts.


by the person petitioned, who is the subject of the clause. 'Raising the face' of the petitioner is a desirable response to his petition in each of these passages, which in four cases regard explicitly negative requests.\(^1\) In each instance a special favour is bestowed by granting the petition, which is apparently the meaning of נוライ קך.

Two other verses in the transitive group also involve the granting of a similar kindness. In Gen.32:21, the warm reception of Jacob on the part of Esau was what Jacob was seeking by presenting gifts (an implicit request similar to that in Mal.1:8), but would not have normally been forthcoming in the circumstances. This welcome was a favour on the part of Esau. Lam.4:16 concerns the turning away of Yahweh from his people because they have polluted themselves. The people whose 'heads are not raised' are the priests, who are the petitioners for the people in their presentation of offerings (cf. Mal.1:8). The two adjacent verbs נוライ 'to look at'\(^2\) and יבנ 'to be gracious', which describe other benefits which will be withheld, suggest that נוライ קך in this context also is a special benefit or favour from Yahweh which he will not bestow.

The other verse in this category records that since the people did not serve Yahweh: נוライ קך הלאה קך (49)
מךף מאימה עניא ... בַּיָּרָד לְזָרָה לְקָשָׁת (50) הרי

2. With the extended meaning of providing assistance, cf. e.g. Pss.84:10; 102:20.
Yahweh will raise against you a distant nation ... a nation whose language you will not understand, a strong-faced nation who will not raise the face of the poor and will not show grace to the young' (Deut.28:49-50).

The literary form of this passage is similar to that of Lev.19:15 in that two opposite groups, as synecdoche signifying the entire people, are used with synonymous verbs. The idiomatic phrase also occurs in the semantic field of יָדַע . It is also similar to the previous examples since it is also transitive, i.e., done by one person to another. These similarities, in context with those in which יָדַע meant 'to show special favour', suggest that this is the meaning here as well. This interpretation is consistent with the passage, since such favour would not be given by their enemy to those whom they conquered. In both 1.1 and 1.2, the idiom יָדַע has the same meaning, i.e., 'to show special favour towards another'. In a legal context, when a suit must be decided according to the truth, the action is condemned as a perversion of justice. In the realm of interpersonal relationships in a case where one party has a particular need, this favour is desirable and to be admired. This interpretation of the phrase provides a satisfactory explanation of both sets of circumstances without at the same time


2. Lev.19:15 - יָדַע and יָדַע ; here יָדַע and יָדַע.

3. See also Lam.4:16, cf. p.94, n.2.
time necessitating two separate meanings for the same idiom.¹

1.3 In Mal. 1:9, מַעֵגָּה אֲשֶׁרֶנָּה occurs with the preposition נָעֲלָה. It is in the context of bringing to Yahweh unsatisfactory sacrifices which the governor would not accept.² The people are told to entreat Yahweh who will be gracious to them. The writer then adds: מָצַּא אָחָיו מָיְאָה אָדָם כְּשֶׁל חָוָה בָּאָרָה. If מָצַּא refers to the unacceptable sacrifices offered, the following phrase could be interpreted as being a desirable response on the part of Yahweh, which would not be forthcoming because of this bad behaviour, i.e., 'You presented these unacceptable sacrifices to him; do you expect him to be favourable to you?'. J.M.P. Smith apparently interpreted the passage in this way in his translation as "Will he be gracious towards you?".³ This interpretation of 'to be gracious, favourable' is similar to that of other passages with מַעֵגָּה אֲשֶׁרֶנָּה (cf. 1.1, pp. 91-93 and 1.2, pp. 94-97), but none of these occur with the preposition נָעֲלָה.⁴

1. Some have recognised a single meaning of מַעֵגָּה אֲשֶׁרֶנָּה in both of these contexts, e.g., W. McKane, Proverbs (1970), p. 56 and E. Dhorme, Job (1907), pp. 184, 649, but some have posited two distinct meanings, e.g. J. Skinner, Genesis, 2nd ed. (1930), p. 309.

2. Cf. concerning Mal. 1:8, p. 94, n. 7.


4. Smith (ibid.) recognised the uniqueness of the form found in Mal. 1:9.
It is also possible to interpret the נבך as referring to the entreaty to, and favour from, Yahweh, which are physically closer in the grammatical context. In this case נבך could not mean 'to show favour' or the like, since it is in the form of a question which has already been answered (v. 2 F 8). Instead of taking this as an allomorph of the usual idiom meaning 'to show favour' with an additional נבך, it is easier, and internally consistent within the passage, to interpret נבך in Mal. 1:8 as the idiom meaning 'to show favour'. The same phrase with the added preposition in Mal. 1:9 could then indicate a pun on this meaning and the literal 'raise the face' used to mean 'to look at!' (cf. p. 91, n. 4) which the preposition נבך would make 'to look away from'. This would be a synonym of 'to take favour away'. The interpretation provides a meaning acceptable in this context while maintaining the importance of the preposition and the similarity in form of the idiom to other occurrences having the meaning 'to favour'. It also explains the two different forms of the idiom in contiguous verses.

1.4 When used as a personal epithet, the verb occurs in the form of the passive participle, i.e., וּנָבָךְ, 'raised of face' which indicates a state. It is so used in the context of a list of laudatory epithets, or is...

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1. Naaman, the commander of the King of Aram's army, was a great man before his lord and raised of face since through him Yahweh had given salvation to Aram. The man was a mighty man of valour, but leprous! (II Kings 5:1).
included among a list of important people. From this context it is clear that מִשְׁתַּה יִבְנֵי is a positive epithet, but it is not clear exactly what is meant. Based on the meaning of the active form of מִשְׁתַּה established in 1.2 (p.96), the interpretation 'favoured person' is consistent with this context. Due to its inclusion within lists of specifically defined people, the מִשְׁתַּה must also have had some specific function within the life of the community, but this function or its importance cannot be determined.

1.5 In three other occurrences of מִשְׁתַּה, the phrase is reflexive. This is indicated by the agreement between the person of the verb and the pronominal suffix of the noun in the phrase מִשְׁתַּה. These three occurrences include the preposition מִ. The context of each indicates that the phrase has positive, desirable connotations. M. Noth suggested that this phrase meant

1. When Isaiah warned that Yahweh would remove all support from Jerusalem and Judah, he included: מְבוֹרָא יִבְנֵי (2) מִשְׁתַּה יִבְנֵי לֵבָנֶיהוּ יִבְנֵי מִשְׁתַּה מֵהנָּה יִבְנֵי, 'the valiant and the man of war, judge, prophet, diviner, elder, commander of fifty, raised of face, advisor, wise man, craftsmen and skilled in whispering' (Isa.3:2-3). When he later says that Yahweh will cut off head and tail from Israel, he contrasts: מְבוֹרָא הַנָּה 'the elder and raised of face, he is the head', with: מְבוֹרָא יִבְנֵי מֵהנָּה יִבְנֵי, 'the prophet teaching lies, he is the tail' (Isa.9:14). Cf. also Job 22:8 in which מִשְׁתַּה is listed with מְבוֹרָא יִבְנֵי.

2. Cf. e.g., שָא רְכִּי which is a designation for a functionary using the head as part of the epithet but which is internally undefinable. E. Dhorme in L'emploi, pp.46-47 interpreted מִשְׁתַּה to be "celui auquel le prince a permis de lever les yeux, le favori", 'the one whom the prince had permitted to raise the eyes, the favourite'. This interpretation is possible, but is not provable from the texts.
"to look at", in the sense of "turning towards someone in friendship". The first part of this interpretation is supported by II Kings 9:32 where the face was raised in order to look at someone. The interpretation 'to turn towards someone in friendship' cannot be determined from these verses. The lack of further examples of this form of the idiom in a similar context forestalls an adequate interpretation.

1.6 One other occurrence of דָּעַשׁ הֵשֶׁר is explicitly reflexive. This also has a positive connotation since it is a desired change from being among the blemished, is a result of purificatory actions, and is accompanied by freedom from fear. E. Dhorme interprets this as an allusion to Job 10:15 in which a lowered head is a sign of shame. This is a valid interpretation of

3. E.g.: 'הֵשֶׁר-לִשָּׁב, Num.6:26; הֵשֶׁר-לִשָּׁב, II Sam.2:22; הֵשֶׁר-לִשָּׁב... Job 22:26.

4. Num.6 reads:* הֵשֶׁר-לִשָּׁב, (24) 'May Yahweh bless and keep you; may Yahweh make his face shine upon you and be gracious unto you; may Yahweh raise his face to you and give you peace' (Num.6:24-26). In II Sam.2:22, Abner asks Asahel to stop chasing him: 'Why should I strike you to the earth? How would I raise my face to Joab, your brother?'. The context indicates that the action was something desirable which could not be done if Asahel was killed. The semantic field of Job 22:26-27, i.e., 'You will delight in the Almighty', 'he will hear (prayers), 'you will fulfill your vows', also indicate a positive connotation.

2. Cf. p.91, n.4.
this passage and is paralleled by the same meaning of other body parts used with the same verb. It would, however, be the only occurrence in the OT of נְזַבְנָּה with this meaning.

2 הַדָּרִים נְזַבְנָּה, 'to raise the face'

is used once. When Ezra heard that the Israelites had married non-Israelites, he tore his clothes and prayed:

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Ezra 9:6). This action is reflexive and is directed toward God, as shown by the preposition וַיֹּאֵשׁ with the second person singular pronounal suffix in the address to God.

J.M. Myers interpreted the clause as an idiom meaning

3. Job 11:15, in which deceitful man is told that, if he prepares his heart and stretches forth his hands in petition, first he must rid himself and his tent of evil:

Therefore you will raise your head from the blemished. You will be settled and will not fear'.

4. Job (1967), p.165. Cf. II 8 1.2, pp.14-15. He cites as further support Gen.4:5,7 in which Cain, after hearing that his offering was not acceptable:

Cain was angry and his face fell. Yahweh said to Cain, "Why are you angry and why did your face fall? If you do well, raised"! S.R. Driver interpreted this as an elision of מִיַּם in Genesis, 9th ed. (1913), p.65. U. Cassuto, however, in A Commentary on the Book of Genesis I (1961, rep.1972), p.210, shows that מִיַּם in this verse is antithesis of נְזַבְנָּה and literally means "to rise up and stand firmly". So the supposed parallel to Job 10:15 is weakened.
'ask forgiveness'. This interpretation is possible since this is a prayer, and the person praying would be expected to raise his face to address God. Against this is the lack of an explicit request for forgiveness anywhere in the passage. Ezra acknowledges the peoples' guilt and Yahweh's righteousness but only says that they are not able to be in his presence because of this. This would suggest that the unraised face is a sign of shame, which does occur in the immediate context of the clause and governs the infinitive construct. This would mean that the opposite, a raised face, would signify the opposite sentiment, i.e., 'pride' or 'self-assurance'.

The text is from the third-second centuries.


2. J.W. Olley in VI XXVI (197b), p.231, shows that via often occurs in a forensic context with the connotation of "shown to be in the wrong".


3. **pāna našū, 'to raise the face'**

*pāna našū* occurs in an MA incantation and an NA royal inscription. In the former, the writer confesses his sins including:

(12) **a-na makkūri(NI.GA)-ka rap-ši at-ta-ši**  
*pānī-ilā*  
(13) **a-na kaspī(KU.BABOAR)-ka šu-qu-ri la-ju-ū-a il-li-ik**, 'I raised my face to your extensive holdings, my desire went to your valuable silver' (VAT 9736). The formal and semantic parallelism of ana makkūrīka rapši and ana kaspīka šūquri suggests a similar relationship between pāna našū and lalūa  ili lik. Both phrases would, therefore, express desire, as W.G. Lambert translated the idiom, "covet". This is idiomatic since it involves more than simply 'looking' which would be done by raising the face.

In the NA passage, people who were overwhelmingly defeated by Sargon: (252) **a-na bu-ši-i-šu-nu ma-‘-di pa-na la iš-šu-šū**,  
'to their abundant belongings they do not raise their face' (TCL III). Here there is no desire explicit in the context as it was in the previous example, although it could well be implicit, a yearning for that which was lost to the conquerors. This could also mean that the people were so despondent as a result of their defeat that they no longer cared for their possessions (cf. III D 2, pp. 109-110; 3, pp. 110-11, in which the redirection of attention is indicated by a similar gesture).

2. TCL III:252 (pl.XII).
3. JNES 33 (1974), p.283, l.141. Cf. AHw., p.762 (sub našū(m)) I 2 e), "sich sehnen", 'to yearn for".
4.1 The apodosis of an OB law concerning a son committing a crime severe enough to cause him to be disowned records:

\[(30) \text{a-na } \text{iš-ti-iš-šu} (31) \text{pa-ni-šu} \text{ ub-ba-lu} (32) \text{šum-na} \text{ ar-nam} \text{kab-tam} (33) \text{a-na } \text{ši-ni-šu} \text{ it-ba-lam} (34) \text{a-bu-um} \text{ mārī(DUMU)}-šu (35) \text{i-na} \text{ ap-lu-tim} (36) \text{i-na-sā-šu}, \text{This first time, they will carry his face. If he then commits the serious crime a second time, the father will remove his son from the sonship} (\text{LH § 169}). \text{From this context it is apparent that the justifiable punishment was not carried out in the first instance and that the phrase conveying this is } \text{pānišu ubbalū, pānām uabalum in this context, therefore, means 'to forgive' or 'to show leniency towards'}. \text{In this,}

1. E.g. \text{LH §169; ARM I 82 (pl.CXII):16-17; II 94 (pl. CXII):18-19; VAT 7572:i-ii in VAS XVI 88 (pl.36 ); AO 8314:33 in TCL VII 11 (pl.IV) - UB; U7787q:9 in UET VII 49 (pl. XXIII) - MB; CBS 12927:12 in PBS II/2, 55 (pl.24) - MB.

2. E.g. 83-1-18, 2348:r.21 in \text{PSBA XXXI (1909) pl. VI - SB; VAT 10034+:39 in KAR 357 (pl.299) - MA.}

3. E.g. k.235+:15 in \text{BMS 11 (pl.23); K.4931:r.8 in ASKI 15 (p.117) - NA; Bu.91-5-9, 290:25 in CT II, pl.19 - UB.}

4. \text{šumma arnam kabtam ša ina} \text{aplūtim nasāḫim ana abīšu itbalam, LH §109.}

5. This, or similar interpretations, is found in e.g. Driver and Miles Babylonian Laws I, p.349 "forgive"; II, p.65 "pardon"; Borger \text{BAL I LXXXVI (sub (w)abalu), "verziehen", 'to pardon'; A. Finet, Le Code de Hammurapi (1973), p.98, "pardonner", 'to pardon'; CAD AI, p.18 (sub abalu A 5 pānu a) has this interpretation for this text, but also notes another meaning of "to show preference, favor", ibid., pp.18-19 (loc. cit., a). Forgiveness is explicitly in the field of pāna abālu in the context of an NA request when the petitioner
and similar texts, the person forgiven is indicated by the pronominal suffix appended to pāni,\(^1\) or by pāni in the construct with the noun.\(^2\) In one instance it is the judgement itself rather than a person who is not forgiven.\(^3\)

Apart from the active form of the phrase shown by the G-\(^4\) or Gtn-\(^5\) stems, pānaₜₜₜ usbₜₜₜ also occurs in the passive N- stem in several texts.\(^6\) One of these concerns the transfer of a field which one party had been holding back. He was instructed to effect the transfer immediately: (31) ki-ma ša i-ta-a-am ra-bi-a-am (32) te-ti-qū (33) pa-nu-ku-nu ₜₜₜ ul ₜₜₜ ib-ba-ab-baₜₜₜ, 'because you have transgressed the great limit (i.e. because you have exceeded the bounds), you will not be pardoned (i.e. your faces will not be lifted)' (AU 8314).\(^7\) Here again forgiveness or pardon is involved, only it is received rather than given.\(^8\) The person pardoned is

.............

asks Ištar: hi-ti-ti dup-pi-ri usbₜₜₜ pa-ni-ia, 'forgive my sins, pardon me (i.e. raise my face)'(K.4931, ASK I 15). (Cf. UECT VI, p.79 for this translation.) Cf. also K.8237+: 13,15 in AFO 19 (1960) pl.XII: ti-di ina pi-i šer-ti pa-na ba-ba-la pa-ta-ra en-nit-ta ina šap-ša-gi, 'you know in the face of guilt to pardon (i.e. to raise the face), to waive the penalty and spare extreme distress! New'Idiomatic Accadian', p.256, "to glance at somebody (out of a friendly impulse), to forgive".

1. E.g. CBS 12927:12 in PBS II/2,55; ARM I 82:16; II 94:18; Bu.91-5-9,290:25 in CT II, pl.19; U 7787q:9 in UET VII 49.
2. E.g. VAT 7572:12 in VAS XVI 88 (pl.3d). - OB.
3. In LB 1866, in TLB IV 21 (pl.XII) - OB: (28) ki-ma pa-ni di-ni la ub-ba-lu (29) a-mu-ur, 'and when I saw that he did not forgive the judgement ...', it is the decision which is not forgiven.
4. E.g. VAT 7572:12-14 in VAS XVI 88; LB 1868:26 in TLB IV; CBS 13972, col.13:b'-8' in PBS XV, pl.XV; ARM I 82:b; II 94:19 - Ub; VAT,9933:4 in Lambert WUL pl.37 ('Dialogue of Pessimism'- post Kas.),
still indicated by the pronominal suffix appended to pānum, now in the nominative case with a passive verb.

The idiom also occurs several times as a personal epithet in the form of a negated present participle of the biform babālu, i.e., la bābil pāni. It is used of undesirable people or demons. While it is not possible, by the nature of an epithet, to determine the exact meaning of the phrase in these contexts, since they generally list only important characterisations of the person described, without giving the background, or an explanation, of each point, an interpretation

5. E.g. Bu.91-5-9, 290:25 in CT II, pl.19.

6. E.g. AO 8314:33 in TCL VII 11 (pl.IV) - OB; U 7787q;9 in UET VII 49; CBM 3560:2-3 in BE XVII/1, 76 (pl.55) CBS 12912:21 in PBS 11/2 51 (pl.21); CBS 12927:12 in ibid., 55 - all MB.

7. TCL VII 11.

8. Cf. RA 21 (1924), p.12 "vous ne serez pas pardonnés", 'you will not be pardoned' and CAD I/3, p.314 (sub itū A 1 b 2 ), "you will not be forgiven".

1. aššu in H. Winckler, Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen (1892) 78 VI 39 (pl.37).
2. qallū - 83-1-18, 2348:+.r.18' in PSBA 31 (1909), pl.VI; VAT 10034:+.39' in KAR 357; limnu - Bu.85-4-30, 1:30 in PSBA XI (1889), pl.VII; H. Winckler, Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte, 78 IX 38 (pl.40).
of 'unforgiving' or the like corresponds well to the people so designated. 1

All of the forms and contexts discussed in which pûna(m) (w)âbâlu(m) occurs have a similar semantic range, i.e., 'to pardon, show favour'.

5

bûnam našûm

The phrase bûnam našûm occurs in an Ob royal inscription of Samsuiluna in which Zababa and Ištâr are joyful when told by Enlil that Samsuiluna will be exalted and helped: (62) a-na Se-am-su-il-lu-na ... (66) bu-ni-šu-nu sa ba-la-šim (67) na-a-wi-iš iš-šu-un-mâ (68) el-ši-iš it-ti-šu (69) i-la-wu-ú. 'They radiantly raised their life-giving faces to Samsuiluna and joyfully spoke with him' (Samsuiluna C). 2 This reflexive action is directed towards (ana) one to whom the subject wished to speak (cf. p. 31, n.1 and p. 91, n.4). Even though Samsuiluna was only a mortal, the gods had to 'raise their faces' to him in order to speak. This could be a result of Enlil's favour, which had exalted him to a position to be looked up to. No symbolism of the gesture itself is evident from the text, but the modifiers of the action, i.e., 'life-giving' and 'brightly', suggest that a more positive assistance might be meant by the gesture. 3


2. BAL III pl. 32.

3. Cf. L'emploi, p. 52 where Dhorme notes that ina bûnišunu namruši is used of the joy with which gods regard their protégés.
pāna mahāṣu, 'to strike the face'

In an MB kudurrū, one of the curses against any who might remove the stone is: (19) Šamaš(UTU) dajānu(DI.KU₅) Šamē(AN₈) ü eršetim(KI₈) pā-ni-šu lim-ḥas-ma (20) Šumi(UD)-šu nam-ru a-na da-um-ma-ti li-tur-šu, 'May Šamaš, judge of the heavens and the earth strike his face; may he turn his bright day into darkness' (BM 90841 II).

Here the god strikes the culprit, indicated by the pronominal suffix of pāni. Either this action is separate from and in addition to the next line, in which case there is not enough context to determine the meaning of pānišu limḥasma, or else the second line is in some way related to the first. CAD adopted the latter interpretation in translating the clause as "may Šamaš strike him ... blind so that the bright day will turn into darkness for him". In that case the blow is literal, with no apparent symbolic significance.

1. Cf. II C, pp.53-54 for the verbs discussed.
2. In BBSt. VII, II (pl.LIX) - MB.
4. The blow could also have caused unconsciousness, leading to the same results, but this cannot be determined.
There are a number of occurrences in Hebrew and Akkadian in which a form of 'to turn the face' is used. In each instance, however, they are literal or metaphorical but, since they are understandable from an analysis of the gesture itself, none of the occurrences are idiomatic.

1.  כנבה פניהם, 'to turn the face'

This occurs in Jer.2:27 (seventh cent. B.C.) and 32:33 (D) in the context of Israel's apostasy. In both cases Yahweh said to the people: 'וַיַּעֲבָדָהּ אֶל כַּלְלַהּ לֹא פְנֵיָם רָאָה (32:33; 2:27 var. כנְבֵהּ פְנֵיָם רָאָה ), 'And they turned their neck and not their face to me'. This epexegetical of the previously mentioned apostasy is a metaphorical 'turning' and is not idiomatic.

2.  כנבה פניהם, 'to turn the face'

is used once in the Piel-stem, and seven times in the Hiphil-stem. In the Piel-stem the phrase is literal, used for 'to change the direction' (כְּנַבְהָה פְנֵיָם רָאָה ). In the Hiphil-stem, is used twice of literally turning toward people in order to

2. II Sam.14:20 (D).
3. Judg.18:23 (P); I Kings 8:14; 21:4 (D); II Kings 20:2 (D); Ezek.7:22 (sixth cent. B.C.); II Chr.29:6; 35:22 (fourth cent. B.C.).
speak to them (Judg. 18:23; I Kings 8:14), and twice of turning away in discouragement (I Kings 21:4; II Kings 20:2). Three times the face is explicitly turned away (יָנָה) from something, i.e., Yahweh's face from the people because of their being profaned in Ezek. 7:22, the Israelites turning away from Yahweh in unfaithfulness, and presenting the neck (cf. D 1, p. 109) in II Chr. 29:5, and Joash turning his face away from doing battle with Neco (II Chr 35:22). In each case the emphasis of the action is upon what would be neglected. None of these instances are idiomatic and are all understandable literally or else as metaphor.

3. pâna(m) subhuru(m), 'to turn the face'

pâna(m) subhuru(m) occurs in the context of illness,\(^1\) and in hymns or different forms of request, and is at times to be desired,\(^2\) and at times shunned.\(^3\)

In each case the turning face indicates the directing of attention in a different direction. If the god or person

1. VAT 8276:1 in KAR 80 (pl.146). The inclusion of the phrase among a list of literal, physical ailments, i.e., 'seized' head, sore nostrils, loose teeth, and heartburn indicate that a 'turned head' is also literal and indicates an ailment, possibly a muscle spasm.


3. E.g. Syria 19 (1938) 126:1b (translit. only) - UB; VAT 9727:36 in KAR 2o (pl.50) - MA; K.101:8 in ASKT 115 - NA; BM 26187:70,77,93 in STC II pl.LXXXI - LXXXIII - NB.
in authority turns toward the speaker, the action is desirable, since it signifies concern for the person faced, but if the face is turned away, the care is removed. \(^1\)

In some texts, the direction of the turning, i.e., whether towards or away from the speaker, is not explicit in the passage but the result of the gesture is clear. \(^2\) These actions also are not idiomatic but metaphorical.

\(\varepsilon\)

'to seize, hold' \(^3\)

\(1\) \(\text{pana(m) sabātu(m)}, \text{'to seize the face'}\)

\(\text{pana(m) sabātu(m)}\) is used in the contexts of the movement of people or objects, \(^4\) military manoeuvres, \(^5\) and personal encounters. \(^6\)

1. Cf. L'emploi, p.46 for the interpretation 'détourner son regard de', 'to turn his regard from', as contrasted with 'turning towards' a person in sympathy.

2. E.g. BM26187 in STC II, pl.LXXXI: (70) ... sub-hur pa-ni\(\text{y ma-le-e lib-ba-a-ti}\) (71) uz-zu uq-bal ti ..., 'turning of the face and filling of anger, wrath and fury'. This could also be interpreted as turning towards a person in order to direct the angry attention at him.


4. E.g. ARM I 5 (pl.VII):39; 10:1.14'(pl.XV); 96:8 (pl.CXIX); II 78:30,34-(pl.XCV); VI 20:12 (pl.19); BM 15862:8-9 in LiH I 27 (pl.45); MLC 1332:5-o in YOS XIII 170 (pl.LVII); CBS 14bb:3-4 in PBS VII 121 (pl.LXXXVIII); BM 23152:10-12 in LiH I 40 (pl.68) - all UB; IB 212:15 in Cagni Erra, fig.1; VAT 8869:14 in Köcher UAM III 248 col.III (pl.52) - MA; K.3082:7 in W. Budge, History of Esarhaddon (1880), p.114; OIP II, p.175 iv:2 - NA; BM 21940:2 in Wiseman Chron., pl.XIV - NA.

In an MA medical commentary, after Šān mated with his cow: (14) uš-ša-Ša-bi-is-si-ma pa-šu-kul-bal lim (15) re-e-š-tu al-la-ša arki(EGIR)-šā, 'he caused her to seize the face of the herd. The herd was going behind her' (VAT 8869 in Köcher UAM III 248). This phrase is idiomatic if pānām is understood as the physical head, but it is commonly recognized, that terms for parts of the body in Akkadian developed a prepositional use which was independent, to some extent, of their original physical references, e.g. mubbum, šārum, pānum, etc. (cf. GAG §115). pānum, the
In the texts concerning personal encounters, the verb is in the imperative. The Mari letter records a speech of someone (text broken) saying (r.9) ... sa-ba-at pa-ni-i/a-ma7
(r.10') s-na se-er Zi-im-ri-li-im lu-u/1-l/1/i-ik, 'hold my face, I would go to Zimrilim'. CAD interprets this as an idiom

physical face, developed the prepositional meaning 'before' or 'the place directly in front of'. The phrase pāna(m) sabātu(m) with this prepositional use of the noun results not in an idiom but in a literal phrase meaning 'to seize or hold the place in front of'. In this context, (cf. also MLC 1332:5-6, YOS XIII 170: pān elpi ... sabātu; Bu. 91-5-9, 329:9-10 in LIH 54 (pl.91); pāni gāni ... sabānim) and in similar contexts referring to troops (e.g. CBS 1406:3-4, PbS 7,121; ARM I 5:39; 10:r.14'; 96:8; VI 20:12; BM 2794v:2, Wiseman Chron., pl.XIV) or other groups of people or objects, this preceding position is taken up in order to take the lead.

5. Abel-Winckler, pl.25 I:19 - MB; U1P II, p.182 v:61;
Ashurbanipal Prism Edition v:92 (unpub. text, translit. only) in AS 5, p.68 - NA. The phrase is used of troops seizing, in a military sense, the front (facing the writer) of the march (qirru, Abel-Winckler, p.25 I:19) or watering place (mašqu, U1P II v:61 and AS 5, p.68:92) in order to block further advance. Here also the phrase pāna(m) sabātu(m) is understandable as the literal, prepositional use of the noun, rather than as an idiomatic use of the physical face.

6. ARM II 69 and VAT 327:11, Thontafelfund 143.

1. ARM II 69.
meaning 'to meet', both here and in an Amarna letter. The context would allow this interpretation, but the lack of examples does not permit a definite interpretation.

The third example concerns an envoy of the governor of Sippar, of whom is written: (19) a-na ṣamaš(šTU)-i-din-nam ... ge-ru-um-ma (20) pa-ni-šu ga-bi-it-me a-na ša-pir Sippar(UKD.KIB.NUNkö) (21) ú-ta-ab-ha-šu, 'he was near to Šamaš-idinam. He was a holder of his face. He brought him to the governor of Sippar' (BM 16963). The verb is either a participle (as translated here) or a stative. In neither case is there an action involved, but rather the relationship between the two men is expressed. F.R. Kraus interprets the phrase as "(mit)genommen", 'he took (with)', and AHw. tentatively as "sich kümmern um (?)", 'to take care of'. These occurrences of pāna(m) gabātu(m) are probably idiomatic but, due to the lack of evidence, more than this cannot be determined.

1. CAD 5,29 (sub gabātu 8 pānu b) "meet me and I will go to Zimri-Lim." ta-le-š-e-mi

2. VAT 327 (Thontalfelfund 143): (10) bēlī(EN)-ni ki-i-me-e / (11) ū pa-ni-šu-nu ša-bat // zu.zi.ia.ma.an (12) ki-i-me-e i-na as-ra-nu (13) la ú-wa-ab-he-ru-ka, "O Lord, meet (the messengers?) as soon as you can (they will not keep you there long)" CAD 5 (loc.cit.) and (30) ki-me-e pa-ni-šu-nu (31) ni-ša-ab-bat ū 10omār šīpīr(DUMU.KINp-ri)-ia ... (33) a-ša-ap-par, "as soon as we meet them I will send you a messenger" (ibid.). Cf. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben, ed. R. Stiehle and H.E. Stier, I (1939), p.27, note on 1.11, "jdn. zu sehen bekommen, antreffen, bei jdm. vorsprechen", 'to receive someone, to talk, to meet, to call on someone', and VAB 2, p.677, 1.11, "entgegennehmen", 'to receive'.

3. CT XLIII 49 (pl.XX).
5. P.1067 (sub gabātu(m) II 7).
'to cover, hide'

1. הָרָקַע, 'to cover the face'

In five of the eleven occurrences of הָרָקַע the action is reflexive, with the instrument by which the face is covered explicit in the context of three. The action in the other six verses is done by one person to another. In one of these, one person covers the face of another, with no instrument given. In another passage, 'face' is metaphorically transferred from a person to the surface of a field, and so does not fall within the scope of this research. A non-human agency performs the action in the other four verse.

1.1 The two reflexive occurrences of הָרָקַע in Ezekiel are to prevent seeing. This is a parable to the people in order to literally show their future, and does not appear to have any further significance than this.


2. In Ezek. 12:4, 12 (fifth cent. B.C., red. fourth cent. B.C.) no instrument is explicit. Those in which the instrument is given are: Gen. 38:15 (J) - veil (cf. v. 14); Isa. 6:2 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.) - wings; Job 15:27 (fifth - third cent. B.C.) - fat. Since the latter is not a gesture, it is not of relevance.


5. פִּסְגָה - Jer. 51:51 (D); Psa. 69:8 (Davidic); נָסָר - Psa. 44:16 (possibly pre-exilic - ו); נָסָר - Job 23:17 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

6. Ezek. 12:2: "וַיְהִֽי הַמַּקְצֶה לְעַל לֹא חַּשֵּׁשֵּׁת..."; v. 12: וַיְהִֽי הַמַּקְצֶה... פִּסְגָה, לֹא חַשֵּׁשֵּׁת in which לֹא is read as פִּסְגָה (סַפָּר) in the LXX.

7. Some have taken this as an attempt at disguise, e.g., G. A. Cooke, Ezekiel (1935, rep. 1951), p. 132; J. W. Wevers,
This is also what is meant in Job 9:24 in which Job tells of man's powerlessness before the all-powerful God who destroys all:

אָזֶן בֵּיתֵיהּ כֵּי-רַעַשׁ כַּפֶּרֶשׁ

'he is given to the wicked; he covers the face of its judges. If not (he), then who?' (Job 9:24). Here the action is done to another, but the subject of the gesture is ambiguous. Whoever performs it, the context shows that the action is undesirable. From the lack of further indication from the passage as to the meaning of the gesture, it is justifiable to suppose that the gesture is meant metaphorically to mean that the face was covered so that the judges would not see the truth and thus provide justice.

Isaiah, describing the seraphim who stood above Yahweh in the temple, tells of their six wings:

כְּבָשָׁהוּ כְּבָשָׁהוּ כָּבָשׁ יִרְאֶה יִרְאֶה וְרָכִחֵהוּ רַגָּחְהוּ רַגָּחְהוּ

'He covered his face with two, he covered his feet with two, and he flew with two' (Isa. 6:2). It has been suggested that 'feet' is a euphemism for the private parts (cf. I Sam. 24:4, Isa. 7:20) and that covering them was for the sake of modesty.

Ezekiel (1969), p.100. Cooke, p.130, refers to Gieseback who interprets the gesture as indicating grief, for which he refers to the literally synonymous כָּבָשׁ רֶפֶשׁ, 'cover the face', but grief is not explicit in the context of this passage. Cf. also Exod.34:33 in which Moses covered his face with a veil (נְטֹקֵל אֵלֶּה גְּלָפָה חִזָּה) in order that the people would not be frightened by his shining face.

1. The subject could be Yahweh, with the following clause referring to his action of covering the faces of the judges. The subject could also be the 'wicked', כֵּי, with the following clause referring again to Yahweh who had given the land over to him.


The face could have been covered for this same reason or, more likely, it was covered in order not to look at the face of Yahweh.¹

1.2 In the final reflexive passage, Tamar veiled herself and waited for Judah²: 'When Judah saw her, he took her for a prostitute because she had covered her face' (Gen.38).

That Tamar was taken for a prostitute while she was wearing a veil does not necessarily mean that the veil in some way signified that this was her vocation.³ The veil itself could not signify that the woman was a prostitute since it does not do so in the only other passage in which the same phrase is used.⁴ The verb הָרָפָה 'to wrap' in v.14 is not used in a similar context in the UT but it appears in the context to signify that Tamar put on other clothes in exchange for the widow's garments which she had taken off. It is not possible to determine whether this verb denotes the putting on of a distinctive garment marking the wearer.


2. יָשַׁר בֶּלַעְתּוּ מַסְכִּילָה מְשַׁכְּילַתּוּ בְּעֹרָה, 'She stripped off her widow's clothes and covered herself with a veil, she wrapped herself and sat in the gateway ...' (Gen.38:14).

3. J. Skinner, in Genesis (1912), p.454, stated that this veil was a symbol of dedication to l bâtar.

4. I.e. Gen.24:65 (also J) in which Rebekah, hearing that Isaac was approaching: אֵלִית בֵּית מֵעָלָה מַסְכִּילָה מְשַׁכְּילַתּוּ בְּעֹרָה 'and she took the veil and covered herself'. Here the reflexive Hittpaēl-stem is used rather than the Qal-stem, from which the objec, i.e. מְסַכְּילָה, may have been elided (but cf. n.2 above).
as a prostitute, although this is a possibility. All that can be said with certainty is that Judah was not able to see her face because he did not recognise her which, S.R. Driver wrote, was the reason she veiled herself in the first place.¹

1.3 In three of the remaining four occurrences of כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית, the face is covered by shame or humiliation.³ In all three of these poetic passages, the action is not a gesture but rather it is used metaphorically of shame which 'covered' the face or, in other words, 'overwhelmed' the speaker.

Darkness, which would be expected to produce fear since one would not be able to see ahead, covers the face in Job 23:17:

כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית, מַפּּוֹל-הִנֹּשַׁךְ, כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית, כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית

'I am not dried up (i.e., from fear), because of darkness and because gloom overwhelmed me (i.e., covered my face).’ Here it covers the face, causing inability to see and thus fear of the unknown, according to S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray in Job (1921, rep.1950), p.204. In none of these cases is כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית an idiom.


2. The Psalmist says that Yahweh has made his people a subject of mockery among the surround people (cf. II E 1, p.71):

כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית, מַפּּוֹל-הִנֹּשַׁךְ, כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית, כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית

'All day my disgrace is before me and shame has covered my face from the voice of the taunter and the reviler from the face of the enemy and avenger' (Ps. 44:10-17).

3. Jerusalem says: בְּשַׁוְּאָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתִּטְעַם כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית We were shamed because we heard scorn, disgrace covered our faces because foreigners entered the holy places of the temple of Yahweh’ (Jer.51:51). The Psalmist, speaking to Yahweh, says: כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית כִּפְשַׁתְּבֵית For you I bore reproach, disgrace covered my face’ (Ps. 69:8).
2. "to cover the face"

'וכבד, 'to cover the face'

occurs only in the narrative of Esther telling Ahasuerus of Haman's treachery. The king returned to find Haman on the bed with Esther and said: "... כבש... אַחֲרֵי אַחֲרֵי... כבש..." "... Is he also assaulting the queen while I am in the house?"

No sooner had the words left the king's mouth when they covered Haman's face' (Esther 7:8—second cent. B.C.).

It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of this gesture from only this one occurrence. L.B. Paton stated that this is an action which is done prior to execution and he cites for this Greek and Roman parallels. Execution is indeed mentioned in the next verses but it is not ordered by the king until v.9. It does not seem likely that this preparation for an execution would have been carried out before it was ordered. Also, the Greek and Roman parallels, while of interest, would only be of relevance if an extremely late date for the book of Esther is accepted and if a direct influence could be shown.

There have been several emendations of the text proposed, but as Moore states, there is no real trouble with the MT as it

1. I.e. the eunuchs of v.9.
2. Esther (1908), p.264 in which he cites Curtius VI 8,22 and Livy I 26,25.
3. E.g. C.A. Moore, in Esther (1971), p.72, discusses the proposed emendations of the verb to כבש - 'to be red' or עיר - 'to become pale'. He also notes D.N. Freedman's attempt to make this simple transitive form into a passive Niphal-stem by using the previous twice. What Freedman does not seem to have noted is that this is also the single occurrence with the object כבש instead of כבש, thus being a different phrase.
now stands. 1 Since there is a similar idiom in שָׁקַר you there is no need to emend this one, even though its true significance cannot be determined. The eunuchs could have covered Haman's face simply in order to subdue him until his fate was decided, but an idiomatic interpretation cannot be ruled out since there are no other occurrences of the gesture to be compared.

3 הָקַבְּלָה 'to hide the face' occurs twenty-nine times, once with a man, i.e. Moses, as the subject, 2 and twice with the Suffering Servant as the subject. 3 In the other passages, the subject is Yahweh either explicitly 4 or implicitly. 5 In each case (except Isa. 59:2, cf. n.5) the action is reflexive. In the first three verses the action is literal and is done in order not to see, or to hide from reviling. The other cases concern Yahweh's metaphorically hiding his face in order to not see and so disregarding sin or petitions. None of the occurrences involve an idiomatic meaning.

1. Ibid.
2. Ex. 3:6 (P-Peake).
4. Deut. 31:17, 18; 32:20 (D); Isa. 8:17 (eighth cent. B.C., red. third cent. B.C.); 54:8 (sixth cent. B.C.); 64:6 (third cent. B.C.); Jer. 33:5 (D); Micah 3:4 (eighth cent. B.C.); Ps. 10:11 (Solomonic); 13:2 (Davidic); 22:25 (Davidic); 27:9 (Solomonic); 30:8 (Solomonic); 44:25 (possibly pre-exilic); 51:11 (post-exilic, W); 69:18 (Davidic); 88:15 (post-exilic); 102:3 (post-exilic); 104:29 (Davidic); 143:7 (Davidic); Job 13:24; 34:29 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).
5. Isa. 59:2 (third cent. B.C.). Here the prophet says that it is not Yahweh who has changed, leading to his lack of help for them, but it is their own wrong-doings which separate them and לַעֲמֹד וְיִקְּרָא עָשַׂה מִי יְהוָהךְ — 'and your sins hid the face from you from hearing'. The sins, being the cause of Yahweh's 'hiding the face' are here made the subject of the clause.
 occurs only in the story of Jacob's reconciliation with his brother, Esau, to whom he sent servants with gifts. They were to say that Jacob was following: אֵלֵי יְחִינָאֵנָא עֵדֶנְכָא וְלָא־לַעֲבֹר יְחִינָאֵנָא לְאֹרֶנְא עֵדֶנְכָא וְלָא לָא יְחִינָא "allelui, 'I would cover his face with the gift which precedes me and afterwards I will see his face. Perhaps he will show me special favour (i.e., raise my face)' (Gen.32: 21, 3).

The verb כְּבִם is used most commonly in the context of sin and expresses the idea of atonement or literally 'covering over' (cf. p.83). This verse is also in the context of a wrong which was committed by Jacob against Esau and which he wants to put right before his brother seeks revenge. Here Jacob, indicated by the first person form of the verb, would perform the action upon Esau, designated by the pronominal suffix.

It has been suggested that the face is to be covered to prevent the offence from being seen or to induce Esau to overlook it. This involves a word play in which the face is covered so as not to see the sin but the sin is also covered, or atoned for. This double meaning of כְּבִם could well explain why this particular verb for 'to cover' was chosen, rather than

2. BDB, p.497 (sub כְּבִם Pi. 1).
4. A play on כְּבִם is also indicated by the four times it appears and the two occurrences of its antonym כְּבִרְנָא in the verses.
e.g., נמקדר בַּפֶּרַשְׁתָּה (cf. 3, p. 119) which also has the meaning of 'to cover over the face so as not to see'.

5

לִפְתַּח, עַל גְּבֵרָה, קִדְרַת כַּפַּרְתָּה occurs in two different contexts, one of mourning,¹ and the other of communication with Yahweh.²

When David was mourning the death of Absalom: קִדְרַת כַּפַּרְתָּה

לִפְתַּח, עַל גְּבֵרָה, קִדְרַת כַּפַּרְתָּה שָׁלֹל בָּדָל בְּנֵי אַנְשֵׁלָה אֲנָשֵׁלָה בֵּין בֵּין

'The king covered his face and cried out with a loud voice, "My son, Absalom; Absalom, my son, my son!" (II Sam. 19:5). The context indicates that this gesture, which is reflexive,⁴ is a sign of deep grief. The action is literal and symbolic and is idiomatic in that it signifies something not understandable from the action itself.

1. II Sam. 19:5 (D).

2. I Kings 19:13 (D). When Yahweh spoke to Elijah in a small voice: רֳכִית כָּפַרְתָּה עַל גְּבֵרָה, קִדְרַת כַּפַּרְתָּה לִפְתַּח, עַל גְּבֵרָה, קִדְרַת כַּפַּרְתָּה שָׁלֹל בָּדָל בְּנֵי אַנְשֵׁלָה אֲנָשֵׁלָה בֵּין בֵּין

'When Elijah heard, he covered his face with his cloak and went out and stood in the opening of the cave ...' (I Kings 19:13), and spoke with Yahweh. In response to Yahweh, Elijah covered his own face, indicated by the pronominal suffix, and went out to Yahweh. In Ex. 33:20, Yahweh said that no-one would be able to live if he saw Yahweh's face. It seems probable that Elijah, aware of the consequences of seeing Yahweh, prevented this by covering his head before stepping out into his presence. Cf. also Ex. 3:6 in 3, p. 119 where Moses hid his face (ךָפַרְתָּה פְּתִיו) before speaking to Yahweh.


4. This is shown by the identity of the verbal subject and the pronominal suffix.
6. **pāna(m) katāmu(m), 'to cover the face'**

The Akkadian pāna(m) katāmu(m) occurs in the context of an OB report (concerning enemies), death, and prayer. It is also found in a broken omen text, and is used in a description of Marduk's activities during the New Year festival, which is also broken.

6.1 An OB letter records how Ba'di-Lim had demanded a decision regarding the Suteens and asked why it had not been forthcoming. It then reads: **pa-nu zi-e-ri ka-at-mu-ma**, 'the enemies faces are covered' (ARM VI 57:8). Here the state is described, using the stative form of the verb, rather than the action of covering itself. J.-R. Kupper translated pānum here as "*intentions*", which are hidden. This could be an extension in the use of pānum and be what is meant here, but the context does not allow this, or any other interpretation, to be proven, since it does not provide enough information. It appears idiomatic since it cannot be understood simply from the phrase itself.

1. ARM VI 57 (pl.57):8.
2. K.3399+:v.25, par. vi:14 in CT XV, pl.49 (Atra-hasis); SU 51/7:r.13 in JCS 8 (1954), p.91 (Gilgamesh) - NA.
3. VAT 8273:27 in KAR 43 (pl.75), par. VAT 8271:25 in KAR 63 (pl.111) - MA.
4. K.7669+:20 in CT XXXVII, pl.1 (ḫumma ālū) - NA.
6. ARMT VI, p.85.
6.2 When Gilgamesh found that his friend, Enkidu, was dead\(^1\): (r.13) \(\ldots\) ik-tu-ma ib-ri kîma(GIM) kallati(E.GI\_4.A) pa-nu-u\(\bar{g}\), 'My friend veiled his face like a bride' (SU 51/7).\(^2\) Veiling in this text could not be a literal action since Enkidu was dead.\(^3\) It does not appear that the veiling was done by someone else since the gesture is reflexive in form. The passage shows that the veiling of a bride was common enough to be used as a simile. It is not possible from this text to determine the significance of the bride's veil, but it is certain that it would not mean the same in the context of marriage as when speaking of the dead being veiled. This

1. (r.12) \(\ldots\) la ina\(\mathring{s}\)a rēšišu, 'and he does not raise his head'; cf. p.31, n.5.


3. An enigmatic use of the phrase is found in the context of death in an NA recension of Atra-hasis. A famine is described as being so bad that the people resorted to cannibalism:

\(\ldots\) bîtu(E) il-ta-nu šanû(2U) i-re-ha-ma (25) ki-i buqli(SE.MUNU\_4) me-te pa-nu-ši-na kat-mu (26) ni-šu i-na su-par-ke-e-napišti(21) bal-ta-at, 'One house consumed another. Their face was veiled like dead malt. People lived on the edge of life' (K.3399+, CT XV, pl.49). The stative form of the verb describes the condition of the people rather than the action of covering the face. The context shows that the people were very close to death which is the apparent reason for their 'veiled faces' but it is not at all clear what the relationship is between 'dead malt' and the 'veiled face'. The resemblance was probably physical but more than that cannot be ascertained from this text. CAD K, p.299 (sub.katāmu 2) translates the sentence as: "Their (the peoples') faces were drawn (like those of the dead)." This seems only to ignore the problem since buqlu is disregarded and left untranslated.

The New Years Festival text possibly sheds a bit of light on the Atra-hasis passage when it speaks of Marduk: (18) ingis\(\mathring{s}\)E) pānī(IGI,ME\_5)-šu kāt-mu, 'When he leaves, his face is veiled' (K.11004+, ACh Second Supplement, LXXI). This state of a veiled face is replaced in the subsequent lines, of which have the same beginning, with colours, e.g., black, white, green and red. This strengthens the assumption that the 'veiled face' is also an externally visible feature, and probably also is a shade of colour. These two passages, however, do not indicate that there is any symbolic or idiomatic meaning to the state of pāna katmu.
could be an idiom, or euphemism, signifying death.

6.3 pâna kamamu also appears as part of an MA ritual in which a man describes his father who goes to the Esagil: ik-te-ru-ub ina sissikti(TÚG.SÍG)-šú ik-ta-tam pa-nu-pū-šú, 'He prays, with his hem he covers his face' (VAT 8273:27, par. VAT 8271:25). In this text the instrument of this reflexive action is explicitly stated(ina sissikti).

'Covering the face' is part of the semantic field of karabu, 'to invoke blessings, pray', and could be a gesture which in fact accompanies the prayer. The order of the verbs, however, weakens this interpretation, since the covering, if it were a preparation for prayer, would be expected to be listed first. If the action is not a part of the ritual of prayer, it is not possible to determine what it does mean in this context.

7 pâna kullulu, 'to veil the face'

pâna kullulu is found in the context of mourning and of a prayer to a goddess.

7.1 A Seleucid lament reads: (3) mârat(DUMU.MÍ) Uruk(UNUGki) tab-ku mârat(DUMU.MÍ) A-qa-deki ta-nam-bi (4) šá mârat(DUMU.MÍ) Larág(U.D.UD.AGki) ina sissikti(TÚG.SÍG)-šú kul-çu7-lu-ma

1. KAR 43, par.KAR 63.
3. K.890:3,11, translit. only, in BA 2 (1894), p.634 - NA.
4. PSBA XXIII (1901), pl. following, p.192 - Sel.
pāṇi(IGI)-šū, 'the daughter of Uruk weeps, the daughter of Agade laments, the face of the daughter of Larag is covered with her hem' (Rm IV:97). The verb, in the form of an adjective, describes the covered state of the woman and does not itself convey the subject of the action. Since the other women were the subjects of the other verbs, so the woman from Larag probably covered her own face. The context indicates that this gesture is a form of lament and thus symbolic of grief.²

7.2 The phrase also occurs twice in an NA text addressed to a woman who is compared to a boat that has been put adrift:

(3) ka-lu-la pa-ni-ki-i nāri(tō) uru Aššur te-bi-ri, 'Your face is veiled, the river of Aššur you crossed' (K.890).³ This stative verb does not indicate who covered the woman's face and the context does not indicate what it means. The second time pāna kullulu occurs in the passage, the context is clearer. When Bēlit was asked for aid⁴: (11) dGe-lit ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) la ta/āš-mu-ni tuk-tal-li-la pa-ni-ša, 'The Lady of the Gods did not listen to me, she veiled her face' (K.890).⁵ Here the goddess covers her own face, as is shown by the agreement of the verbal prefix and the

1. Ibid.
2. S. Langdon in SBP, p.235 interpreted the gesture as a sign of disgrace, but this does not appear to be based on any explicit reference to disgrace in the context.
3. BA 2, p.634.
4. (10) ... e-ti-ri i-na bu-ul-ti, 'save (me) in my distress' (K.890, ibid.).
5. Ibid.
pronominal suffix. This shares the semantic field with not listening to a prayer. The face is covered so as not to see the plight of the petitioner and so not have to respond (cf. F 3, p. 119).

8 pāna arāmu, 'to stretch over the face'
pāna arāmu occurs in several contexts including omens and extispacy texts,¹ incantations,² a curse,³ a lament,⁴ and in the context of fear in an epic.⁵

Part of the curse against those who might remove an NA stele is: (r.11) dšin(XXX) bēlu(EN) rabū(GALU) mu-nam-mir
uk Š (r.12) ik-1e-tu pa-ni-šú li-ram-ma Š (r.13) Š itta(i)SKIM)-šú li-lam-min-ma, 'May Sin, the great lord, the luminary Š
stretch darkness over his face and make his

1. E.g. K.3670+8 in Boissier Choix I, p.92; K.3970+11 in CT XXVII, pl.21 (Izbu) - NA; AO 4757:45 in TCL VI 3 (pl. VIII) - Sel. In these texts there is no gesture involved but rather the state of the omen covered by a membrane.

2. LB 1001:5-6 in BiOr XI (1954), pl.II - DB; K.2728+170 in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.170 - NA. In both incantations, 'covering the face' is one of several actions which are to be done to keep sorcerers or demons from casting their evil spells. The gesture does not appear to have any idiomatic or symbolic significance but is only of ritualist importance.

3. K.2564:4.12 in Bauer Asb., pl.21 - NA.

4. K.8396 (and par.):81 (Ludlul II) in Lambert Bul, pl.5 - NA.

5. K.2360+11 in Gilgamesh IX ii (pl.35) - NA.
sign bad' (K.2564). As part of a curse, which is designed to strike fear into the heart of any who might remove the stele, the covering of the face of the guilty person with darkness by the god must produce fear as well. It is not clear from the text that there is any symbolic or idiomatic meaning attached to the actions. In each of the cases the subject of the verb has completely gained control of the person involved so the phrase pāna arāmu in this context appears to mean 'to overwhelm'.

9 būna arāmu, 'to stretch over the face'
būna arāmu only occurs in an MA hymn and is also used in the context of fear: (r.20) e-du-ru-ma kaiu(DU)-šú-nu za-a-a-ru (r.21) me-lam-mu ek-du-tu bu-ni-šu-ru e-tar-mu (r.22) ana đAš-šur ik-nu-šu ka-liš /pur7-ša-ru, 'All of them feared the enemy, the fierce, terror-inspiring radiance stretched over their faces, all over in the mountains they submitted to Aššur' (VAT 9940). The similarity of context to pāna arāmu (cf. 8, pp.126-127) suggests that the same meaning of 'to overwhelm' is conveyed by this variant of the idiom in Mari (cf. 13, p.117).


2. Fear is explicitly the subject of the clause when Gilgamesh was faced with the terrifying scorpion-men: (10) i-mur-šú-nu-ti-ma GGilgameš(GIŠ,GIN,MAŠ) pu-lub-ta (11) u ra-šub-ba-ta 1-te-rim pa-ni-šu, 'When Gilgamesh saw them, fear and terror stretched over his face' (K.2300+, Gilgamesh IX ii), while in K.839b+:81 (Lambert BUL pl.5), the subject is death, i.e., (80) /mi?-i/h-su šuk-šu-du ú-nap-paq ma-aq-t/i-i7š (81) x /-du-ud mu-tu 1-te-rim pa-ni-ia, 'A stroke has taken me, I choke like a fallen one, death stretched over my face'.

3. VAT 9940:r.21 in LKA 63 (p.85).

4. Ibid.
Chapter IV  
Parts of the Head

A  
The Forehead

The Hebrew פֹּתַן designates the forehead of a human being. It occurs once as the object of the verb מַעַם in literal use, with no symbolic significance. The Akkadian pūtu(m)(SAG.KI) is used for the forehead of both man and beast. Its use also extended to include the front side of objects, as well as a prepositional use.

1  
pūta nasū, 'to raise the forehead'

pūta nasū occurs in a number of NB legal texts which involve the assumption of a legal obligation. An example of the rare, finite form of the verb is in a loan of bricks by Nabû-šūma-iškun to Nabû-mukin-žēri which were to be replaced by a certain date: (9) ki-i la id-dan-nu 1 ma-na

1. Cf. BDB, pp.594-595 (sub פֹּתַן); KB3, pp.589-590 (sub פֹּתַן).
2. I.e., I Sam.17:49: אָֽשָׁ֛נְתָּ ֖נֶאֱסָל אֵֽתָּ ֖מִנְּיָ֑נַן מַעַֽם?   מְבָרַ֨ק אֶֽתָּ ֖יָ֑חָנָא נְבָ֖ע נֶאֱסָל אֵֽתָּ ֖מִנְּיָ֑נַן מַעַֽם?
3. Cf. AHw., p.884 (sub pūtu(m) A); Holma Körperteile, p.13.
6. E.g., IM 650801:4 in Bakh. Mitt. 5 (1970), 14 (p.286); IM 650841:31 in ibid., 17 (p.289) and IV:7-8 in ibid. (p.292); IM 65073:4 (par. W.20032, 6:5) in ibid. (p.294); IM 65072:3-4 in ibid., 18 (p.293); HS 552:12 in Tum 2-3, 108 (pl.36); HS 570 in ibid., 134 (pl.44); VAT 9188:4-b in Anör 8, 6 (pl.7*); GCBC 414:2-5 in GCCI I 260 (pl.XXXV).
If he does not give them, 1 mina of silver in place of losses and claims, which are made against Nabû-Šúma-iskun, Ūmišam, who raised the forehead of Nabû-mukin-zēri, will give them to Nabû-Šúma-iskun (HS 552). The use of the preterite in this stresses the formation of the relationship between the two parties, as do the other temporal forms of the verb. The exact nature of this relationship is shown by the payment of Nabû-mukin-zēri's debt for him by Ūmišam, who, it is stated, was the one who had 'raised the forehead' of the former. The fact of his 'raising the forehead' in this instance must be the reason why the responsibility for the debt was assumed by Ūmišam. The only other justification which could be put forward for the inclusion of the phrase pūta našū in the tablet would be the further identification of Ūmišam, but this would have been better done in the regular Babylonian use of the patronymic. In this case, it is not the actual replacement of the bricks in kind but rather the monetary reimbursement for the loss which is given, so the phrase cannot be understood as involving substitution in its strict sense.
best English translation of the idiom appears to be 'to be responsible for'. The English 'to guarantee' is not adequate here since the form of the idiom has Nabū-mukin-zērī as object of the phrase, i.e., the one whose 'forehead is raised', but it is not he but his obligation which is being guaranteed.

1. It was first understood to mean 'to stand as surety for' by J. Uppert in Documents juridique de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée (1897), pp.200-201. B. Meissner quotes F.E. Peiser as understanding the phrase as 'to take a loan' in ZA 4 (1889), p.66. (I personally could not find this interpretation by Peiser but it must have been made prior to 1890 for in that year he translated the idiom "die Garantie bringen", 'to bring the guarantee for' in Aus den babylonischen Rechtsleben I (1897), p.5.) Meissner himself interpreted pūt as a preposition meaning 'for'. He translates the phrase lēṭen pūt šaši nāši as "einer trägt die Verpflichtung des anderen", 'one bears the obligation of the other' in ibid., p.71. E. Dhorme translates the phrase as "devenir sa caution, garantir", 'to become his surety, to guarantee' in L'emploi, p.74. V. Marx understands the phrase as "haften für", 'to be liable for' in BA 4 (1902), p.3, while A. Ungnad translates it as "to be responsible for" in Selected Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period (1908), p.67. P. Koschaker read the phrase as the terminus technicus for "bürgen", 'to stand as guarantor for' in Bürgschaftsrecht, p.33 and translates A pūt B nasa ḫ as "A ist für B Bürg", 'A is guarantor for B', where again the preposition 'for' is the word pūt in ibid., p.213. R. Dougherty in AJSL 40 (1930), p.74 and J. Snyder in JCS 9 (1955), p.25 both have the same translation as Ungnad. AMu translates the phrase as "garantieren", 'to guarantee' on p.753 (sub našu(m) II G 1.4 c) and CAD as "to assume the responsibility for" in E, p.405 (sub eṭēru B 1 c).
There are a number of tablets containing a form of ṣūta naṣū which designate the specific obligation by the phrase pūt x naṣū, 'raiser of the forehead of X', i.e., 'the one who is responsible for X', in which X is the specific obligation, e.g.: interruption (batlu) of delivery of grain, tending a field, disputation regarding a sale, the flight or death of a slave, or repayment. In each of these cases, the subject of pūt x naṣū does not have the original obligation, but is called upon only if the first party defaults in his responsibility.

1. Stative of the verb.

2. (4) ... pūt (5) batlu ina Eanna išakkanna (6) Išēl-zēri ... naṣū, 'Bel-žēri is the one who is responsible for (i.e., is raised of forehead regarding) the interruption in the Eanna which he will cause' (VAT 9188, Anûr B, 6).

3. (5) /p⟩w-ut ḫe-rū-tu šā egli(A. ṣâ) a-na lab-ka ḫe-rū-tu (6) ḫa-rī u a-rit-ṭi na-šu-ū šā mi-sir (7) u ak-kul-la-tū ša-qu-ṭu ša mē(A.MES) ḫa-gal(EN)-aṭhē(SE.S.MES)-rība(SU) (8) u ḫa Nabō( AG )-ṭīr(SUR) na-šu-ū ... (9) pu-ut a-pē-šu (10) šā i-qa-ri na-šu-ū, 'Bel-aḫḫē-riḫa and Nabō-ṭīr are responsible for (i.e., their foreheads are raised regarding) the digging of the fields for moisture, the digging of the harry - and arīṭtu - canals, the raising of the property and the clods, the irrigation with the water. They are responsible for (i.e., their foreheads were raised as regards) making a wall (HS 578, TuM 2-3, 134).

4. E.g pūt ṣāhī u pagqirānu naṣū, 'he is responsible for (i.e., is raised of forehead regarding) rebellion and complaint' in 76-11-17, 880:b-8 in Nbk 346 (p.204).

5. E.g. pūt ḫēlāgu u mituṭu ša Barīki-ilānī naṣū, 'they are responsible for (i.e., their forehead is raised as regards) fleeing or death of Barīki-ilānī' (76-11-17, 880, Nbk 346).

6. pūt eṭeru naṣū, 'he assumes responsibility for (i.e., his forehead is raised regarding) repaying', is used of money, e.g. VAT. 379:12,13 in VAS IV 170 (p.55), and grain, e.g. VAT 8459:10 in Anûr 9, 11 (p.30*).

7. P. Koschaker in Bürgschaftsrecht, p.218, n. 39 identifies another phrase which he includes among these dealing with
puta mahāsu, 'to strike the forehead'

puta mahāsu occurs in several legal texts from the Kassite and NB periods, in addition to a number of texts from Nuzi.

2.1 In three Kassite texts, puta mahāsu is found in the context of a man imprisoning another. (In one case it was guarantees. This is puta nādānu for which he cites several examples. In one of the examples, 277-4-17, 19:3 in Nbk. 86 (p.54), the verb of the phrase is damaged. F.E. Peiser, in discussing the text in Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben I (1890), p.12, parallels the use of the phrase in it to three other NBk texts: 83, 342 and 366. All of these have the verb nāṣu rather than nādānu. His paralleling these texts leads one to believe that he felt that NBk 36 also contained the verb nāṣu.

Two other references given by Koschaker (64-2-11, 86:15-7 in Camb. 1, p.3 and Meldenchke 24 (p.35):6-7) have the final syllable of the verb using the sign which E. Ziemer in BA 3 (1897), p.477, prefers to read as a form of ŠI, which does have forms which are quite similar to this. This would then render the verb nāṣu and, in Meldenchke 24, results in the phrase pūt etēru ... nāṣu which has already been noted above (cf. p. 731, n.6).

Only in one case (82-9-18, 3929:4-5 in Evett's Ner.41 (p.57)) can the verb positively be identified as nādānu, and then only because it is written as a Sumerogram with a phonetic complement, i.e., SUM in. Even this does not provide a clear example of the phrase pūt ... nādānu, since the reading of pūt is not clear.

1. E.g. AO 4070:6 in TCL IX 48 (pl.XXI); CBM 6613:6 in BE XIV 11 (pl.17); CBM 12908:6 in ibid., 135 (pl.51).

2. E.g. YBC 3539:22 in YOS III 133 (pl.L); U 17238, 45:6 in UET IV 80 (pl. XXXVII); 78-5-31, 5:3-4 in NBk. 24 (pl.15); 76-11-17, 382:4 in ibid., 134 (pl.84).

3. E.g. SMN 2118:5 in AASOR XVI 29 (p.27, translit. only); JEN 124:3-4 in JEN 147 (pl.CXL); SMN 90:9 in HSS IX 68 (pl.XLVIII); SMN 420:11 in ibid., 72 (pl.L), and passim in Nuzi texts.

4. E.g., CBM 12960, BE XIV 135: (1) Mnā-egū-ana-Samaš ... (3) ina kili 'Amēl-Marduk bālišu (4) iklāšuma, 'Amēl-Marduk, his lord, imprisoned Mnā-egū-ana-Samaš'; CBM 6613, ibid.,
explicitly a debt which led to the incarceration.¹) One text continues: (5) \( ^{1} \text{Ta-kal-ti-dAdad(IM)} \) ma-\( \frac{\lambda}{j} \) (6) pu-us-su im-ha-as-ma (7) i-na arbi(ITU) Simani(SIG₄) 1 lîtu(AB.GAL) (8) i-li-ga-am-ma (9) i-nam-di-in (10) u1 it-ta-di-in-ma (11) 2 lîtu(AB.GAL) \( ^{1} \text{Ta-kal-ti-dAdad(IM)} \) (12) i-ta-nap-pal, 'Takalti-Adad \( \frac{\lambda}{j} \) struck his forehead. In Simani he will take 1 cow and give it. (If) he does not give it, Takalti-Adad will indemnify two cows( (CBM 6613).²) In this case a third party performed some action, signified by puussu imhasma, which resulted in the prisoner's release. The release is implicit in this text since the prisoner is expected to be able to make a payment.³ If the payment is not forthcoming, the third party must pay a forfeit.⁴ The

\[ \text{11: (1) } \frac{\times}{\times} \text{ti} \frac{\times}{\times} \text{x(\( \frac{x}{x} \))} \text{j (2) } \text{ina bit} \frac{\times}{\times} \text{Bél-\( \frac{x}{x} \)} \text{x(\( \frac{x}{x} \))j} \text{... (4) } \text{iklāšu/maj} \text{j, 'The imprisoned... in the house of Bél-\( \frac{x}{x} \)';} \]

\[ \text{AO 4070, TCL IX 48; (1) } \text{Sa-Bana ... (4) } \text{ina} \text{ kili iklāšuma, 'Ill-Nabû imprisoned Sa-Bana'.} \]

1. AO 4070, ibid.: (3) ki aššum(MU) 3+2 (GUR) 1 (NIGIDA) 2 (BĀN) ŠE.GUR 5 (SILA).

2. BE XIV 11.

3. Release is explicit in the two other texts, i.e., AO 4070, TCL IX 48: (5) \( ^{1} \text{Amurru(KAR.GAL)-Biš(APIN1)} \) ... (6) pu-us-su im-ha-as-ma (7) kili(?) X-ma ultu(TA) ki-li ū-še-ši-šu; CBM 12980, BE XIV 135: (4) ... Arkāt(SUD)-Nerqal(UGUR) ... (6) pu-us-su im-ha-as-ma (7) ū-še-ši-šu. The latter text also has a payment to be made by the former prisoner, i.e., (8) 13 kišiqi(GIN) burāsam(GUSKIN) iliqqama (9) ana Marduk-rišu (10) inamadin.

4. In CBM 12980, ibid., the third party is to see that the prisoner and his wife are returned to the first party, i.e., (11) u ki Minā-eqū-ana-šamaš (12) u \( \frac{\times}{\times} \text{xxxx} \text{j} \text{(13) aššassu(DAM. A.NI)} \) (14) iliqqama (15) ana Amēl(LO) Marduk(AMAR.UTU) (16) inamadin.
third party must be assuming this obligation of payment in his action of 'striking the forehead'.

A.T. Clay interpreted the idiom pūta mahāṣu by "to make an agreement", which is general enough to be correct in these texts. Others have interpreted the idiom as dealing more specifically with 'standing surety'. This appears to be the best interpretation although the exact nature of the responsibility is not clear, since in one case the third party is to pay an indemnity while in another he is responsible for returning the prisoner to prison.

2.2 In the Nuzi texts that contain a form of the idiom pūta mahāṣu there is no mention of imprisonment. The context is rather that of assuming an obligation such as taking out a loan. In each case the māhiṣ pūti, 'striker of the forehead', assumes responsibility for a default on the part of the obligated party.

1. It is not possible from these texts to determine whose forehead was being struck, since the pronominal suffix -šu could equally well refer to the prisoner or to the third party himself.

2. BE XIV, p.37.

3. E.g. ASAW 64/4, p.34 n.14, "bürzte für ihn", 'stood surety for him'; Bürgschaftsrecht, p.63, "wir bürgen wechselseitig", 'we reciprocally stood surety'; CAD A 11, p.379 (sub asū 7 f), "assumed guarantee for him"; CAD K, p.359 (sub kīlu 1 a 1'), "he (acted surety for him)".

4. E.g. IM 6820 (unpubl.; thanks to A.R. Millard); SMN 527 in HSS XIV 527 (p.8, translit.); SMH 2198 in HSS XVI 238 (p.74 - translit.) and passim in Nuzi texts. There are also obligations regarding the terbatu in marriage texts, e.g. SMN 2597 in HSS XIX 89 (pl.740-147) and probably AJSL 47 (1931), p.28T (translit. only); the freedom from lien (dīna) of a field in an exchange document, e.g. JENu 425 in JEN 263 (pl. CCXLIV); the freedom of a slave from claim in a sale, e.g. SMN 645 in HSS IX 7 (pl.XIII-XIV) and SMN 3600 in HSS XIX 124 (pl.178-179); and the compensation in case of delinquency in tidennūtu agreement, e.g. SMN 2118 in AASOR XVI 29 (p.27) and SMN 365 in ibid., 60 (pp.41-42).
An example of this arrangement which explains the function of the mābis pūti is a tidennūtu document in which Zilipkušuḫ¹ has given himself as tidennu into the service of ʿUzna. If he misses a day of work, he must compensate her by paying 1 mina of copper.² Zilipkušuḫ says: šumma-a-na-ku la aš-pa-ku-mi (20) u mī-ū-uz-na mārēmeš (27) u mārāti̊meš (27) u aš̊ata-ta-ia i-ša-bat u kaspāmeš (28) u ū-ri-ḫul-šu a-na mī-ū-uz-na (29) umallū bītu bi ša ʿIzi-ik-ku-šu-ūḫ (30) a-na ʿIzi-lik-ku-šu-ūḫ ma-bīš pu-ti, 'If I do not remain ʿUzna will seize my sons and daughters and wife. The money and compensation to ʿUzna they will pay in full. The household of Zilipkušuḫ are the striker of the forehead for Zilipkušuḫ (SMN 365).³ The mābis pūti, which is clearly idiomatic in this context, is said to be the household of the debtor.⁴ They are the ones who assume responsibility for

For a discussion of the tidennūtu-agreement, see B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi (1973).

1. The name is in this form in 11.10,15,20,23,25 & 30, in the form Zilikkušu in 1.2 and in the form Zikkušu in 1.29. These are simply variant forms rather than three different people.

2. (19) šumma šiprašu ša mī-ʿUzna (20) 1 ūmi ʿIzi-lipkušuḫ (21) āzib 1 mana erū (22) urinul ša īna ūmi u (23) ūmi ʿIzi-lipkušuḫ (24) ana mī-ʿUzna umallā, 'If Zilipkušuḫ abandons his work for ʿUzna for one day, Zilipkušuḫ shall pay ʿUzna in full one mina of copper as compensation for each day' (SMN 365, AASOR XVI 60, translit. only).

3. Ibid.

4. The household is apparently delineated in the previous lines as sons, daughters and wife. This appears to be a better interpretation of 'household' than that of B. Eichler, op. cit., pp.29,128, where he interprets it as 'estate' or "buildings". The Sumerogram is E.HI, with the impersonal plural, but bītu is at times used of the people of the household (cf. e.g. CAD B, pp.293-295 (sub bītu o)), where the text from Nuzi has E.ME₈, p.294 (loc.cit. 6 h), and it is the family who assumes the obligation for repayment.
payment of the debt in case of default.¹

P. Koschaker published an extensive study of this phrase, and others, as they occur in laws dealing with security.² He did not, however, understand the phrase as a symbolic gesture, but understood the word pūtu, 'the forehead', as a preposition, 'for'. This prepositional use of the parts of the body is common in Akkadian (e.g., ina libbi, ina mubbi, ana pāni, etc.). He also stated that the 'hand' was to be understood as an elided object of the phrase 'X mānis pūti ša Y' as meaning 'X (the guarantor) strikes the hand of Z (the creditor), for Y (the debtor)'.³ In Koschaker's interpretation, only the guarantor (explicitly) and the creditor (implicitly) are involved in the action.

E. Cassin later made a study of some occurrences of the phrase in the Nuzi tablets.⁴ She also interpreted the phrase as relating to security,⁵ but used differently than Koschaker had understood. She considered that the guarantor and the debtor were involved, but that there was no actual action of

¹ There is also a tidennūtu-text in which a person is his own mānis pūti, i.e., SMN 2118, AASOR XVI 29.
² Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht (1911).
³ Ibid., pp.221-223.
⁴ Le caution a Nuzi', RA 34 (1937), pp.154-168.
⁵ Ibid., p.154.
striking involved in the phrase.\textsuperscript{1} She stated that the phrase 'X mābis puti ša Y' means that 'X becomes the guarantor for Y'. Translators of, and commentators upon, the relevant texts generally agree with the interpretation that the phrase pūta mahāšu means 'to guarantee',\textsuperscript{2} as does the AHu.\textsuperscript{3}

In addition to these documents in which one person is aided by a mābis puti, who is either a single person or several people, there are a number of texts, all grain loans, in which a single contract is drawn up for a number of men in common.\textsuperscript{4} E. Cassin noted this sort of contract and posited that it was necessitated when each person individually did not have enough of value to secure a loan.\textsuperscript{5}

An unpublished document illustrates this kind of text. Several men take a grain loan, saying they will repay the debt after the harvest: (13) ... amēlōti(LŪ.MES) a-na amēlōti(LŪ.MES) (14) ma-bi-is pu-ta ma-an-nu i-na līb-bi-šu-nu (15) ša aš-bu še'am(SE.MES) a-na ši-il-wa-te-šup (16) ū-ma-al-la, 'The men are to the (other)men a guarantor. Whoever among them remains will repay the barley in full to Šiluatešup' (IM 6820).\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p.155.
\textsuperscript{2} B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi, p.127 and passim. Cf. A.T. Clay in BE XIV, p.37, who translates the phrase in CBM 1290B:6 as simply "to make an agreement".
\textsuperscript{3} AHu., p.580 (sub mahāšu(m) 1 d ).
\textsuperscript{4} E.g. IM 6820 (unpublished; thanks to A.R. Millard); Bu.91-5-9, 298 in CT II, pl.21; SMN 758 in HSS IX 99 (pl.XLVIII); SMN 684 in ibid., 78 (pl. LIII), and passim in Nuzi texts.
\textsuperscript{5} RA 34 (1937), p.165.
\textsuperscript{6} Unpublished; thanks to A.R. Millard.
This tablet, and similar ones, is apparently a partnership in which each person is responsible for the amount of the loan of any other in case of a default. There is no third party involved in this group of contracts, since each is 'standing as the guarantor' of the other, which is the role undertaken by the third party in the previous documents discussed.

mābiš pūti is clearly a common idiomatic expression with a fixed meaning and form during the Nuzi period since, at times, the scribe only wrote part of the idiom.²

The NB documents in which a form of pūta mahāšu occurs concern loans³ and a contract to guard someone.⁴ All that they say is that one person is the mābiš pūti for another, without providing any other information either explicitly or implicitly. It is reasonable to assume that the idiom has the same meaning of 'guarantor' as it had in Nuzi, since the contexts are similar and there is no evidence to the contrary. In one case, the idiom is apparently treated as an ideogram, with the plural logogram added.⁵

1. This phrase is used advisedly as it is found in Akkadian: (7) Zi-il-ba-ma-an-na (8) a-na ma-hi-is pu-ti a-na kasaq(KU.BABBAR)-ṣu (9) ša a-še-ti-ia it-ta-ziz-ma, AJSL 47 (1930), p.281.

2. I.e. ma-hi-is pu; e.g. JENu 150:12 in JEN V 549 (p. DIII); SMN 12:9 in HSS IX 73.

3. U 17238, 45 in UET IV 80 (pl.XXVII); 78-5-31, 5 in Nbk. 24 (p.15).

4. 76-11-17, 382 in Nbk. 134 (p.84 ).

5. I.e. ma-hi-is pu-ut MEŠ: YBC 3539:22 in YOS III 133(pl.L). The phrase pūta nakū occurs once, in a sexual omen, i.e., K.126+14 in CT XXXIX, pl.44. The verb is possibly a West Semitic loan word (cf. AHw., p.724 (sub nakū II) and p.53 above). The action in this text appears literal and so does not make a contribution here.
3. *pūta(m) emēdu(m)*, 'to incline the forehead'!

*pūta(m) emēdu(m)* is found in Kassite legal documents concerning people who are imprisoned (i.e., kalû). 2 A representative text concerns five imprisoned slaves belonging to Enlil-kidini: (9) Id*Nin-ib-ba-ni ... (10) ǔ ḫa-an-ab(ŠEŠ)-a-ni (11) a-na šu-qi-i amēlūti(NAM,LÚ.LUX) (12) ṣa *Id*En-lil ki-dî-ni iz-zi-zu (13) ṣa-ka-an-na iq-bu-u (14) amēlūti(NAM,LÚ.LUX) li-qi li-ru-ub (15) a-na ḫa-la-qi pu-ut-ni (16) ni-te-ma-ad iq-b-ul-ul (17) amēlūti(NAM,LÚ.LUX) i-bal-li-i-ini (18) *XXX* amēlūti(NAM,LÚ.LUX) (19) *XXX* a-na *Id*En-lil ki-dî-ni (20) ḫi-nam-din, 'Ninib-bani, ... and Ban-abani stood for the release of the retainers of Enlil-kidini. They said thus: "May the men go out and come in. Regarding flight, we will incline our foreheads". They said, "If the men flee, *XXX* men *XXX* to Enlil-kidini we will give" (CBM 12906a). 3

1. The verb emēdu has a range of meanings including 'to lean against, take refuge, load, etc.' (cf. CAD E, pp.138-147 (sub emedu); AHw., pp.211-213 (sub emēdu(m))). The above interpretation denotes 'leaning' without making explicit if an object was 'leaned against' or not, since the texts do not make clear what the literal gesture itself entailed.

2. E.g. CBM 12906:15-16 in BE XIV 2 (pl.2); CBS 7732:8 in PBS VIII/2 161 (pl.CI); HS 2591:17 in ASAU 64/4, 10 (pl. 32, translit. only) - all slaves; HS 155:30" in ibid., 14 (pl.48 - translit. only) - an unknown person. In the last text, there is no explicit mention of imprisonment, but it can be inferred from the immediately following verb, *u舒šišu*, 'he obtained his release'.

3. BE XIV 2.
Here the prisoners are freed on account of the two men. They promised to return some slaves if the freed slaves fled. The two men incline their own foreheads in relation to the flight (ana ḫalāqi) rather than in relation to the release (ana šúš), which is designated by a different verb (izzizu).

The idiom pūta emēdu has been translated "to guarantee" for this and the other texts. This causes problems in this text since the flight is not guaranteed at all, but just the opposite, so the negative, i.e., 'not to flee', had to be added. In order to avoid this addition, the translation 'to accept responsibility' is better, and fits well in each text. Here the two men were setting themselves up as the parties responsible for the flight if it did take place, while in the other texts the subject of the phrase was assuming responsibility for the person involved by inclining his own forehead.

1. Cf. CBS 7732, PBS VIII/2 161: (8) /pu7-us-su i-mi-/j/d-ma (9) /u-7e/-ši-su, 'he inclined his forehead, obtaining his release'. So also HS 2391:17, ASAW 64/4, 10 and HS 155:31 - 32', ibid., 14.

2. They could have been responsible for the return of the same men, or for a replacement by others, but the broken text makes this impossible to ascertain.

3. Cf. p. 138, n. 1. The other texts do not explicitly state in relation to what the 'forehead is inclined', but flight is mentioned in two of them, i.e., CBS 7732:10, PBS VIII/2 161 and HS 2391:23, ASAW 64/4, 10.

4. Cf. Koschaker Bürgschaftsrecht, p. 63 "wir bürgen wechselseitig fur einander", 'we reciprocally give security for each other'; ASAW 64/4, p. 32 "verbürgte sich/garantierte", 'gave security for/guaranteed'; AHw., p. 212 (sub emēdu(m) G 5), p. 884 (sub pūtu(m) A 2 b) "garantieren", 'to guarantee'; CAD E, p. 143 (sub emēdu 3 n).
pūta(m) kullu(m), 'to hold the forehead'

pūta(m) kullu(m) occurs in the context of omens, and a letter. The letter records a message from Šamši-Adad to Yasmah-Adad which he is to relay to the mārī(DUMU,MEŠ)-yamin saying: (11) ... aš-šum išu ri-tim i-ša-[a]-/t/ū /? / ?
(12) a-na pu-ut ma-tim ku-ul-lim e-le-šu/l, 'because of the pasturage, I went up to hold the forehead of the land' (ARM I 43). The context is too broken to provide

5. Cf. AHw., p.212 (loc.cit.) and CAD E (loc.cit.).

6. The pronominal suffix -šu, i.e., pūšu, in the other three texts refer to the subject of the action rather than the person released is shown here by the first person plural verb, i.e., ništemed, and the first person plural pronominal suffix, i.e., pūtni. The person released is designated by the third person singular pronominal suffix on the second verb, i.e., ušēsišu.

1. VAT 10147 II:56 in KAR 212 (p.12) – MA, par. K.3900:3 in CT XXXIX 7 – NA. In both texts it occurs in the protasis in the form: šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) mu-kil pūti(SAG.KI)-šu Ṭmur(IGI.DUB). VAT 10147 II then gives as the apodosis ana(DIŠ) itti(GISKIM) damigti(SIG5) šuknaš(GAR)-šu, which is a favourable omen, while K.3900 is broken. R. Labat in Calendrier, p.123, put forward mukīl-rēsq-lemtti as a variant of mukīl pūti. This is a demon bringing evil. It is hard to justify that these both signify this evil demon, since seeing the mukīl pūti is a favourable omen, which would not be expected of an evil demon. Labat then says that the mukīl pūti could have been extended in meaning to include any visual hallucination (ibid). This again is based on the mukīl pūti being identified as the mukīl rēsq lemttin, which has not been proven. There is not enough context in either text to establish the meaning of mukīl pūti.

2. ARM I 43 (pl.LIX):12.

3. He then tells him to wait there for a fortnight.
much assistance in interpretation. Whatever is meant by 

\textit{pūt mātim kullum} the king had to be present to do it.

G. Dossin and A. Finet translated this as "\textit{garantir}", 'to guarantee'.\footnote{There is not enough information given in this text to support this interpretation, even though it is a possibility. There are other idioms using \textit{pūtām} with the meaning of guaranteeing (cf. 1-3, pp.128-140) which would strengthen his argument, but none of these are extant in Mari.}

Since there are so few texts containing this idiom, and those available have contexts which are of little use for determining its meaning, no definite interpretation of \textit{pūtām kullum} is proposed.

\textit{pūta katāmu}, 'to cover the forehead'

\textit{pūta katāmu} occurs in an NB letter concerning payment made for one person by another.\footnote{\textit{BM 74334} in \textit{CI XXII 105} (pl.21): (5) 25 kurru(GUR) \textit{uttatu(SE.BAR)} a-na (6), \textit{mu-re-nu ana muhhi}(UGU)-ka (7) e-te-tir 2 \textit{siqlu}(GIN) $\frac{1}{4}$-tu kasp \textit{ku.(BA.BAR)} (8) man-da-at-tum ša GU-[\textit{XX}x] (9) ḫu pāni(IQ1)-ka bēlu(EN), 'For I paid Muranu 25 kur of barley for you. You have \textit{2\frac{1}{2}} silver shekels as equalisation for \textit{\$ \$}}, lord'.

\textit{puta katāmu} occurs in an NB letter concerning payment made for one person by another.\footnote{\textit{ARMT I}, p.99, 1.2 and \textit{ARMT XV}, p.243 respectively. Finet, \textit{ibid.}, also proposed "\textit{être à la disposition de}", 'to be at the disposal of', apparently by comparison with \textit{rēša(m)} kullu(m), cf. p.77, n.4. There are several instances in which \textit{rēša(m) kullu(m)} is metaphorically extended to inanimate objects (cf. II F 1.2 pp.76-77) but not, as \textit{pūta(m) kullu(m)} is here used, with mātim. In the former cases, the inanimate object was the subject of the verb (e.g. \textit{ARM I} 43): (12) /$\text{mām}$-ja-tum re-ša-am i-na /$\text{M}$a-[\textit{XX}x] (13) u-ka-al, while here the land is the object. Since there is a different grammatical construction than \textit{rēša(m)} kullu(m) as well as a different part of the body being used, it does not appear that Finet's second possibility is valid, especially as it would not make sense here.}
143.

(9) ... tūg na-āg-ba-tí (10) at-ta-nek-ka u pu-ut-ka ku-ut-mu
8 šiklu (GÍN) ina gātē (ŠÚ I) (12) Ag-gi-ia na-šá-a-ka
(13) kaspú (KÙ.BÁBBAR) Ag-gi-ia, 'I gave you a mantle, and
your forehead is covered. I bring 8 shekels from Agīa, money
which Agīa paid' (BM 74334). Here the forehead is literally
covered with a cloak.' It is not possible to tell who did the
covering, nor is it possible to determine what significance,
if any, the covered forehead had, since there are no other
occurrences of this phrase.2

B The Cheek


1. Ibid.

2. A. Ungnad in ZDMG 65 (1911), p. 118 read 11.8ff as:
"(8) ... pu-ut-ka ku-u/sic/-mu 8 šiklu ina gātā Ag-gi-ja
na-šá-a-ka, ich hatte mich für dich wegen 8 Sekel bei
Aggiāa verbrünt", 'I stood bail for you for 8 shekels from
Aggiāa'. put X našû is used for 'to guarantee' (cf. IV
A 1, pp. 128-131), but in those cases, repayment was
indicated by the phrase put etēru našû (cf. p. 131, n.6)
where it is stated that responsibility for the repayment,
rather than the specific sum, is assumed. While this does
not disprove Ungnad's interpretation, the lack of parallels
weakens his argument.

3. Cf. BDB, p. 534 (sub 'חנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְנַנְn

4. Cf. CAD L, pp. 44-45 (sub lahu A); Holma Körperteile, p. 31.

5. E.g. SMN 528:8 in HSS IX 10 (pl. VIII) - Nugi: miẖṣātu ša
Attia ītamārū (8) lahu (MES)-šu ina bāṭti (qēš PA) maẖīn(9)
y damā (MES) muẖṣur, 'They saw the beating of Attia; his
jaw was struck with a stick and the blood was flowing'.
In Akkadian the 'cheek' of man and beast is indicated by lētu(m)(TE). The noun also has several extended uses, including 'side'.

1 The cheek is struck both in the OT and in Akkadian. A form of the Hebrew: אֶשֶבֶת אֶשֶבֶת occurs in the context of Yahweh's attack on the wicked, of scorn, and defeat.

1.1 The author of the poetic lament explains that it is better to bear in silence the yoke of Yahweh while young:

'Let him put his mouth in the dust, perhaps there is hope. Let him give his cheek to those who strike; he will be filled with scorn' (Lam.3). In the immediate context of

1. Cf. CAD L, pp.148-150 (sub lētu 1); AHu., p.546 (sub lētu(m) I 1-4).
2. Cf. CAD L, pp.150-151 (loc.cit., 2); AHu., (loc.cit., 6); Holma Korperteile, p.31.
3. Ps.3:8 (Davidic). The Psalmist says of Yahweh: יָנָ֖ה יָנָ֖ה... Yahweh broke the teeth of the wicked you broke'. This action is figurative, a poetic discription of Yahweh's defeating the Psalmist's enemies, and does not have any symbolic significance.
4. For lying - I Kings 22:24 (D); Job 16:10 (fifth-third cent. B.C.).
5. Mic.4:14.
this blow given to the writer's cheek by others is scorn on their part (נוקה) and humiliation on his own part. The blow is literal but symbolises scorn.

1.2 The phrase נוקה is also found in the account of Jehosaphat asking Ahab to have a second opinion from Micaiah whether they should go forth to battle, as had been agreed by the court prophets. Micaiah said that the other prophets were lying in order to cause Ahab to go out to battle:

'Zedekiah, the son of Canaanah (who was one of the court prophets), approached and struck Micaiah on the cheek and said, "How did the Spirit of Yahweh pass from me to speak to you?"' (I Kings 22:24). The gesture is literal but Micaiah recognised that it was not only to stop him from speaking but also signified that Zedekiah was insulting him by calling him a liar. This is shown by his response in which he said that Yahweh would prove him right (v.28). This gesture thus has the meaning in this context that its recipient should stop speaking because what is being said is not true.

1. The two actions, 'sitting alone' and 'eating dust', express humility. Cf. Gen.3:14 (3) where the serpent is humiliated by having to eat dust.

2. Cf. Job 16: (9) "My oppressor looks sharply at me; they open wide their mouths at me, in scorn they strike my cheek ...". Here the blow is explicitly called a sign of scorn.
The Akkadian le-ta(m) mah-su(m) occurs in a ritual, in law cases, in incantations, and in an epic.

1. D.T. 109 in RAss., p.152 in which the priest takes the divine emblems from the king, places them before Bēl, to whom he prays. He then returns the emblems to the king: (r.9') le-ta(TE) šarrī (LUGAL) i-mab-ša-as e-nu-ma lēš(TE) su (IM-ša-as') (r.10') šum-ma di-ti-šu Bēl (EN) ša-l im', 'He strikes the king's cheek; when he has struck his cheek, if his tears (flow), Bēl is happy'. This is clearly a literal blow, since it brings tears to the king's eyes. The context does not imply any further significance to the blow than as an omen. Cf. also MM B 1848 V:35,42 in RAss., p.154- NB.

2. E.g. LE § 42; LH § 202, § 203, § 204, § 205 - OB.

3. VAT 9030:6 in KAR 58 (p.98) - MA; K.2950:97. in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.45; K.8162:11' in ibid., pl.96. These incantations are directed against a sorcerer, i.e., aqquillus in K.2950:96, and a sorceress, i.e., kašpatum, in K.8162:10'. The former says: (96) ... rikis (KENDA) -ki a-bi-pi (97). a-mab-ša le-at-ki ašal-la-pa lišān (EME) -ki (98) ū-ma-al-la ru t a em (101) ki (99) ū-ša-lak a-bi-ki šil/ota (110) ū ak-da-aši ru-uq-du-ta ū-ša-ki-l-ki (104) ū mimma (NIN) ma-la te-te-ap-pu-ši ū-tar ana muh-ki-ši', 'I will break your hold; I will strike your cheek; I will pull out your tongue; I will fill your eyes with wind; I will send weakness into your arms; and I will give you rotten things to eat. Everything you practise (i.e., witchcraft) shall return upon yourself' (K.2950). Striking the cheek occurs in the context of other literal, physical actions, e.g., pulling out the tongue (which also occurs in K.8162:11'), which suggests that it also is literal. The actions are done in order to stop evil from being said.

In VAT 9030 the incantation is also directed against evil. The divine light (šanūr), when it enters a person's house, is to: (6) le-et lem-ši ma-ha-as šāp (GIR) lem-ni ku-bu-us irat (GABA) lem-ni si-ši (7) šum-nu li-piš šan ši-ša-ki-le-pi, 'strike the cheek of the evil, tread on the foot of the evil, repulse the breast of the evil, may the evil depart from before you'. Here again the actions are done so as to stop the evil from afflicting the person. It is not possible from these passages to determine if there is any greater significance, either symbolic or idiomatic, to the gesture.

4. K.162:r.28 ('Ishtar's Descent into the Underworld') in BAL III, pl.58 - NA.
2.1 An OB law case records: Šum-ma mār(DUMU) a-wi-lim le-et a-wi-lim ša ki-ma šu-a-ti im-ta-ḫa-aš 1 ma-na kaspam(KU.BABBAR) i-ša-qal, 'If a man strikes the cheek of a man like himself, he shall pay 1 mina of silver' (LH₄203). This law is one of a series of four laws dealing with the same offence in LH.¹ They follow in order those dealing with serious bodily injuries. Even though the order of the laws in the collections can be quite arbitrary, there is no evidence that these laws do not involve a literal blow. This is further strengthened by LE₄42 in which 'striking the cheek' is included in the same law with other literal, physical injuries.² The penalties for striking the cheek seem extremely high, especially in LH₄203, in which the penalty of one mina of silver is double that imposed for manslaughter in LH₂07. The severity of the penalties indicates that something more is involved than simply a physical blow; there must be some symbolic meaning in the gesture which indicates some injury which is in excess of the physical. It is impossible, however, to ascertain the exact nature of this injury from the evidence available in the laws.

1. LH ₂₀₂: a man striking the cheek of a man greater than himself shall be struck 60 times; LH ₂₀₄: a muškēnum who strikes another muškēnum shall pay 10 silver shekels; LH ₂₀₅: a slave who strikes an awīlum shall have his ear cut off.

2. I.e., sum-ma awīlum(LU) ap-pe awīlum(LU) iš-šu-uk-ma it-ša-ḫa-aš 1 ma-na kaspam(KU.BABBAR) isaqgal(LAL) iš-ša-ḫa-aš 1 ma-na šinnum(ZU) ša ma-na uz-na ša ma-na me-be-es le-tim 10 šiqil(GIN) kaspam(KU.BABBAR) isaqgal(LAL), 'If a man bites the nose of a man and severs it, he shall pay 1 mina of silver. An eye, 1 mina; a tooth, ½ mina, an ear, ½ mina; a slap in the face, he shall pay ten shekels.'
2.2 In the NA recension of 'Issar's Descent into the Underworld', the eunuch, Asušanimar, is cursed by Ereškigal, who says: (r.24) akī₂(MINDA.MES) gi₃epin₂(APIN.MES) ālî(URU) lu a-kal-ka (r.25) dug₂ha₂-ba₂-na₂-at ālî(URU) lu ma-al₂ti₂-it₂-ka (r.26) sīlî(GISSU) dūrî(BĀD) lu-ú man-za₂-zu-ka (r.27) as-kup₂-pa₂-tu lu mu₂-ša₂-bu₂-ú₂-ka (r.28) šak₂ru ù ša₂-mu₂-úlim₂ša₂-su le₂-et₂-ka, 'May the food of the plows of the city (i.e., dirt) be your food. May the sewers of the city be your drinking place. May the shadow of the wall be your standing-place (i.e., as a beggar). May the threshold be your seat. May the drunk and thirsty strike your cheek' (K.162).¹ In this curse, Ereškigal is asking that vile humiliation be heaped upon Asušanimar and that he be brought low in the city. Included in this list of degradations to which the latter is to be inflicted is his being struck by the inhabitants of the city. Being in this context, the gesture itself must also be the cause of humiliation.

This is shown also by the use of lēta mahāsu in the Akītu-festival. The king recounts a list of things which he did not do, in order to influence the god to bestow good on him because he had not done this evil. They include:

(39) #ul₂ aḥ₂-ṭ₂-bāl₂(EN) māḥti₂(KUR.KUR) ul₂ e-qī₂ ana ilū(DINGIR)-ti₂-ku (40) #ul₂ ú₂-ṭa₂-2-liq₂ Bābili₂(ki₂) ul aq₂-ta₂-bi₂ sapāḥ₂(BIR)-šū₂ (41) #ul₂ ú₂-r₂ ḥ₂-bi₂ ñana₂ SAG₂GIL₂ ul ú₂-ma₂-āš₂ parṣi₂(ME)-šū₂ (42) #ul₂ am₂-ṭ₂-ṭ₂-ḥa₂-ṭ₂ lēt₂(TE) ṡābī₂(ERIM₂bi₂) ki₂-din₂-nu (43) ... ul₂ aš₂-kun₂ qa₂-la₂-šū₂-nu,

¹. BAL III, pl.58. L.108: šak₂ru ù šamû is an example of synecdoche in which the two extremes are given, implying the whole, i.e., all of the inhabitants.

2. Restored thus by F. Thureau-Dangin in RAcc., p.144.
'I have not sinned, lord of the lands; I have not neglected your divinity; I have not destroyed Babylon; I have not ordered its dispersion. I have not shaken Esagil; I have not forgotten its rites. I have not humiliated (i.e., struck the cheek of) the people under divine protection; I have not caused their humiliation' (MNB 1848 V). The actions which are repudiated by the king are arranged in doublets, each showing synonymous parallelism. In keeping with the interpretation of the phrase as 'to humiliate', the synonymous doublet of 'striking the cheek' is 'to humiliate'.

This meaning of the gesture could well explain the reason why striking the cheek of a man was dealt with so severely in the law cases. Aside from the fact of the physical blow, the person was also being grievously insulted and so would be recompensed for this. The nature of this insult might be reflected in the incantations, where evil was stopped from being uttered by the blow. These could be parallel to the action in I Kings 22:24 (cf. 1.2, p.145), in which the person struck was being called a liar. The sorcerers or evil-speakers would thus be told by this blow that their evil words were not true. The slander to a man's honour in this area would also explain the harsh penalty for such an action under the law.

1. RAcc., p.154.

2. The same action also takes place earlier in the same text, i.e., the priest places the royal emblems in the temple: (35) ... usgi(E)-ma lēt(TE) šarrī(LUGAL) imabhaṣ(SIC35), 'he comes out and strikes the cheek of the king' (MNB 1848 V). Here the gesture clearly has a symbolic meaning as it is part of the ritual where the external trappings of kingship are removed and the king is humiliated. The action signifies this symbolic abasement of the king.
It is not possible to push this interpretation too far, since there is a large time span between the use of the phrase in a legal context and its occurrence in the context of humiliation. The final interpretation must await the discovery of further examples, especially in texts from the intervening periods, in order that the development of the use of the gesture might be traced.

C  The Hair

The regular word for 'hair', as a collective, of animal and man, is רֶשׁ . A single hair is indicated by כַּפֵּל . The former is the explicit object of the verbs כָּבָד , 'to burnish' and כָּפָל , 'to shave'. The word כַּפֵּל refers to the hair which is consecrated during the course of a Nazirite vow. It occurs as the object of כָּפָל , 'to shear' and כָּפָל , 'to shave'. The word also occurs once in the OT as 'hair', but it is not the object of a verb.

The Akkadian šartu(m) is a general term of hair, while pērtu(m) refers to the 'head-hair'.

1. Cf. BDB, p. 972 (sub רֶשׁ ); KB, p. 927 (sub רֶשׁ ).
2. Cf. BDB, p. 972 (sub כַּפֵּל ); KB, p. 927 (sub כַּפֵּל ).
3. Cf. BDB, p. 634 (sub כַּפֵּל ); KB, p. 605 (sub כָּפָל ).
5. Cf. Delitzsch HUB, p. 635 (sub רֶשׁ IV); Holma Körperteile, p. 3.
6. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p. 34; AHw., p. 856 (sub pērtu(m)).
occurs in only one passage in the OT with as its direct object. It is in the context of purification from a skin disease in which the action is literal, without any apparent idiomatic meaning. This text shows that can also mean 'hair', possibly by an elipsis from . There are several verses in which occurs, probably with this same elipsis. These are found in the

1. Lev. 14 (P): 'The self-purifier shall launder his clothes and shave all of his hair. He shall wash in water and be clean. Afterwards, he shall come to the camp and sit outside his tent for seven days. On the seventh day he shall shave off all of his hair, his head and his beard and his eyebrows; all of his hair he shall shave'. In Lev. 13:33 (P), shaving is part of the diagnostic process for a skin disease.

2. Cf. Judg. 16:22 (D): 'And the hair of his head began to grow when it was shaved'. Lev. 14:8-9 (n.1 above) also shows that must only be that hair on top of the head, since it does not include the beard and the eyebrows, which are mentioned separately.
context of personal toilet, invasion, consecration, and marrying a foreign prisoner of war.

1.1 As part of the Nazirite vow of consecration to Yahweh, the Israelite was to refrain from alcohol as well as the grape and its products. He was also to keep from using a razor, and to let his hair grow. It is only when his vow

1. II Sam. 14:26 (D) describes Absalom's yearly haircut: 'When he shaved his head - for from time to time when he shaved it, for it was very heavy for him, so he shaved it - the weight of the hair of his head was two hundred Imperial shekels'. Here the action is simply a part of Absalom's personal toilet and is not idiomatic or symbolic. Cf. Ezek. 44:20 (fifth cent. B.C.) where the priests are forbidden to shave their hair: 'They shall not shave their heads and shall not let loose go free. They shall clip their heads'.

2. Isa. 7:20 (8th cent.) When Isaiah tells of Yahweh calling down the Assyrians and Egyptians upon Israel, he uses symbolic imagery: 'On that day, my Lord will shave with a razor hired across the river, with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet. (i.e., the pubic hair - a euphemism). It will also sweep away the beard'. Here there is no idiomatic meaning to the shaving, but rather it is used as a metaphor for the complete destruction which Assyria would bring upon Israel.

3. Num. 6:9, 18 (P). Cf. v.19 where occurs. Here refers also to the hair (cf. p.150). Cf. also Num. 6:19 where: 'after his shaving his dedication', is a further elipsis of . Also Judg. 16:19, 22 (D).

4. Deut. 21:12 (D).

5. Num. 6:5: 'All the days of his dedicatory vow a razor shall not pass over his head. Until the completion of the days which he dedicated to Yahweh he shall be holy; he shall grow the loose hair of his head'. (Cf. Judg. 16:17 (D) in which Samson, who was a Nazirite, said: 'a razor hasn't been on my head for I am one dedicated to God ...')
is ended that the hair may be cut: נַעֲמַתָּנוּ חֶרְצָנוּ מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ מִצְרָא יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה.

The Nazirite shall shave his consecrated head at the opening of the Tent of Meeting, and shall take the hair of his dedicated head and put it on the fire which is under the whole offering' (Num.6:18). While the action of shaving the head is literal in this context, it is also symbolic of the termination of the vow of consecration. As well as signifying breaking the vow, shaving is also part of the purification process which could be needed to establish the relationship if it was broken by involuntary impurity.

1.2 Deuteronomy 21 records the procedure to be followed if an Israelite wished to marry a foreign woman taken as a prisoner of war. He is told: נַעֲמַתָּנוּ חֶרְצָנוּ מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ מִצְרָא יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה. 'Bring her into your house and shave her head and do her nails' (v.12). It has

1. If the Nazirite comes into contact with a dead person: נַעֲמַתָּנוּ חֶרְצָנוּ מֵאֱלֹהֶיךָ מִצְרָא יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה יֵשָׁמֵשָׁנָה. '... and his dedicated head has been defiled, he shall shave his head. On the day of his purification, on the seventh day, he shall shave it'. (Num.6:9). Cf. Ezek. 44:20 (p.152, n.1) in which the priests, as part of their dedication, were not to shave their heads.

2. Cf. Num.6:9 (n.1 above) and Judg.16:19 where Samson was shaved and his strength left because he was no longer consecrated to Yahweh.

3. Cf. Num.6:9 (n.1 above) and Lev.14:8-9 (p.151, n.1) where shaving is part of the purification from a skin disease.

4. She is then to remove her prisoner's clothes and mourn her family for a month, following which she can become his wife.
been suggested that these actions were part of either mourning,¹ or purification rites.² The context does include mourning (v.13) so the two actions could be part of this ritual, but they do not occur elsewhere in the OT in this context.³ The second possibility appears more attractive since shaving the head does occur in this context of purification elsewhere.⁴ A further suggestion has been made that the action signified removal from the slave status.⁵ This is apparently understood as a parallel with the Akkadian abbuttu(m)⁶ or 'slave-mark' but there is no evidence in the OT for such a practice.⁷


2. M. Kline, Treaty of the Great King (1963), p.107. von Rad, op.cit., also suggested that the ritual might have been done in order to prevent the infection of a foreign religion, which is also a form of purification.

3. But cf. Lev.21:5 (P) in which the priests were told that if someone close to them died: 'They shall not cause a baldness on their head nor shave the corners of their beard ...'. Here the context is explicitly 'that of grief', but the phrases for the actions involved are different. Cf. also IV C 2.1 and 2.2, pp. 156-157 and 5.2, p. 163.


5. Kline, op.cit.

6. For a brief discussion see Driver and Miles Babylonian Laws I, pp.306-309.

7. The practice recorded in Deut.15:16-17 (D) of symbolically fastening the slave to the house by piercing his ear with an aul is not a parallel since the slavery is permanent and the mark is not removable.
1.3 נְלֵךְ is used once of נְפַסְּקָה. ¹ נְפַסְּקָה is used of the 'side' or 'edge' or 'fringe' of inanimate objects such as tables or fields, as well as of the head, where it is generally understood as the 'temple', ² being the edge of the top of the head. The passage in which it occurs concerns the priests' orders not to defile themselves with the dead. They are told: לא-试验区 פֹּסַח גָּרֹות יָמָנוֹת וְפֹסַח יָמָנוֹת לָא; יָמָנוֹת וְרַבּוֹן לָא יַצְרֵשׁ שׁעַת. 'They shall not make a bald-spot on their head and they shall not shave the fringe of their beard and they shall not lacerate their flesh' (Lev.21:5). Baldness and self-laceration were part of the mourning procedure. ³ Shaving the fringes of the beard is also one of these mourning rites.

Commentators have stated that the reason for the forbidding of making oneself bald along with self-laceration and other actions was that these rites were part of the current pagan environment at the time of the writing of these passages. ⁴

1. Lev.21:5 (P).

2. Cf. BDB, p.802 (sub נְפַסְּקָה); KB, pp.749-750 (sub נְפַסְּקָה); L'emploi, p.71.

3. In Jer.16:5 (D), which is in the context of widespread death in the land, the prophet says that not only will the dead go unburied and unmourned, but one will not lacerate oneself or be made bald for him. Baldness is also associated with self-laceration in Deut.14:1 (D) in which both are forbidden of the Israelites because they are sons of Yahweh and consecrated to him from among the nations. Cf. also e.g. Isa.22:2 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.); Jer.10:16; 45:7; 48:37 (D); Amos 8:10 (eighth cent. B.C.); Mic.1:1b (D) where baldness, laceration, or both, symbolise mourning.

is used twice in elliptical expressions where has dropped out. In Jer. 7:29 (D) it occurs with as its direct object\(^1\) and in Job 1:20 (fifth-third cent. B.C.) with as the direct object.\(^2\) Both are in the context of mourning.

2.1 Because Judah had done evil and turned away from Yahweh, Jeremiah writes: 'Shear your dedication and throw it away; raise a lament on the bare heights...' (Jer 7:29). It is not clear from the context what the relationship is between the shearing and the mourning. The former could simply be symbolic of mourning.\(^3\) A more satisfactory explanation of the author’s choice of words is to see the as indicative of a special relationship with Yahweh which Israel had prior to their apostasy. They are told to shear this off to symbolise the loss of relationship and then to mourn the fact that they are no longer unique to Yahweh and that he has rejected them.

2.2 which is generally used of sheep, would appear to denote a rough, unfinished cutting, which would be expected as a spontaneous show of grief. It is also this verb which

1. Cf. p. 152, n. 3 concerning the ellision of .
2. Cf. p. 151 concerning .
is used when Job was told of the death of his family:


'Job arose, tore his garment, sheared his head, and fell to the earth, worshipping' (Job 1:20). Here the shearing occurs with tearing the clothes, which is a common sign of mourning. This strengthens the interpretation of אַבַּל , with אָשַׁר elided, symbolising grief and mourning.

3. יָסַר, 'to cut'

The three times that יָסַר is used of the hair in the OT, it occurs as the passive participle in the form of יָסָרָה , 'trimmed fringes'. In two instances it is in the context of a list of peoples, e.g. Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites and Moab (Jer.9:25), Jerusalem, Judah, Egypt, Uz, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the western islands, Dedan, Tema and Buz (Jer.25:23). This suggests that יָסָר is also an ethnic designation. These people are further defined in Jer.9:25 as: יָסָרֶהּ מְאֹד יֶשֶׁבֶת בֶּנְבוֹת 'those with trimmed fringes who live in the desert'. This probably is the desert to the east of Israel, since the rest of the peoples in the verse are from that area. In Jer.49:32, the יָסָרֶהּ are again associated with eastern peoples, Qedar and Hazor, who will be destroyed by Assyria.


2. The verb is used of a number of objects including hands and feet, a spear, vessels, etc. Cf. BDB, p.893 (sub יָסַר ); KB, pp.848-849 (sub יָסַר ).

This is apparently an ethnic designation used by Israel for others as a description of a noticeable physical trait rather than the normal geographic designation. The exact physical characteristic is difficult to determine although presumably there was a shaved or shortened portion of hair, possibly between the hair and the beard. It is also not possible to discover the significance, if any, of this form of hair style.¹

4 שַׁמְנָה, 'to burnish'

4.1 The verb שַׁמְנָה is used to describe a burnished, polished sword,² or brass implement.³ שַׁמְנָה is the object of יִצְאָה

1. E. Dhorme in L'emploi, p.71 refers to a reference in Herodotus (III 8) to this style among the Arabs, and compares it to Lev.19:27 (P) in which the people were told: "לֹא מָצְמַח הַגֵּזָה הָרֶבעֶת וַלְּאַלְמַע יָמָה וְלֹא יָרְדֵּנָה תַּעֲשֵׂה 'Do not round off the fringe of your heads and do not destroy the fringe of your beard'. Here the שַׁמְנָה is specifically designated. This could have been commanded of Israel in order to visibly segregate them from some of their neighbours.


3. I Kings 7:45 (D). A man suffering from this skin disease who has his head burnished (שַׁמְנָה) is bald (שֵׁרָה), e.g. Lev.13:40 (P): אֵלָה גְּזָה בְּדַעַת יָדָיו נַעַר וַלְּאַלְמַע יָמָה, וְלֹא יָרְדֵּנָה 'and if his head is burnished at the edge of his face, he is bald ...'. The burnishing and baldness are natural results of a disease and not symbolic in any way.

The root שַׁמּוּי in the form of the Pual participle is used twice in a passage in Isa.18:2,7 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.) in a description of a people 'from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia', שַׁמְמְיָה וְלְעַם שַׁמְמְיָה (Isa.18:7) whose representatives have come for Yahweh's aid. They are
only in Ezra 9:3 (second cent. B.C.). Here Ezra, upon hearing that Israel had been intermarrying, said: "When I heard this thing I tore my clothes and my coat, I burned away the hair of my head and beard and I sat, appalled". Removing the hair is part of the process which the prophet undertakes to show his horror, shown by and grief, shown by tearing the clothes (cf. 1.3, p.155; 2, p.156). This was done before approaching God for forgiveness. Neither the verb nor the context indicate the method of depilation but only the state of hairlessness which results.

The action occurs in the same context when Nehemiah, faced with the same situation, said concerning those who had intermarried: 'I disputed with them and I cursed them and I struck some of them. I burned them and caused them to swear to God ...' (Neh.13:25 - second

thought to be a legation from the Ethiopian pharaoh, Shabakoh (710/9 - 696/5 B.C. - Bright History, chart VI), who sought to ally himself with Hezekiah against Assyria. Cf. D. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-34 (1974), p.91; J. Bright, 'Isaiah - 1', Peake's Commentary on the Bible (1962), p.502. They are described as conquerors who cause fear (זָרָה). Physically, the people are 'lanky', "םיינ, and 'burnished', כֶּנֶק. G.B. Gray in Isaiah 1 - XVIII (1912, rep.1975), p.312, posited that this was to denote the copper-coloured skin of the people. The verb does occur in the context of shiny brass (I Kings 7:45) but it is not the colour but the smoothness or lustre which is emphasized. It would thus appear that the two physical characteristics of these people noticed by the writer were their height and their hairlessness. It is not possible to determine if this 'burnishing' was a natural characteristic of these people or a practice which they followed nor, if the latter, what its significance was.
In this case the verb has only a suffixed direct object, referring to the people, but the parallel with the passage in Ezra shows that it is the hair which is involved. Now, however, Nehemiah does not remove his own hair, as had Ezra, but had the people remove theirs. Although not explicit in the context, the action could have symbolised grief and contrition, which were necessary to show the peoples' repentance before they could be restored to the proper relationship with Yahweh, which was done by the oath. The action could alternatively be taken as a general preliminary to taking an oath to Yahweh, being related to the oath rather than to the misdeeds which preceded it. This does not have any parallel from the OT. The former interpretation is preferable since the same action does signify mourning during this same period, i.e., in Ezra 9:3.

4.2 The only other time when מער is used for an action done by one person to another is in one of the Servant Songs in which the Suffering Servant said: 'יה' 'תואנ' כּ֣עַשׂשַׂיִּים לָּֽחָ֣ת? ' 'לָּנָ֣רְיְיָ֔ם שְׁפֵּ֖בִים לָ֣א הַכָּמָּה֙ מָכַ֔בֵּדָת לָרֵ֔ק. 'I gave my back to the strikers and my cheeks to the burnishers. I did not hide my face from derision and spitting' (Isa.50:6 – sixth cent. B.C.).¹ In this context of scorn and derision, 'burnishing the cheeks' is evidently one indication of

¹ Cf. III F 3, p.119.
mockery. Not only would the gesture symbolise the feelings toward the person mocked, it also would physically torment him, adding to his suffering. Here again 'hair' is not specifically mentioned but it is implicit, possibly as an elision.

5. gullubu, 'to shave

The Akkadian word for shaving or cutting the hair is gullubu.¹ It is used from the 08 period and is shown by lexical lists to denote the use of an instrument,² and so corresponds, at least in this respect, to the Hebrew verb יִּתוּף.³ The verb occurs in the context of illness,⁴

1. Previously interpreted by some as 'to cut, mark' or even 'to castrate' (cf. W. Muss-Arnolt, A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (1905), 217-218 for references). The definition adopted here has been recognized for some time and is now generally accepted; cf. Delitzsch, HUB, p.196; CAD G, pp.129-131 (sub gullubu); AHw., p.297 (sub gullubu(m) II).


3. Cf. C 1, p. 152, n.2; p. 152, n.5.

4. E.g. SU 51/78:116 in STT I 38 (pl. LII); K.2354+:4,5,6, 18-19,22 in CT XXIII, pp.23-24 - NA. In the latter, gullubu is part of the treatment of a number of varied illnesses. Usually the head, or the affected part of it, is shaved in order to apply a poultice, e.g. itti(KI) isqūq(uZI.KUM) tuballal(HI.HI) ina mā(A) kasī(SILA₃.SAR) talā₃(SID₃₃₃₃₃) takammi(LAL) pān(IGI) mursī(GIG) tu-gal-lab addi(EN) iballut(TI) la tasammid(LAL), 'mix it with flour, knead it in mustard-water, bind it on. Shave the sickness but do not bandage it until it lives' (K.2345:53). In this context no symbolism or idiomaticity is involved.
or death, an incantation, taking over a new job, or punishment.

5.1 In 'The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur', the poor man sets out to deceive the mayor of Nippur: (116) ū-gal-līb-ma kal pi-ir-ti [na?] me X [XXX] (117) na-aq-me- e ši-ki
išāti(IZI) um-tal-[12 zu-mur-su?], 'he shaved all of his hair.

He covered his body with ashes' (SU 51/78).

When he was seen by the gatekeeper, he was apparently taken as a sick person. If this is what the gatekeeper understood, he must have seen the ashes and shaved head as either a treatment of disease or symbolic of disease. Since both needed to be purposely carried out, neither would be a natural symptom. It is not possible from the context to determine if the actions were symbolic, but probably they were simply

1. Nabonidus HI, B III:30-31 in AnSt 8 (1958), p.52 - NB.
2. K.1350+1 in CI XXXVIII, pl.33.
3. E.g. K.122:16, r.7 and passim in ABL 43 (p.41); K.891:16, 17 in Pinches Wedge Writing, pl.17; 83-1-18, 58:6,13”,1.
4 in LAS 310 (p.264, translit. only); PSBA XV (1893), p.417:7,8; VAT 9194:20,21,28 in AnOr 8, 48 (pl.52*) - all NA.
4. E.g. LH4127; VAT 1547:8 in VAS VIII 102 (pl.50); Bu 91-5-9, 2190:14-15 in CI VIII, pl.45 - all OB; ana ittišu 7 III:31 in MSL I, p.102 - NB.
6. STT I 38.
7. The gatekeeper asked: (121) mannu atta ša tamar/rušu, 'how have you become ill?'. 
recognised as part of the treatment (cf. p. 151, n.4).

5.2 The verb appears in an NB text which, although broken, is a description of the general mourning of the people when Nabonidus' mother died. In the immediate context, something, possibly dust (but the tablet is broken), is thrown on the head. The clothes are then thrown off and people are shaved:

(28) ... lu-bu-$/i$-šu-un/ (29) sa-ah-pu i-na ? - i u₄-mu XX
(30) sābē(ERIM??,MEŠ?) māti(KUR) ka-la-ma pe-e$/i-?-tu-šu-ny$?
(31) ū-gal-li-bu-ma, 'their clothes are cast off, on the seventh day'; the people of the land shave all of /their/ ha/i$r/ (Nabonidus HIB III). If pērtu is to be reconstructed from the remaining sign, the shaving of the hair is explicitly mentioned. In any case, these gestures are symbolic of grief and mourning.2


2. The gesture of shaving the head also occurs in the NE incantation series Šumma-ašu, K.1350+:1, CT XXXVIII, pl.33. It concerns a man who will die if he sees a snake. If he wishes to live, he must do two things, including shaving his cheeks: Šumma(BE) a-wīlu(LU) Šuātu(BI) ba-lātu(TI.LA)
ha-$ši$h gaqqadu(SAG,DU) ŏ-har-ra-ar lētā(TE.MES)-šu
ū-gal-la$b, 'If that man desires to live, let him scrape (?) his head and shave his cheeks'. Here 'hair' is not explicitly mentioned but is implicit to the action. F. Nötscher in Or 39-42 (1929), p.110, states that this action parallels the Hebrew יָנֶשׁ (Jer.41:5), and יָנֶשׁ (Isa.15:2) when they symbolise mourning (cf. p.154, n.3). This could be the correct interpretation of the gestures, but the lack of mention of mourning in this context, plus the rarity of this gesture symbolising mourning, would lessen the certainty of this explanation, although not ruling it out, especially with nothing else to propose in its place.
5.3 There are several texts in which the verb *gullubu* is used in the context of one taking up various priestly positions or those otherwise related to the temple.\(^1\) The positions include a high priest,\(^2\) humbler temple personnel,\(^3\) and other unspecified positions.\(^4\) Some of these texts describe the purpose of the shaving by saying for which job the person is being shaved, the form being *gullubu ana (muhbi)*...\(^5\)

The ritual of shaving itself was done in the presence of the god, *ina mahar/pāni* ....\(^6\) The shaving of the head of a person in the presence of a god before entering into a temple office thus symbolises his appointment,\(^7\) or at least is part of the appointment ritual which comes to signify the appointment itself, another example of synecdoche in which part signifies the whole.

1. E.g. K.122:r.4, r.7 and passim, ABL 43; K.891:16,18, Pinches Wedge Writing, pl.17; 83-1-18, 58:5',13',r.4, AOAT 43; PSBA XV (1893), p.417:7,8; VAT 9194:28, AnUr 8, 48.


3. I.e., *ērib bitūtu* (\(\text{\textbf{\textit{1U.TU.E-U-TU}}\)) in VAT 9194:27, AnUr 8,48; \(\text{\textbf{\textit{JANGO(JUSANGA)}}}\) - priest or scribe in K.122:r.1 - r.5, ABL 43; 83-1-18, 58:r.4, LAG 310.


7. Cf. e.g. ArOr 6 (1934), p.193; AOS 6, p.241; HA 4(1902), p.514 and CAD 9, p.126 (sub *hāsi*) for this interpretation.
This tonsure was important because in some texts it is said to have been done by the king, although this does not appear always to be the case. This shaving was not to be taken lightly as is shown by several texts in which an investigation was said to have been undertaken to determine whether the appointment would be in order. Reasons given for the fitness of an appointee (ana gullubu ṭābi), besides those mentioned, include the fact that a person's elder brother is already an appointee. The unshaved state while holding an office was, at least at one time, anomalous and to be rectified.

One of these texts points to a temporary change in policy as regards this practice in the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib by its not being observed. This evidently not welcomed and the reinstatement of the practice was called


2. Cf. VAT 9194, Anūr 8, 48, a letter to temple workers, saying: (21) ... ba-šu-uk-ku-nu la nu-gal-šu-šu, 'without you we will not appoint (i.e. shave) him', which leads to the conclusion that if permission would have been granted, the writers would have performed the shaving themselves.

3. VAT 9194: 27-28, ibid.: u Id. Marduk (AMAR. UTU)-šūma (MU)-idin (MU) abi (ŠES)-šu ra-bu-ū ... gu-ul-lu-ub.

4. 83-1-18, 58, LAS 310, in which a boy, taking his father's position after the latter's death, 'stands with his hair': issi (TA) pērtu izzaz (11. 10' & 11'). The letter written then says: šum-ma ma-har inā inī (IGI) šarri (LUGAL) bēlī (EN)-ia (13) lu-gal-li-ū-sū, 'if it is acceptable to the king, my lord, may they shave him'. This shows that gullubu is done to the hair (pērtu).
for during Esarhaddon's reign.¹

In summary, people considered for some positions related to the temple during the NA and NB periods were investigated and, if found adequate, were given an appointment. This appointment was in many cases marked by the shaving of the hair of the appointee. If someone was serving in a position in which it was expected to have a tonsure in this manner without being so shaved it would be a matter of note. The interpretation of 'to consecrate' has been put forward for this action of appointment.² Since this word in English contains the connotation of a special reservation for the holy, which is also found in the semantic field of qullubu, it would be a better translation than 'to appoint'.

.............

5. K,122:r.4, ABL 43: issi(TA) re-e-ši gal-lu-bu, 'Previously they were shaved'; (r.27): ket-tū ina la-bi-ri a-du libbi(SA) ṣarru(MAN)-kēn(GIN) śīn (XXX)-aḫḫē(PAP,MEŠ)-rābu(SU) (r.28) gal-lu-bu, 'True in the olden days, until those of Sargon and Sennacherib, they were shaved'.

1. There must have been some call for an explanation of why the practice was not being carried out in Esarhaddon's reign, which this letter answered. l.r.5 - ki-i an-ni-i šu-u-tū te-en-šu-nu - 'for this is their story'.

2. E.g. CAD G, p.130 (sub qullubu 2); AHw., p.297 (sub qullubu 2); AJSI XXII (1905), p.52, n.6.
5.4 There are several texts in which the phrase muttata(m) gullubu(m) occurs in the context of a punishment. All of the OB passages have muttatam gullubum as the punishment of making a false accusation or claim. In all three of these legal cases, the judges are involved in exacting or calling for the shaving. The word muttatam is interpreted to mean 'half', but there is controversy as to what 'half' is meant. From the previous discussed uses of the verb gullubu, however, it is suggested that what is meant is that half of the hair is shaved as part of a punishment. It has been pointed out that this symbolic action did not deprive the recipient of his status as a free man, which was expressed in a different way, during the OB periods.

1. E.g. LH §127: šum-ma a-wi-lum ... ú-ba-nam ú-ša-at-ri-is-mu la uk-ti-in šu-a-ti ma-ḥar da-a-ni i-na-ad-du-ú-šu ú mu-ut-ta-šu ú-gal-la-bu, 'If a man makes an accusation (i.e., points a finger) and does not prove it, that man shall be cast before judges and they shall shave his 'half'.

2. In VAT 1547, WAS VIII 102, two people make a claim and the case is tried by the judge: (7) /di-nam ú-ša-ḫi-zu-šu-nu-ti (7) /aš-šum ir-gu-mu ar-nam i-mi/du-šu/ (8) /mu-ut-ta-as-su ú-qa-li-bu, 'He shall try the case since he made a claim. They shall impose a penalty (upon him). They will shave his 'half'. The lacunae are supplied by M. Schorr in VAB 5, p.264 from Bu 91-5-9, 2190, CT VIII, pl.45, (cf. VAB 5, p.263, n. on 14-16) in which a claim was made (12) dajānu(DI.KUD.MEŠ) di-nam ú-ša-Ša-(13) ū-zi-šu-nu-ti-ma (14) mu-ut-ta-as-su (15) a-na gu-ul-lu-bi-im (16) id-di-nu-ma, 'The judges tried the case; they gave his 'half' to be shaved'.

3. AHw., p.689 (sub muttatu(m)).


5. I.e. gullubum ... ana kaspim nadānu in e.g. MAH 15954:19 in Szlechter Tablettes 19 (pl.XI).
The two later texts are lexical lists. One is a copy of a Sumerian-Akkadian phrasal lexicon and does not supply any context for the phrase, but in the other the phrase again occurs in the context of punishment. This is very similar in form to OB texts in which the adopted parents, master, or sister were not to be disrespected. In all of these OB texts, however, the pattern is different from the NB text since in the former the person is shaved and then sold, but here he is just expelled (1.33, 之內容). The gesture muttatu(m) gullubu(m) could be interpreted as to demean or degrade. If this was the reason for shaving half of the head, part of the punishment would have been the scoffing and ridicule to be received when the recipient appeared in public. If so, this would explain why the recipient was to be taken through the town in the NB text.

1. K.4580 in CT XIX, pl. 30 - NA.

2. ana ittišu 7 III (MSL I, p.102) - NB: (29) šum-ma ma-ru a-na um-um-šu (30) ū-ul um-ši at-ta iq-ta-bi(31) mu-ut-ta-ar-su ū-gal-du-ma (32) a-la-am ū-sa-ša-ša-ru-su, 'If a son says to his mother, "You are not my mother", they will shave his half and cause him to pass through the town'.

3. MAH 15954:18, Szlechter Tablettes, pl.XI; YBC 11174:8-10 in JCS 14, p.32; ARM VIII 7.12-16 (pl.1); AO 4498:10 in TCL I, 146 (pl.LXXIX); Bu 88-5-12, 210: 17-19 in Meissner BAP 95 (pl.44).

4. 91-5-9, 374, 7-9 in CT VIII, pl.22b; 91-5-9, 707:4-7 in CT VI, p.37.

5. Bu 88-5-12, 21; 13-15 Meissner BAP 89 (pl. 41).

6. la i-pa-la-aš: VAT 8802:19 in KAJ 6 (pl.4).

7. Cf. VAB 5, p.522; Bezold, Glossar, p.97b for this interpretation.

8. Cf. p.167, n.2. above where the same punishment is used.
This ridicule would be an appropriate punishment in the OB cases in which, by making accusations and claims, the person accused would be subject to the same reaction on the part of the people until they were proved false. The symbolic meaning of degrading and causing ridicule is strengthened by the Hebrew parallel in which half of the beard was shaved as a sign of derision, even though this is not in the same legal context.

6 basāpu, 'to pluck out'

basāpu occurs in an NA text with pēru, 'hair', as its direct object in the context of defeat and in a ritual from the same period with šārtu, 'hair', as its object.

When Sargon II defeated Mušašir and pillaged it, Ursa, the king of Urartu, upon hearing what was happening:

(411) ... gqaq-qa-riš ip-pal-si-ib na-ah-lap-a-te-šu
ú-šar-riš-ma uš-še-ra i-de-e-šu (412) iš-hu-ùt ku-šu-us-su
pi-rat-su ih-si-ip-ma ú-rep-pis4 līb-ba-šu i-na ki-lal-li-šu
bu-up-pa-niš is-sa-bi-ip (413) iz-ziz-ma šur-ru-šu ih-mu-ta
ka-bat-tuš i-na pi-i-šu it-taš-ku-nu qu-ub-bi-e ma-šu-ú-te,
'he threw himself to the ground, he tore his garments, he

1. II Sam. 10:4 (D): ša-ibbī šu-širati nāšaša šešaša šu-pēli[n], 'Hanun took David's servants and shaved off half of their beards. He cut their garments in half as far as their buttocks, and shut them away' (par. I Chr. 19:4).

2. TCL III:412 (pl. XX) - NA.

3. K. 479 IV:r.13' in LKA 70 (pl.94). The performer of the ritual is to: (13) 7-šu iqabbı(DUG4, GA)-ma šārat(SIG)
pūti(SIG, KI)-šu u sissikta(TUG.SIG)-šu ta-bas-sig, 'Seven times will he say it (i.e., the incantation), the hair of his forehead, and his hem, he will pluck'. The action has no apparent meaning other than as a ritual act.
bared his arms, he stripped off his royal headdress, he pulled out his hair, he struck his heart with both (his fists), he threw himself on his face, his heart became furious, his liver burned, in his mouth were made cries of bitterness' (TCL III).

This action, which is done by a defeated king to himself, occurs as one of a list of things done when he learned of the defeat of one of his cities. These actions do not shed much direct light on the context since they themselves are ambiguous. In the immediate context there is rage and bitterness which suggests that the action is an expression of these emotions.

4. So read by CAD K, p.356 (sub kilāllān). F. Thureau-Dangin in TCL III, p.54 read it as ū-dan-nin. For this meaning of rapāsu cf. SMN 528 in HSS IX 10 (pl.VIII) in which a slave says to the judges: (4) ... Ṭuppia ṣa ēnti(NIN,DINGIR,RA) (5) irtapsannimi, 'Ṭuppia,(slave) of the high priestess, beat me'. That this is the correct interpretation of the verb is shown by the following actions of the judges, who inspect the blows on the slave's body (cf. p.143 n.5 above). Cf. also 1929-10-12, 1:58 in Thompson Asb. pl.2 (var. in III R 15 I:3) and MS I, p.170:5b for examples of the same meaning of rapāsu.

1. E.g. buppānīšu issabbap occurs in a text describing the action of a sick man (K.2001 IV:4,12 in ABRT I, pl.17. Cf. also CAD B, p.322 (sub buppānišu). When used in the context of defeat (i.e., K.2574 II:27 in CT XXXV, pl.11) the verb is in the ġ-stem and the action is a metaphor for the defeat itself.
Chapter V  Comparison and Conclusion

As noted in the Introduction, a comparison of the different gestures, both intralinguistically and interlinguistically, is a part of this research. This can be done only after an analysis of the gestures in each context in which they occur. This analysis seeks, as far as possible, to establish the meaning of the gesture, whether literal, metaphorical, or idiomatic, each time it is used. This first step having been undertaken in the preceding chapters, the comparisons can now be made. These include a study of the different gestures used in similar contexts, both within a single language and also comparatively between Hebrew and Akkadian. Also included is a diachronic analysis to see if the meaning of the gestures shifted during the course of time. In addition, there is a study of the division of the various semantic fields, which are indicated by different contexts, between the gestures involved. Finally, there is a comparative analysis of the semantic ranges of the different gestures.

Literal and metaphorical uses.

1. As can be expected, gestures which are either literal or metaphorical often share their semantic fields with other gestures. The gestures which occur in the context of disease illustrate this. *pāna subburu* and *mubhā* *mabāšu* are both used to describe debilities, based on a physical symptom which in the former case is apparently literal and, in the latter, either literal or metaphorical.¹ Both *חַתַּמְת* (חַתִּית) and *pērta gullubu* occur as part of the diagnosis of, and purification from, a disease (ךָּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּ
2. The natural action undertaken in order to speak to a person or a god who is above the speaker, either literally or metaphorically, is to 'raise the head, face'. In both languages the gesture occurs in this context,\(^1\) as well as in the context of simply looking a long distance.\(^2\) In Hebrew, the gesture is done in order to address the queen who was literally above the speaker, while in Akkadian, gods are addressed. The redirection of attention towards, or away from, someone or something is also done by 'turning the head, face'.\(^3\) Also, the head or face is covered in order to forestall contact.\(^4\)

In each instance, the actions are literal or metaphorical with the 'attention' directed or diverted by turning or covering the head or face. 'Seeing' or 'attending to' has been further extended to include 'understanding', which is also withheld if the head is

1. רֶׁש֣֔א נָ֖שׁ: II B 1, p. 91, n. 4; רֶׁש֣֔א נָ֖שׁ: II B 3, p. 31, n. 1 and possibly רֶׁש֣֔א דֵּק֣ו: II B 5, p. 50. See also פָּנָא נָ֖שׁ, p. 190 below.

2. רֶׁש֣֔א עִלּ֖ו: II B 5, p. 45, n. 3.


covered. Since 'seeing', 'paying attention to', and 'understanding' are part of the same semantic range, it is not surprising that the head or face, which is the seat of these actions, is used in these phrases. This field is divided slightly differently in each of the two languages. '.covered' is used exclusively, except in the case of 'understanding', when 'face' is used. 'Understanding' does not occur in the semantic range of the Akkadian gestures and both 'face' and 'head', i.e., pāna and reša/qaqqada, are used where only nizz₂ was found in Hebrew. In one case, i.e., kāzā nizz₂, the choice of verb is significant, the phrase being more meaningful than a literally synonymous phrase would have been. The other verbs are simply extended metaphorically.

The different phrases for these gestures occur in different periods. 'Turning the head' is only found in the early second millennium, while 'turning the face' is used in Akkadian from that period until the mid-first millennium and in Hebrew, in the mid-and late first millennium. 'Raising the head' only occurs in mid-first millennium texts while 'covering the head and face' occur earlier in Hebrew (early until late first millennium) than in Akkadian (late first millennium). This could, as in every case, be an accident of discovery.

1. šār nizz₂: II G 1, pp.84-85.
2. II F 4, pp.120-121.
With the metaphorical transfer from the literal 'head' to the 'top', it is a logical step to use the noun with verbs for 'raising' and 'making high' in building inscriptions. This step was taken in Akkadian with the resultant meaning of 'to build (high)' from the early second until the mid-first millennium, but it was not done in the Hebrew literature.

In both Hebrew and Akkadian, some non-animate or abstract thing is metaphorically the subject in the clause "... covers the face" in the context of a strong emotion, e.g., fear or shame. The two languages are very similar in the choice of subjects of the actions. They include darkness, which produces fear, as well as the emotions themselves. In each case, the object of the clause is completely overwhelmed by this emotion. This is a shift from being literally covered, e.g., with water, to being metaphorically 'inundated' by a strong emotion. The Hebrew phrase occurs throughout the first millennium while the phrase with būna occurs in late second – early first millennium texts and that with pāna in those from the mid-first millennium.

2. reša(m) našu(m): II B 3, p.31, n.3 and reša(m) uļļu(m): II B 5, p.45, n.1.
Symbolic and idiomatic gestures

The extension in usage of some gestures from the literal to the symbolic is apparent in some cases, even though the exact meaning of the gesture in a particular context is not discernable from an analysis of the idiom itself. This semantic expansion can at times be traced by the occurrence of the gesture in texts in which it is used literally as well as in those in which it is an intermediate stage of extension. There are also cases in which the connection between the symbolic use is only clear in retrospect, i.e., after the symbolic meaning has already been independantly determined.

At other times, any connection between the literal gesture and its idiomatic meaning has been completely lost, at least to the present-day student of Hebrew and Akkadian. These do not share the possible advantage of verifying the validity of an interpretation internally, i.e., within the gesture itself, but must depend solely on contextual support for a given interpretation.

1. Symbolic gestures whose interpretation is open to internal verification after it has been discovered include those in which the action is a natural response to an emotion or to an outside stimulus.

1. Symbolic gestures are a form of idiom since their meaning, which is more than the sum of the meaning of the component parts, is not completely discernable from an analysis of the symbolic gesture itself.

2. Cf. U. Weinreich's conclusions on p. 4 above.
1.1 In both Hebrew and Akkadian pride is symbolised by a raised head. This is a natural response to the emotion and so there is no surprise that it occurs in both languages, which use verbs having the same semantic range of 'raising'. Hebrew uses both the 'head' and 'face' in this context, while Akkadian has only the former. The 'raised head' in Hebrew occurs throughout the first millennium, while the 'raised face' only occurs in the last half of this time span. In Akkadian, on the other hand, ŭlla occurs in the early part of this period while ŭlla is found only in the middle. In both languages, some of the phrases are negated and used of humiliation, while others, not being negated, are used of pride.

1.2 A raised head is also a natural response to joy and is symbolic of it. This is found in Akkadian, but not in Hebrew. In this case, both of the verbs, i.e., šaqû and elû, occur in the stative (Zustand) G-stem, and thus do not describe the actual action of raising the head, but rather the resultant state. The two sure cases of this usage are of early and middle second millennium date, while the doubtful one is mid-first millennium. This would


2. ŭlla and šaqû.

3. šaqû and ŭlla.

4. ŭlla : II B 4.1.1, p. 40 and šaqû elû : II B 5.1, p. 46. Also possibly II B 4.1.3, pp. 41-42.
argue against the latter having this meaning, especially since the other possible interpretation of the gesture, while not having contemporary Akkadian parallels, does have parallels with similar gestures from the Hebrew at the same period.¹

These two emotions being expressed by the same gesture show how comparison in retrospect can support an interpretation but not necessarily help in its formulation. The gesture itself is ambiguous until studied in context, which assists in determining its correct meaning in each case. In this case, however, the texts in which these two emotions occur are from different periods.

1.3 Fear is indicated, in the mid-first millennium at least, by a shaking head.² This is a natural reaction and is paralleled in the same context of fear in Hebrew by a similar action, i.e., 'trembling' יד.³ No part of the body is the explicit object of the verb, while in Akkadian it is the head.

1. Cf. 1.1, pp. 177 and n.1.
2. qaggada nāšu: II E 3.1, p.73.
3. Ex.15:15 (E) and Ps.55:6 (Davidic).
1.4 Also during this period the shaking head is indicative of wrath. The action could be the spontaneous result of uncontrolled wrath, or else it could have been a deliberate gesture on the part of the enraged person in order to show his anger. The context does not assist in determining which interpretation is correct.

These last two uses of qaqqada nāṣu illustrate the vital importance of the context for overcoming the ambiguity of a gesture since the same action is indicative of two different emotions during the same period.

Another gesture in the same context of wrath during this period is 'pulling out the hair'. Both it and the shaking head appear to symbolise spontaneous rage since they are brought about by a single action, whether trespass or defeat.

1.5 Several different symbolic gestures are used to indicate grief. They include 'covering the face' and 'shaving the hair' in the late first millennium. The former action seems to be centered upon the mourner, who hides his face from others in order to hide his grief. The gesture also serves

1. qaqqada nāṣu: II E 3.2, pp. 73-74.
2. pērtā hasāpu: IV C 6, pp. 169-170.
as an indication to others of the emotions of the bereaved.
Shaving is an external indication of sorrow which is symbolic rather than functional, as hiding the face had been in order to secure privacy. 'Burnishing the head' is also done in the context of grief during an even later period. This could have usurped the place of the other phrases for 'shaving' which had been used earlier in Hebrew literature, but the lack of other phrases in Ezra-Nehemiah could simply be a historical accident since they are such a restricted corpus. The use of שָׁלִּג possibly as late as a century before these passages (using conventional dating) in a similar context suggests that this is the case. It is noteworthy that none of these gestures were used in this context of mourning prior to the mid-first millennium.

1.6 Scorn and ridicule are symbolised by several gestures, including 'striking the cheek', 'burnishing the cheek', and 'shaving half (of the head)'. All three of these actions are demeaning to the one against whom they are directed. 'Burnishing' and 'shaving' also cause the person to be physically marked so as to be a visible object of

derision, so greatly increasing his suffering. 'Shaving' is used as a punishment in the early second millennium and in the mid-and late first millennium. In these periods the ridicule and scorn which results from this symbolic action thus serves as part of the punishment.

'Shaking the head' also shares the semantic field of scorn. Unlike the previous gestures, which were done directly to the person scorned, this is done reflexively and indicates the attitude of the performer towards the person despised, not by a physical assault upon his person but rather as a strictly symbolic gesture.

These gestures symbolising scorn occurred in Akkadian early in the second millennium and then again, after a long time gap, concurrently with the Hebrew gestures during the first millennium.

1.7 'Shaking the head' also occurs in the context of shocked disbelief and horror at the sight of the destruction of a city in first millennium Hebrew texts. This could well be a sign of sympathy at the terrible fate which is seen. Once again, the correct interpretation of these ambiguous gestures must be determined from the context.

1. ד"ס : II E 1, p. 71; נ"ס : II E 2, pp. 72-73.
2. ד"ס : II E 1, pp. 70-72; נ"ס : II E 2, pp. 72-73.
2 The extension in the use of several other gestures can be seen since there are extant texts in which both the literal and the extended meanings occur.

2.1 Two stages in the extended use of gestures literally and idiomatically meaning 'to help, comfort' occur in Akkadian texts. Literal comfort and care is indicated by 'raising the head' of a sick person.¹ 'Assistance' is also expressed by the same and similar phrases in contexts where the action was probably not carried out but the phrase is an idiom.² All of these cases use verbs literally meaning 'to raise', with našû(m) used from the early second to the mid-first millennium. The other two verbs, i.e., ūqqu and matāhu, only occur in the mid-first millennium in this context.

'Assistance' is also indicated by the phrase būnam našûm in early second millennium texts.³ Instead of one person performing the action upon another in order to help them, as had been done with 'raising the head', this phrase indicates a reflexive action directed towards (ana) the person aided. The idiom is distinct from those previously mentioned in this section since it is the face, rather than the head, which is raised. This idiom has a much shorter period of use than the previous idiom.

1. reša(m) našû(m): II B 3.2, p.33.
2.2 Another extension in the use of a phrase denoting a physical action is that of 'striking the head' found in a military context. In each case the verb itself literally indicates a physical blow, which is extended to include a military attack, both of which fit well into the context of these phrases. In each case the object of the action is a group of people who are hostile toward the one who inflicts the 'blow'. The result of the action is of a longer duration than a simple attack, so each has been interpreted as indicating the defeat and subjugation of the enemy. The phrases themselves are idiomatic, since they have a greater meaning than can be obtained by internal analysis, but they are not symbolic, since the phrases themselves mean the actual defeat rather than denoting a gesture which serves as a representation of something. The texts in which the idioms occur are early in the literature of the two peoples, i.e., early to mid-second millennium in Akkadian texts and early to mid-first millennium in the OT.

In both Hebrew and Akkadian, the subject of the idiom is either Yahweh or the king, who is thus credited with bringing about the victory. This is the case in all of the examples except qaggada rasû/rašû, II C 4, p.57, in which it is the king's army, rather than the king himself, to whom the credit is due. This could reflect a shift from the concept of the all-powerful king, but this distinction within the

the same semantic range cannot be counted as significant since there are not enough examples of the latter usage for comparative purposes.¹

The same meaning of 'defeat, subdue' is also found with the simple verb of the idioms in contemporary or later texts. This could be an example of the elision of the body part from the idiom without loss of meaning, which is possible since, by the definition of 'idiom', the meaning does not arise from the components.

2.3 There are a number of idioms in both Hebrew and Akkadian which indicate special or preferential treatment. The majority include 'raising'² or 'bringing'³ the head or face, while one is 'covering the face'.⁴ Those in which the 'head' occurs mean 'to single out', with the 'head' being an example of synecdoche for the 'person' or 'individual'. This meaning of the idiom can be confirmed in retrospect. Not only is the use of 'head' significant, with the stress on individuality as was noted above, but so too are the verbs, all of which involve raising or making higher, thus separating from the rest of the people or objects involved. The metaphorical raising of a person from among his fellows is an example of singling him out.

1. Cf. D. Stuart, 'The Sovereign's Day of Conquest', BASOR 221 (1976), pp.159-164 where כַּעְדוֹת כַּעְדוֹת, and similar concepts in the ancient Near East were associated with the idea that the ruler himself was able to win a war in a single day. The Akkadian examples which he cites are early, i.e., Ur. III to El-Amarna.

Each of these idioms is neutral, stressing only this act of distinguishing between several people or objects. It is the context in which the idiom occurs which determines whether the action is desirable or not.

The idiom in which the 'face' is raised also denotes 'setting apart', but has the additional, more specific meaning, of 'to show special favour or honour'. This action is desirable for the beneficiary of it, but is not considered so by the writer of some texts, as is shown by its condemnation in some contexts.

The last two idioms, i.e., דעי המ and ונה(מ) (w)בָּלע(מ), specifically mean 'to pardon', which is part of the same semantic range as 'to show special favour'. They are also desirable for those to whom the pardon is given, and also are acceptable practices, as shown by the contexts in which they occur.

Of the idioms involving 'raising', רה(מ) קִר(מ) was in use for the longest period, i.e., from the early second until the mid-first millennium. The other Akkadian idioms only occur in texts from the mid-first millennium.

                               ............
4. דעי המ קִר(מ) : III F 4, pp.120-121.

is found only in the second half of that period. The two idioms involving the face occur early in the respective literatures, i.e., early and mid-second millennium in Akkadian and early first millennium in Hebrew. The former is also used in a negative form during the second and first millennium as a personal epithet for enemies, so the idiom continued in use in this form for a longer time than in the active, verbal form.

3 In addition to those symbolic gestures and idioms in which the relationship between literal and extended uses are discernable, at least in retrospect, there are also those in which this relationship has been completely obscured.

3.1 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, 'shaving (the hair)' is part of the semantic field of consecration, but with opposite meanings in each language. In Akkadian this is an important act symbolising the beginning of the consecration of a person for service in a temple. The importance of the action is shown by its performance in the presence of a god, to whose service the person is dedicated. This symbolic action is only found in texts from the mid-first millennium.

In the OT, on the other hand, the hair is shaved to symbolise the termination of a period, usually of a limited duration, in which a Nazirite was especially dedicated to

1. gullubu: IV C 5.3, pp.164-166.
Yahweh. This act was also performed in the presence of the god, Yahweh, for whom the Nazirite had been set apart. There is, in addition to the termination of a period of consecration, an element of purification in this shaving, which is not in evidence in the Akkadian texts. In the Hebrew literature, the action occurs during the mid- and late first millennium.

3.2 Several idioms among those studied occur in Akkadian but have no counterpart among those in Hebrew.

3.2.1 Idioms denoting the assumption of responsibility for something are among those only found among those studied in Akkadian. Of these, qaqqadam kullum, which is restricted to guaranteeing the meeting of defaulted payments, occurs only in texts from the early second millennium. It is restricted to a financial responsibility.

puta maḫāṣu occurs during a lengthy time period, from the mid-second until the mid-first millennium with the preponderance of texts coming from earlier in this period. puta emēdu also is used during the mid-second millennium, but does not continue in use beyond this time. During this period, both of these idioms are in the context of releasing a person

from imprisonment. In the case of \textit{pūta mahāsu}, the prisoner is released in order to make a payment. If this is not forthcoming, the third party, i.e., the one who 'struck the forehead' of the prisoner, is obligated either to pay a forfeit or else ensure that the prisoner is returned to prison. Therefore, the idiom involves at times either the assumption of financial responsibility or responsibility for the presence of a person. \textit{pūta emēdu}, on the other hand, only concerns the liability for the presence of a person, whether a prisoner or a slave, which is guaranteed by the third party.

The verbs in these two idioms are directed towards different objects. In the first, i.e., \textit{pūta mahāsu}, the subject of the action 'strikes the forehead' of the prisoner, while in the second, i.e., \textit{pūta emēdu}, the action is reflexive, with the subject 'inclining his own forehead'.

It is not clear whether there is any significance in this distinction since there is an amount of overlap within the semantic range of the two idioms in the area of responsibility for the presence of a person.

Later occurrences of \textit{pūta mahāsu} (in the Nuzi texts) are in a different semantic field since they do not concern imprisonment, but rather some specific obligation for which the one who 'strikes the forehead' assumes financial responsibility if the first party defaults. This is apparently also the case in the examples of the idiom from the latter part of the first millennium, but they do not supply enough information to confirm this interpretation.
pūta našū, which only occurs during the first half of the first millennium, also involves a wide range of legal obligation, but does not concern a monetary payment. The subject of the idiom, upon the default of the original contracting party, assumes responsibility for the fulfilment of the obligation which was to be performed. It is not his duty to pay an indemnity if the obligation is not carried out, but rather to see that it was done.

The semantic range involving the assumption of responsibility is therefore divided among several idioms. This division changes over the course of time with, in one case, a shift in the meaning of one idiom. As early as the beginning of the second millennium, an idiom was used for the assumption of financial responsibility (qaqqadām kullum). Within the next few centuries another idiom had taken its place (pūta mahāṣu). This new idiom also denoted non-financial responsibility, which it shared with yet another idiom (pūta emēdu). By the middle of the second millennium pūta mahāṣu had shifted to mean a strictly financial responsibility, which continued to be its meaning through the first millennium. Meanwhile, pūta emēdu had ceased to be used for non-financial responsibility, so in the early first millennium pūta našū was used instead.

3.2.2 Two Akkadian idioms also share the semantic range of accusation and punishment.¹ Both occur only during the

¹ qaqqada(m) mahāṣu(m): II C 2.1.2, pp. 58-63; muḥba mahāṣu: II C 2.1.2, p. 55. Accusation leading to a legal suit which followed by judgement and punishment are all part of the same semantic range.
early second millennium in peripheral areas, gaggadam mahāṣum enjoys a wider geographical distribution, being found in texts from Alalakh, Mari and Susa, while muhha mahāṣu is restricted to Susa. The examples from Susa occupy the 'punishment' area of the range, while those from Mari and Alalakh concern starting a formal legal suit.

3.3 Three Akkadian idioms have parallels among neither the Hebrew nor Akkadian idioms studied. In texts from the mid-second until the mid-first millennium the idiom ṭēša naṣû has non-animate objects as its grammatical object.\(^1\) In each case the idiom is part of a process in which it appears to mean 'to determine the extent' of the object of the idiom.

ṛēša(m) kullu(m) is also part of a process in the texts in which it is used, mainly in the early second millennium, but also in the mid-first millennium. The action meant by the idiom is to be done in immediate anticipation of a further action taking place. The meaning 'to have ready and waiting' was determined for this idiom.\(^2\)

pañna naṣû, from the late second until the mid-first millennium, denoted desire or covetousness in addition to the idea of 'paying attention' which was contained by similar gestures.\(^3\) This additional nuance is only shown by the context of the idiom.

1. II B 3.4, pp.37-38.
2. II F'1.1, pp.76-79.
A perusal of the previous two sections reveals that many gestures have more than one meaning. In addition, several gestures, whether similar, as designated by synonymous phrases, or different, often share the same, or related, meaning. The latter has just been studied and now an analysis will be made of the former, i.e., the semantic ranges of the various gestures and how they compare intralinguistically. To a large extent this analysis reiterates the previous material.

'Raising the head' is designated in Hebrew by two phrases, i.e., שַׁמְיָה קֶשֶׁף and שַׁמְיָה מִיָּה, and in Akkadian by five, i.e., .rawValue(m) našû(m), .rawValue .rawValue'daqû, .rawValue'_ullûm, .rawValue matâhu and .rawValue _dekû. The latter, in its apparent usage as part of an oath, has no parallels among the gestures studied in either Akkadian or Hebrew. This is due to the limited, technical use of the idiom.

The rest of the meanings of these phrases are shared by one or more of the other members of the group. Both שַׁמְיָה קֶשֶׁף and .rawValue našû indicate decapitation, the shared range being due to the literal use of the phrase. 'Care' and 'assistance' are indicated by several of these gestures. These are based on a similar extension in

1. II B 6, p.50.
3. V C 2.1, p.182.
meaning from the literal action of lifting a sick person's head to help him. Several of these phrases, as well as those in which the object is the face, i.e., also are indications of pride and joy. This shared range is the result of the actions involved being natural reactions to these emotions. Several members of this group, as well as 'raised face', also are used to mean 'singing out' for some purpose. The difference in meaning between the phrases using 'head' and 'face' lie in the positive connotation of the latter for the object of the phrase, as compared to the neutral connotation of the former.

2. 'Striking the head' is indicated in Hebrew by and in Akkadian by and . All of these, except , share the meaning of 'defeat, subdue', which arises from the metaphorical transfer of the meaning for the verbs involved from a literal blow to a military attack. The lack of among the extant texts is noteworthy, but no significance for this can be determined. and share the additional meaning of 'accuse, bring suit', as well as 'to punish'. The latter meaning is found only in Susa to the east, while the former is restricted to Alalakh and Mari to the north-west of

1. V C 1.1, p.177.
Mesopotamia. 1 These technical, legal idioms are not paralleled in Hebrew or Akkadian among members of this group. 'Striking the face' is only used literally. 2

3 The only phrase literally meaning 'to turn the head' is gaggadam suhurum which means at least 'to redirect attention'. 3 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, however, 'turning the face' has this same meaning. 4 In Hebrew, the phrases involve the metaphorical 'turning away' of apostasy, 5 which is not contained in the Akkadian.

4 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, the phrases for 'shaking the head', i.e., נזרע and gaggada nasu, indicate strong emotions, but the two languages designate different feelings by them. In Akkadian, wrath or fear are meant, 6 while in Hebrew, it is scorn or sympathy. 7 These emotional responses can be reflexive and involuntary in each case. The significance of the different emotions supplied by the action in the two languages cannot be determined.

1. V C 3.2, pp. 189-190.
2. III C, p. 108.
3. II D 1, p. 69.
5. III D 1,2, pp. 109-110.
6. V C 1.4, p. 179 and 1.3, p. 178 respectively.
7. V C 1.6, pp. 180-181 and 1.7, p. 181 respectively.
Phrases indicating 'seizing, holding the head' occur only in Akkadian, i.e., rēša(m)/gagqada(m) kullu(m). The meanings of the former, i.e., 'to remember', a technical term in mathematical texts, and 'to hold ready and waiting', are not shared by the latter phrase, nor by any other studied here. This is apparently due to the technical nature of the first of these two meanings and the idiomaticity of the second.

qagqada(m) kullu(m) does not share the semantic usage with rēša(m) kullu(m), but it does with a number of phrases in which pūta(m) is the subject in the context of 'accepting responsibility' for something, i.e., pūta našû/mahâšû/emêdu. While these phrases all share this same general semantic range, the periods in which they occur differ, as does the division between them of the semantic field.¹

This technical use of these phrases is also unique among those studied.

The phrase 'seize the face' is not paralleled in its metaphorical meaning of 'to take the front'.²

'Covering the head' and 'covering the face' are both symbolic of grief in Hebrew and Akkadian. This is a natural response when faced with this emotion since it is something which is private, so their common use of the same gesture is not surprising.

The same gesture also denotes 'not paying attention' in both languages. This is a metaphorical extension of the phrases involved which took place in Hebrew and Akkadian.

Both also denote literal veiling. In the Hebrew passage the face was covered to avoid recognition, while in the Akkadian letters, the head was veiled prior to travel, so different parts of the head were covered for different purposes.

In addition, in both languages an emotion metaphorically 'overwhelms' the person, as indicated by the phrase 'to cover the face'.

In Akkadian, the face of a dead person, and of a bride, and are veiled, as is shown by a simile, but the meaning of the gesture is not clear. There is also no Hebrew parallel among those phrases studied. Nor is there a parallel to the same gesture accompanying prayer in Akkadian.

3. II G 3.1, p.87-88; III F 1.2, pp.11b-117.
4. V B 4, p.175.
5. III F 6.2, pp.122-123.
7 'Striking the cheek' in both Hebrew and Akkadian constitutes an insult. The action is demeaning to the one to whom it is performed. This is possibly the reason why the same gesture is used in the same context among speakers of both languages.

8 Both languages have several verbs which signify some form of depilation, e.g. יָעַף, יָעַה, יָעַה, gullubu and ḫasāpu. In both languages the object, i.e., hair, is often elided, leaving the verb to carry the entire semantic load.

Apart from literal shaving as part of personal toilet, both sets of texts use 'shaving' as part of the treatment of, or purification from, an illness. The same action also occurs in both languages in the semantic field of 'consecration' but with different symbolic meanings, i.e., starting and ending such a consecration.¹

In both languages, 'shaving' is also used as a symbol of mourning, with several different verbs being used in Hebrew while only gullubu is used in this context in Akkadian.³

In Akkadian, muttata gullubu describes a punishment, part of which is the degradation and mocking of the person to whom it was done.⁴ This mocking is also shown by a similar action of depilation in Hebrew, with 'half' being shaved in one case.⁵

5. IV C 5, p.189, n.1.
Finally, in Akkadian the hair is pulled out in an angry gesture, but this is not paralleled in the Hebrew corpus. This could, however, be simply due to the limited material available in the OT.

Conclusions

This study has shown that both Hebrew and Akkadian are rich in examples of gestures involving the head and its parts. This is evident from the frequent occurrence of this very limited number of gestures, which themselves are only a portion of those in which some part of the body is the direct object. Not only do these gestures occur in contexts in which they are literal, with no additional connotations, but also are used with metaphorical, symbolic and idiomatic meanings.

The method of analysis undertaken, i.e., study of the different phrases in the various contexts in which they occur, has proved a useful means of determining the meanings of the gestures. Where there has been difficulty in arriving at an interpretation, the fault has not been on the part of the method, but rather on the paucity of examples of a gesture in a particular context. Apart from the assessment of the suitability of an interpretation in the context, the meaning determined has also been internally verifiable, at least to a certain extent, in most cases. This has been so when the relationship between the literal phrase and its extended meaning has been recognisable, e.g. in metaphors and some symbolic gestures. In these instances, there are generally parallel phrases, usually indicating the same gesture, which have the same meaning, both within one language and also comparatively between the two.
When the meaning is idiomatic and technical, being restricted to a specific, limited situation, this parallelism does not exist either between or within one language, except when different phrases occur at different periods. It is, therefore, possible at times to gain support for a particular interpretation of a gesture if it is paralleled by a similar gesture having the same meaning when it is used in a similar context in the other of the two languages. This can only be used after the meanings of both have been determined, however, since it is not possible to be certain in advance whether the parallel semantic relationship will hold, nor to which meaning of the parallel gesture. This comparison can only be of use retrospectively, or to suggest a possible meaning which must be tested within the individual language before it can be adopted.

It has not been possible to determine from this study if there has been borrowing between Mesopotamia and Israel since the shared meanings could have arisen from parallel semantic extension rather than from borrowing. There is no parallel use of a gesture with a technical, restricted, idiomatic meaning which is used in similar contexts in both languages and which could point to borrowing.

In several instances, this analysis results in interpretations of gestures different from those previously held, or else provides a better understanding of them.

The action of 'raising the head', while being wrongly interpreted as 'to single out' in one instance,\(^1\) does in fact have this meaning in a number of cases in both Hebrew and Akkadian.\(^2\) The various occurrences of this action have previously been interpreted in different ways, but the research here shows that one meaning explains a number of contexts rather than requiring a number of different meanings of the same gesture.

An analysis of the occurrences of 'striking the head' in a military context shows that a simple 'attack' is not meant, as has been understood previously, since the action signified by the phrase results in a longer lasting effect. The translation 'to subdue, defeat' is proposed as adequately reflecting this duration.\(^3\)

In addition, it is noted that the choice of the verb in the single occurrence of לִקְנָה is significant.\(^4\)

The division of the semantic range of the different idioms meaning 'to accept responsibility for' was determined with each phrase being seen to occupy a specific place in this range. Note is also made of the change of this division through time.\(^5\)

1. II B 3.3, p.35, n.2, par.2.
2. Cf. V C 2.3, pp.184-186 and further references noted therein.
4. V C 2.2, pp.183-184 and further references noted therein.
5. V C 3.2.2, pp.187-189 and references.
\[ \text{rēša(m) kullu(m)} \] in mathematical texts has previously been interpreted idiomatically, but it is shown that in fact the clause is literal with \text{rēša(m)} as its subject rather than its object.\(^1\) The same phrase is shown to mean 'to be ready and waiting' in a number of contexts for which several different interpretations have previously been given instead of this one meaning, which explains all of the cases.\(^2\)

1. II F 1.1.1, p.76.
2. II F 1.1.2, 1.1.3, pp.76-79.
Sources which have only been consulted for an occasional reference have been duly listed in the appropriate footnote. This bibliography includes the major works to which frequent reference has been made and also those works concerned directly with the subject under study.


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