

L'anthroponyme masculin *Tuwarsai-* renvoie évidemment au louvite *tuwarsa-*, « vignoble », de même étymologie que le grec *θύρσος*⁷. Quant à IUDEX-*nis*, il se lit *tarwani-s* (nom. sing.), et désigne le dirigeant d'une cité ; le grec héritera du terme sous la forme *τύραννος* (cf. le titre des souverains de Lesbos où l'influence anatolienne [louvite] fut très intense, par exemple au niveau de l'anthroponymie)⁸.

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III. THE MEANING OF ELAMITE *MEN**

Next to its occurrence in personal names (e.g. the royal name Humpan-u-mena "Humpan is *men* to me"¹), the Elamite root *men* is attested in forms such as *menik*, *menin*², *menip* and *menir*³, whereby /i/ has a euphonic value.

⁷ CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire*, p. 447 ; au XIII^e s. av. J.-C. nombreux anthroponymes « Tuwarsa » désignant un ou plusieurs scribes, cf. HERBORDT, *Nişantepe*, n° 474-482 ; voir aussi LAROCHE, *NH*, n° 1401 et p. 339.

⁸ CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1146.

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¹ Cf. TAVERNIER, *Kings with too many names*.

² Attested one time (in EKI 74 rev. 11), this form (me-ni-en) is under debate. KHAČIKYAN (*The Elamite Language*, p. 12) considers it a substantive, whereas HINZ – KOCH (*Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 914) argue it is a verbal form. KÖNIG (*Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, p. 153) makes the mistake of separating me-ni "then" from en, which he considers part of *enkiten* "destiny".

³ Note the interesting form me-er-ri-ik ha-tam₅-ti-ik "I am the sovereign of Elam" (Humpan-u-mena: EKI 4:2 [= IRS 21:2]; cf. MALBRAN-LABAT, *Inscriptions royales de Suse*, p. 59). This form is most likely an assimilation of *men-r-i-k*.

The form *menik* is composed of the root *men*, followed by the classifying nominal suffix of the first person singular, whereas *menir* is the third person singular equivalent and *menip* is the simple plural form.

The meaning of these forms has not been a heavy issue of debate. Most scholars translate *meni-k* and *meni-r* in the same way: *meni-k* means “I, the leader, the king, the prince, the sovereign” and *meni-r* “the king, prince, sovereign, duke, count, regent, leader”, i.e. someone with real political power⁴. As can be expected, *menip* is believed to mean “princes, sovereigns, etc.”

Clearly *menik*, *menip* and *menir* are derivations from a root *men* and it is this root that has caused discussion among the scholars. At first sight, this difficult situation is even made worse by the mere fact that Elamite also has a verb *me-* meaning “to accompany, to follow”. Accordingly the substantive *men* is identical with the present participle of the verb⁵. This confusion has led Hinz⁶ to assume a meaning “violence” for the substantive. Hinz based his idea on an Achaemenid Elamite text passage (PF 1859:8), but according to GrilLOT⁷ *men* is here more likely the participle of *me-*. The passage concerned has *anu men surmara pikti hi taš*, which was translated by Hinz as “Mache ihm nicht mit Gewalt Schwierigkeiten, sondern leiste ihm Beistand”⁸, whereas GrilLOT and Vallat have “qu’il ne soit pas accompagné, mais, s’il décide une répression, porte-lui aide”⁹.

It may still be interesting to have a closer look at this phrase. The last part (*pikti hi taš*) is easy to analyse and was accurately translated by Hallock¹⁰ by “Send him aid”. The first part (*anu men surmara*), however, is more problematic. One clear thing is at least the use of *anu*, the Elamite

⁴ SCHEIL, *Textes élamites-anzanites. Deuxième série*, p. 46; IDEM, *Textes élamites-anzanites. Quatrième série*, p. 54; KÖNIG, *Drei altelamische Stelen*, p. 40; IDEM, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, p. 37, 97, 115 and 138; BORK, *Die elamische Klammer*, p. 294; STEVE, *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) III*, p. 45 §3; IDEM, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques*, p. 102; REINER, *The Elamite Language*, p. 100; GRILLOT, *La postposition génitive -na en élamite*, p. 120, 129 and 140; KAMMENHUBER, *Historisch-geographische Nachrichten*, p. 201; EADEM, *Historisch-geographische Nachrichten II*, p. 234; LAMBERT, *Deux textes élamites*, p. 10; HINZ, *Problems of Linear Elamite*, p. 110; MERIGGI, *Der Stand der Erforschung des Proto-Elamischen*, 105; VALLAT, *Une brique élamite de Hutelutush-Inshushnak*, p. 98; IDEM, *Hutelutush-Inshushnak et la famille royale élamite*, p. 45; MALBRAN-LABAT, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse*, p. 117, 119 and 121; KHAČIKYAN, *The Elamite Language*, p. 12; HENKELMAN, *The Other Gods Who Are*, p. 256. HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 910, believe in a shift of meaning of the word *menir*. In the earlier periods the word meant “Machthaber”, but later on its meaning evolved to “der Mangel-leidende”.

⁵ Cf. ZADOK, *The Elamite Onomasticon*, p. 28.

⁶ HINZ, *Die elamischen Buchungstäfelchen*, p. 435.

⁷ GRILLOT, *Trinôme de la royauté en Élam*, p. 186 n.10.

⁸ HINZ, *Die elamischen Buchungstäfelchen*, p. 435.

⁹ GRILLOT – VALLAT, *Dédicace de Šilhak-Inšushinak*, p. 24.

¹⁰ HALLOCK, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 512.

prohibitive particle. This particle must be combined with a verbal form of the third conjugation¹¹, so either *men* or *surmara* should be such a form.

At first glance, this seems problematic: the correct forms for both words should be *menr(i/a)* and *surmanra*. One cannot suggest an assimilation of *surmanra* > *surmarra*, because the lexeme is written with single -r-. On the other hand, however, *men* may very well be a third singular form of the 3rd conjugation, if one takes into account that, when constructed with *ani/anu*, the ending of this 3rd person is always dropped. This is made clear by the following examples, whose dates range from the Old Elamite to the Achaemenid period:

- (1) A-ni ti-ga-in "May he not wish" (EKI 2 xi 16; Old Elamite).
- (2) Pa-ar a-ni ku-tu₄-un "May he not have an offspring" (MDP 41 2:9; Early Middle Elamite).
- (3) A-ni uz-zu-un "may he not walk around" (EKI 45 vi 9; Late Middle Elamite).
- (4) A-ni ma-ri-en "May he not seize" (EKI 74 rev. 5; Early Neo-Elamite).
- (5) Hi-iš a-nu ku-tu-un "May he not make prosper the name" (EKI 89:9; Late Neo-Elamite).
- (6) Hu-be a-nu kin-ni-en "May this not happen" (DPf_e 23; Achaemenid).
- (7) A-nu hu-ud-da-an "May he not do" (XPh_e 32; Achaemenid).

The plural forms sometimes drop the ending (-p), but sometimes they do not:

- (1) A-ni du-un-pi: "May they not accept" (EKI 45 vi 11; Late Middle Elamite).
- (2) Hu-ur-ti-be a-ni da-ni-en "May his subjects not obey" (EKI 48 viii 5; Late Middle Elamite).

On the contrary, the first and second persons singular are always accompanied by their resp. ending -k and -t:

- (1) A-ni hi-en-ki "May I not desire" (EKI 45 iv 4; Late Middle Elamite).
- (2) A-nu in ku-ti-in-ki "May I not care for him" (EKI 77:6; Late Neo-Elamite).
- (3) A-ni un hi-ša-an-ti "Do not forget me" (EKI 45 v 15; Late Middle Elamite).
- (4) A-nu tar-tan-ti "Do not conceal" (DB_e iii 74; Achaemenid).
- (5) Hu-be a-nu hu-ut-tam₅-ti "Do not do this" (PF 2071:12; Achaemenid).

¹¹ STOLPER, *Elamite*, p. 81; TAVERNIER, *Élamite*, p. 332.

This clearly indicates that *men* must be the verbal form (3rd conjugation, 3rd person singular) connected with *anu*. The phrase as a whole then means "Let him not accompany the *surmar*". As the meaning of the latter word is still unknown¹², the precise meaning of the phrase remains hidden.

Other meanings proposed for *men-* are "kingdom"¹³, "crown, tiara"¹⁴, "shortage, distress"¹⁵ and "magnificence"¹⁶. The meaning most frequently proposed is "power, commandment", with the derived meaning for *menir* of "chief, leader, holder of power"¹⁷.

In fact, the various occurrences and contexts in which *men* (or *menik*, etc.) appears clearly exclude a meaning with a negative connotation. It would be strange to have "The distress of Elam" in a royal title as well as a royal name meaning "Humban is distress to me". In all likelihood meanings such as "kingdom" (which would in Elamite probably be derived from the root *sunki* "king") or "crown" can also be excluded, in that sense that *men* (*me-* with suffix *-n*) is probably an abstract notion (compare *kiti-n* "divine protection"), not the designation of a specific object.

All this leads us to accept a meaning "authority" for *men*. In fact, the confusion between the present participle of the verb *me-* "to accompany, to follow" and the substantive *men* can easily be put aside when one etymologizes *men* as a substantive derived from *me-* "to follow", in a sense of "that which one follows".

The noun is also actively present in Elamite onomastics. Next to its occurrence in the royal names Humpan-u-mena, Humpan-mena and Humpan-menana, it is often found in proper names such as Attamena- "The father is authority" (Ur III¹⁸), Inzumena- "Inšušinak is authority" (Old Elamite¹⁹), Lušmena- "Luš is authority" (Old Elamite²⁰), Nannimena-

¹² HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1108, connect it with *surak* "embattled, pressed; depressed".

¹³ KÖNIG, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, p. 122.

¹⁴ GRILLOT, *Trinôme de la royauté en Élam*, p. 187 and n.15, referring to Sumerian *men*, "crown". KHAČIKYAN, *The Elamite Language*, p. 12, translates *menik* with "the crowned one, sovereign", *menir* with "the one of the crown, sovereign" and *menin* with "majesty, magnificence".

¹⁵ HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 909.

¹⁶ GRILLOT – VALLAT, *Dédicace de Šilhak-Inšušinak*, p. 22-24.

¹⁷ PÉZARD, *Mission à Bender-Bouchir*, p. 47-48; LAMBERT, *Deux textes élamites*, p. 10; HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 910.

¹⁸ HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 25.

¹⁹ HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 763.

²⁰ HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 846.

"The (divine) day is authority"²¹ (Old Babylonian), Simutmena- "Simut is authority" (Old Babylonian²²) and Šemtumena- "Temti²³ is authority to me" (Old Elamite²⁴).

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²¹ And not "The day is authority to you" as translated in HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 969. The NI is the indication of a supporting vowel /i/ and has no morphological value.

²² HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1086.

²³ Šemti and Temti are variant spellings of the same name (TAVERNIER, *On the sounds*, p. 1072).

²⁴ HINZ – KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1148.

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IV. KUNTAR(R)A-/I-, LE TABERNACLE HOURRO-HITTITE

1. Préambule

L'article passe en revue les lexèmes hittite *kuntarra-*, de genre commun, et hourrite *kuntari*, dont le sens n'a été que partiellement cerné jusqu'à présent. Ensuite, il est montré que ces termes sont à rapprocher des mots akkadiens *kultaru*, *kuštaru* « tente ». On arrive ainsi à la conclusion que l'emprunt hourro-hittite ^E*kuntar-* est le tabernacle des divinités hourro-hittites, puisque, rappelons-le par souci de clarté, le mot « tabernacle », usité en contexte chrétien, signifiait initialement « tente », spécialement les tentes habitées par les Hébreux lors de leur traversée du désert du Sinaï, d'où *ḥag ha-sukkot*, la fête des *sukkot* ou fête des tabernacles, pendant laquelle les juifs d'aujourd'hui construisent des cabanes de branchage en souvenir de ces événements. Par extension, le mot d'origine profane « tabernacle » est aussi chargé du sens de « sanctuaire (portatif) » et « armoire sainte (pour la Bible ou la Torah) ». Instructive est la première ligne du psaume 14 : *Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo ? Aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo ?* « Seigneur, qui habitera dans ton tabernacle (ta tente) ? Et qui se reposera sur ta montagne sainte ? ».

2. Les attestations hourro-hittites

En hittite, le mot est généralement attesté avec deux *r*, ce qui est le produit de l'assimilation avec l'article défini hourrite *-ni*, d'où avec une flexion hittite *kuntarra-* (< **kuntar-n-a-*), et avec une flexion hybride hourro-hittite *kuntarri-* (< **kuntar-ni-*). Le mot est attesté en hittite à l'accusatif *kuntarran*, *kuntar(r)in* et au directif *kuntarra*. Il n'est pas attesté au pluriel, car il semble que seul le dieu de l'orage Teššub ait un *kuntari*. Il s'agit donc d'un attribut spécifique, que n'ont pas les autres dieux.