In the Name of Gods. In Search of Divine Epithets Through Luwic Personal Names

Florian Réveilhac

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What’s in a Divine Name?
What’s in a Divine Name?

Religious Systems and Human Agency in the Ancient Mediterranean

Edited by Alaya Palamidis and Corinne Bonnet

with the collaboration of Julie Bernini, Enrique Nieto Izquierdo, and Lorena Pérez Yarza
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Cover image: Stele from the tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine, Algeria; ancient Cirta), from A. Berthier & R. Charlier, Le sanctuaire punique d’El-Hofra à Constantine, Paris, 1955, stele 15 GR, with the so-called “Sign of Tanit” and a three-letter inscription NAN, referring to a divine or human unknown name. The letter A has small, raised arms, like the Sign of Tanit. III-I century BCE.

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Abbreviations for ancient Greek and Latin authors are taken from Liddell, Scott and Jones’ *Greek-English Lexicon* and from the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* respectively.

**ACO**
Eduard Schwartz et al., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Berlin, 1914–

**ADD**

**AE**
*L’Année épigraphique*, Paris, 1888–

**Agora XVI**

**Agora XIX**

**ANET**

**APHex I**

**ASAA**
*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente."

**BE**

**BGU**
Emil Seckel / Wilhelm Schubart et al., *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, 22 vols., Berlin, 1895–

**BM**
Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.

**BMC Caria**

**BNJ**

**BoHa 19**

**BoHa 22**

**C. Ord. Ptol.**

**CBD**

**CCCA**

**CGRN**

CIIP  Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicæ/Palestinae. A Multilingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad, Berlin, 2010–.

CIL  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1853–.


CT  Codex Theodosianus.


DAHPN  Database “Ancient Hebrew Personal Names”. URL: https://www.dahpn.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/ (consulted 25.06/2023).


DNWSI  Jacob Hoftijzer / Karel Jongeling, Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions, Leiden et al., 1995.


EBR  Encyclopaedia of the Bible and Its Reception, Berlin, 2009–.


EDPC  Andrea Ercolani et al. (eds.), Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture, Leuven et al., 2018–.


GCS  Series « Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller », Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs; Berlin, De Gruyter.

Hebrew Inscriptions  

HGANT  

HW  
Johannes Friedrich / Annelis Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte, Heidelberg, 1975–.

I.Ancyra  

I.Apameia Pylai  
Thomas Corsten, Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai (IGSK 32), Bonn, 1987.

I.Aphrodisias 2007  

I.Apollonia Illyrie  

I.Assos  

I.Atrax  
Athanasios Tziafalias et al., Corpus des inscriptions d’Atrax en Pélasgitude (Thessalie), Athènes, 2016.

I.Chr. Salona  

I.Colosse Memnon  

I.Concordia  

I.Cret.  

I.Délos  

I.Delphinion  

I.Didyma  

I.Dodone Evangelidi  
Sotirios I. Dakaris / Ioulia Vokotopoulou / Anastasios-Phivos Christidis, Ta χρηστήρια ελάσματα της Δωδώνης των ανασκαφών Δ. Ευαγγελίδη I-II, Αθήνα, 2013.

I.Dodone Lhôte  

I.Égypte métriques  

I.Égypte Nubie Louvre  

I.Eleusis  

I.Ephesos  

I.Epidauros Suppl.  
Werner Peek, Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros, Berlin, 1972.

I.Erythrai Klaizomenai  
I.Estremo Oriente

I.Fayoum

I.Gerasa

I.Iasos

I.Jordanie

I.Jud. Orientis

I.Knidos

I.Kyme

I.Lindos

I.Magnesia

I.Messina

I.Milet

I.Miletupolis

I.Moab

I.Molossie

I.Mus. Iznik

I.Mylassa

I.Olbia

I.Olympia

I.Olympia Suppl.

I.Pergamon

I.Philaee

I.Portes du désert

I.Priene B – M

I.Prusa
I. Rhamnous

I. Roman Cyrenaica

I. Smyrna

I. Stratonikeia

I. Syrie

I. Tomis

I. Tralleis

I. Tyr nécrépole

I. Zoora

IBoT

ICS

ICUR
Angelo Silvagni et al., Inscriptiones christianaer urbis Romae saeculo antiquiores. Nova series, Roma, 1922–.

IG
Adolf Kirchhoff et al., Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1873–.

IG Iran Asie cent.

IG Porto

IG Velia

IGASMG

IGBulg III.2

IGDGG I

IGDOP
Laurent Dubois, Inscriptions grecques dialectales d’Olbia du Pont (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 22), Genève, 1996.

IGDS

IGLS
Louis Jalabert et al., Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Paris, 1929–.

IGR

IGSK
Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bonn, 1973–.


KUB  *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin, 1921–.


LGPN  Peter M. Fraser / Elizabeth Matthews et al., *A Lexicon of Greek personal names*, Oxford, 1987–.


MAMA  W.M. Calder et al., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris*, Manchester / London, 1928–.


ND  Field numbers of the tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu/Calaḫ).
Abbreviations

NH

Nestle-Aland

Nomima

NRSV

OGIS

Orph. Fragm.

Osborne – Rhodes, GHI

P.Amherst

P.Cairo

P.Dem. Lille

P.Giss.

P.Leid.

P.Lond.
F.G. Kenyon et al., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1893–.

P.Louvre

P.Oxy

P.Paris

P.Petr.

P.Philadelphia

PAT

PIR²

PGM

PMG

PNA


PSI  Girolamo Vitelli et al., *Papiri della Società Italiana*, Firenze, 1912–.


RINAP  Hayim Tadmor et al., *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Winona Lake, 2011–.


RPC  Andrew Burnett et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London / Paris, 1992–.

RS  Ras Shamra.


SAA  Simo Parpola et al., *State Archives of Assyria*, Helsinki, 1987–.


SB  Friedrich Preisigke et al., *Sammlbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Berlin, 1915–.


SEG  *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Amsterd1am et al., 1923–.


SNG  Stanley Robinson et al. (1930–), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, London, 1930–.


TAM  Ernst Kalinka et al., *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Wien, 1901–.


**Abbreviations**


**VAT**  Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln).

**VS**  Friedrich Delitzsch et al., *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1907–1917.
Florian Réveilhac

In the Name of Gods. In Search of Divine Epithets Through Luwic Personal Names

Abstract: Recent work on personal names in Luwic languages (mainly Luwian, Lycian and Carian) has shown that divine epithets play an important role in their formation. The present article takes this line of inquiry one step further by proposing a method for identifying divine epithets in these anthroponyms. Theonym + divine epithet formulae attested in the different corpora are sometimes directly or indirectly reflected in personal names. In other cases, it is possible to restore divine onomastic formulae through personal names thanks to a combinatorial analysis and parallels. It is then provisionally proposed to identify five main types of divine epithets entering into the formation of Luwic personal names: geographical epithets, epithets corresponding to the place of action of the deity, functional epithets, laudatory epithets and divine titles.

1 Introduction

The importance of anthroponymy in the study of Anatolian languages and cultures is no longer in any doubt.¹ for several decades, this material has played a crucial role in understanding languages with often fragmentary corpora and peoples whose history is sometimes still unclear. It is therefore logical that onomastics has been the subject of several crucial works, allowing philologists, linguists, historians and historians of religions to better understand their objects of study. The great specificity of Anatolian onomastics is the diversity of its sources and the chronological depth of its attestations. Indeed, the Anatolian languages, that is, conventionally, the Indo-European languages attested in Anatolia and belonging to the Anatolian group (excluding, for example, Phrygian and Galatian, which are certainly Indo-European languages attested in Anatolia,

¹ I would like to thank the editors for their invitation to contribute to this volume. The considerations presented here were carried out in the initial stage of the project I am currently conducting under a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which I thank for its support. The abbreviations used are as follows: Car. = Caria(n), Cil. = Cilicia, Cun. = Cuneiform, Gk. = Greek, Hier. = Hieroglyphics, Hitt. = Hittite, Kibyr. = Kibyratis, (C/H)Luw. = (Cuneiform/Hieroglyphic) Luwian, Lyc. = Lycia(n), Pamph. = Pamphylia, PIE = Proto-Indo-European, Pis. = Pisidia(n). Each personal name cited in Greek is followed by a mention of its region of origin; for full references, see LGPN 5b (Car., Cil., Lyc.) and 5c (Kibyr., Pamph., Pis.). For name references in Carian, see Adiego 2007. Finally, it is worth mentioning the existence of the LAMAN interface (<https://laman.hittites.org>), developed by Ali Akman and Michele Cammarosano, which greatly facilitates research on anthroponyms attested in Hittite, cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources.
but belonging to different branches), have been directly attested for more than a millennium: Hittite, Luwian and Palaic, in the Bronze Age, in cuneiform script; Hieroglyphic Luwian, between the Bronze and early Iron Ages; and the languages attested in the first millennium, Lydian, Carian, Lycian, Sidetic and Pisidian, written in local alphabets. Moreover, even after the disappearance of direct attestations, Anatolian personal names remained in the Greek documentation of Anatolia until the Imperial Roman period, thus providing a valuable extension of the continuity that has characterised Anatolian anthroponymy since the second millennium.

Within Anatolian personal names, as with other ancient anthroponymic systems, the category of theophoric names has a special place. Indeed, as names referring to deities, they are indicative of the “degré de popularité des dieux d’un panthéon, en dehors de toute influence littéraire” and the durability of certain cults in Anatolia, but, from an anthropological point of view, they also constitute the manifestation of the intimate link that binds men to gods. Giving a child a divine name is both a desire to place this child under the protection of the deity and also the accomplishment of an act of devotion on the part of the name giver.

The Anatolian religious world is better documented in the second millennium than in the first because of the large amount of cuneiform documents found, especially in the archives of the palace of Hattusa. This is therefore a good starting point to try to understand the polytheistic system of the Anatolian peoples, even if there are obviously important specificities according to regions and periods. The Hittite pantheon, remarkably vast, as the famous expression referring to the “thousand gods of Hatti” implies, was also plural, with a core composed of gods of Hattian origin and properly Indo-European divinities (Hittite and Luwian), prior to the integration of Syrian, Hurrian and Mesopotamian deities as a result of the Hittite conquests. In the Syro-Hittite (or Neo-Hittite) states, which emerged after the fall of the Hittite Empire, monumental inscriptions in Anatolian hieroglyphics testify to this same plurality by mentioning several deities of diverse origin. Unfortunately, the data are more limited in the Anatolian alphabetic corpora, which are fragmentary by nature, but there is continuity between the different periods, especially within the Luwic languages, which designate an Anatolian subgroup that includes the Luwian, Lycian, Carian and probably also Pisidian and Sidetic languages, which share several common features.

The present contribution therefore aims not to embrace the broad question of theophoric names in Luwic languages, but rather to open the discussion on the place of divine epithets in the formation of anthroponyms. After a brief review of the litera-

2 Laroche 1966, 294.
3 Theophoric names in Hittite Anatolia were recently the subject of a presentation by A. Mouton 2022, who explored the anthropological dimension of naming.
4 Archi 1993; Schwemer 2006; Cammarosano 2018, 51.
6 Melchert 2003, 177 n. 7.
ture on this subject, we shall propose some definitions and an initial method for analysing anthroponyms. The rest of the article will provide a preliminary typology of divine epithets identified in Luwic personal names.

2 The Role of Divine Epithets in the Formation of Luwic Personal Names: Status Quaestionis

In reference works on Anatolian theophoric names, long pages are devoted to the various names of gods used, but references to divine epithets are much more discreet. Thus, in chapter six of his *opus*, Houwink ten Cate admits that some lexical terms used in the formation of Lycian and Cilician names could refer to divine names, such as certain kinship terms or abstracts, in the specific case of Luw. /piha-/ “splendour, might”, acknowledging that pihāšašša/i- and pihaima/i- are used as epithets of the Storm-God. In his formal classification of theophoric names, E. Laroche distinguishes six main types:

1) pure and simple theonym (which constitutes a notable difference with most other Indo-European and Semitic societies, where the calque of a divine name is extremely rare),

2) association of two theonyms;

3) compound formed of a toponym and a theonym;

4) compound formed of an attributive term and a divine name;

5) compound of a theonym and a lexical element;

6) derivative of theonym.

Types 3) and 4) group together anthroponyms with a divine epithet, which is especially obvious in type 3), since it consists of geographical epithets. It is of a diverse nature in type 4), grouping adjective attributes (e.g. *ura-* “great”, *wašu-* “good”) and nominal attributes, as genitival determinatives (e.g. Hier. /Huha-sarma-/ “Sarruma of the Grandfather”, referring to the ancestral and dynastic cult) or in apposition to the divine name (e.g. Cun. *Anni-maššani-* “Mother-Goddess”). The French scholar even points out that compounds of type 4) constitute a “[type peu fréquent, dont la plupart des représentants posent des problèmes difficiles, parce que l’attribut appartient au vocabulaire louvite”, the Luwian language being largely unknown at the time. More recently, in his monograph on Hittite women’s names, Th. Zehnder also devotes a sec-

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7 Houwink ten Cate 1961, 155–156.
8 Houwink ten Cate 1961, 139.
10 Such names are, however, attested in Hurrian personal onomastics; see Richter 2016, 23–24.
11 Laroche 1966, 283.
tion to theophoric names, more or less following Laroche’s classification, while ac-
knowledging nevertheless that, among the ethnics converted into anthroponyms,
some could refer to a deity associated with the place in question.12 The same discre-
tion is found in H. C. Melchert’s seminal article on Western Anatolian personal
names,13 where only those that carry a theonym in the strict sense are considered
theophoric names, even though the author suggests, like Houwink ten Cate before
him, that some bases such as /piha-/ should probably be understood as divine epithets.
In all these basic studies, therefore, theophoric names are understood in the strict
sense and the identification of divine epithets is limited to cases where they enter into
composition with a divine name, even if occasional mention is made of cases where
behind this or that lexical base there might be a reference to a deity.

The use of divine epithets in the Anatolian worlds is in fact widespread from
the second millennium onwards, as V. Haas remarks

Götter sind mit Epitheta versehen, die, wie viele der Namen selbst, den Vorstellungskreis, die Eigen-
schaften und den Funktionsbereich der betreffenden Gottheit definieren. Die Anzahl solcher dem
Namen beigefügten Adjektive, Attribute und Beinamen ist Ausdruck der Machtfülle der Gottheit.14

Some of these epithets, such as “terrible” or “terrifying”, are attached to several de-
ties, while others are specific to one god or goddess. Despite (or because of) the great
variety and richness of divine epithets in the Anatolian worlds, no specific study has
been devoted to them. In a seminal study dealing with Hittite “divine epithets”,
A. Mouton highlights the absence of complete editions of Hittite religious texts that
would allow an exhaustive study of the appearance contexts of divine epithets.15 The
Hittite-Luwian ritual texts have been the subject of an edition and a commentary that
will be published very soon and that will allow this work to be carried out partially.16
In the other corpora, in hieroglyphics and indigenous alphabets, the proportion of
truly religious texts is smaller than for the cuneiform tablets, which obviously limits
our understanding of the meaning and uses of divine epithets in context. Moreover,
we are still confronted with the impenetrability of certain corpora, which makes the
interpretation of certain words, or even entire texts, difficult for the moment. Another
problem is the fixed nature of these designations, which does not sufficiently take
into account the changing nature of the names. Thus, a divine epithet can end up re-
placing the theonym, as in the case of the Luwian adjectives pihaim(m)a/i- and piham-
(ma)ma/i- “imbued with splendour”, associated in Hittite context with the Storm-God
dU, before being used as theonyms, as indicated by the determinative preceding the

13 Melchert 2013.
14 Haas 1994, 312.
16 Yakubovich/Mouton 2023.
The divine name in ḫPihaimiš and ḫPihammiš. The Luwian name for the Storm-God, Tarhunt, was itself originally an epithet going back to PIE *tṛh₂went- “conquering” and the consonance of which must have recalled the name of the Hattian Storm-God Taru.

Finally, it is only very recently that the place of divine epithets in Luwian anthroponymy has been highlighted. I. Yakubovich shows that, alongside transparent theophoric names such as ḫArma-wiya- “Arma (Moon-God) sent (her)” or ḫSanta-wiya- “Santa (War-God) sent (her)”, there are theophoric names such as ḫHalpa-wiya- “(Storm-God of) Aleppo sent (her)” or ḫPiha-wiya- “(Storm-God of) Splendour sent (her)”, in which the geographical epithet or divine attribute is used instead of the theonym. This new analysis provides interesting insights: not only does it suggest that the very many names formed by means of a toponym, rather than referring to the geographical origin of the bearers of the name, are in fact theophoric names, but it also sheds light on several anthroponyms which, up until then, had no satisfactory interpretation. Indeed, as pointed out by I. Yakubovich, “the explanatory power of the suggested hypothesis is obvious once we consider the absurdity of personal names such as ‘Pledged to the road’ or ‘Strength of the meadow’, whereas such names fit into a coherent system when understood as “Pledge to (the god(s) of) the Road” or “Having the strength of (Ishtar/the Protective God of) the Meadow”. In these personal names, the ellipsis of the theonym can sometimes be compensated for by the attestation of theonym + epithet formulae in the various documents. Sometimes, the key to reading is provided by other names combining the divine name and the epithet. An ambiguity remains, however, when the divine epithet is associated with more than one divine name. Thus, the name Immara-ziti- “Man of (the X-God of) the Open Country” can refer to the Storm-God of the Open Country (Cun. im(ma)rašša ḫIŠKUR) or the Protective God of the Open Country (Hier. i-mára/i (DEUS)CERVUS).

This same path has recently been followed by I.-X. Adiego, who also uses onomastic data from the alphabetic Anatolian corpora and Greek sources to highlight the use of divine epithets in the formation of anthroponyms. The article thus sheds new light on several names, such as Gk. Troko-arbasis, which is related to the formula trqq[l]iz: [...] er[b]besi=ke “Trqq=h (Storm-God) of Turmoil” found in the Lycian B part of the Xanthos Poem (TAM I, 44d.12–13) and whose epithet alone has been converted into an

17 CHD P, 253.
18 See Hutter 2003, 220–221, with references.
20 Yakubovich 2013, 107.
22 ANCOZ 1 §2 (Hawkins 2000, 346); ANCOZ 10 §5 (Hawkins 2000, 360) etc.
23 Adiego 2022, 83–86.
anthroponym in Gk. *Arbasis* “(Storm-God of) Turmoil”, in the manner of the *advocaciones mariales* still encountered today in Spanish onomastics, whether they refer to a shrine (e.g. Guadalupe, Carmen, Lourdes), to a feast (e.g. Natividad, Asunción) or to a function (e.g. Pastora, Milagros, Paz, Remedios).

### 3 An Approach to be Renewed: Elements of Definition and Method

In the context of this preliminary study, is it possible to be a little more precise about the nature of the various divine epithets used in the anthroponymy of Luwic languages? The designation “divine epithet” is indeed general and needs to be clarified. It is perhaps useful to recall a few elements of definition, even if this delicate undertaking in such a field is more suited to the historian of religions than the linguist. N. Belayche and F. Prost write that

> [l’épîcèse se distingue de l’épithète littéraire en ce qu’elle remplit une fonction symbolique : elle va bien au-delà d’un acte simple de qualification, elle implique un culte, elle renvoie à un cadre spécifique. Elle peut être de nature diverse. Toponymique [ . . . ], topographique [ . . . ], fonctionnelle [ . . . ], historique [ . . . ], elle détermine le dieu et lui confère une nature particulière. Plus peut-être que le nom, l’épîcèse individualise le dieu, même si elle n’est pas la propriété exclusive de lui seul (il y a un Zeus Phratrios et une Athéna Phratria et Hercule comme Sol sont *invictus*) et même si elle n’est pas la caractéristique exclusive d’un culte en un lieu unique (Apollon Pynthien est honoré dans toute la Méditerranée orientale et Jupiter Capitolin dans les colonies romaines de l’Empire).]

In this definition, therefore, epiclesis, unlike the epithet used in literary texts, is closely associated with a cult. P. Brulé and S. Lebreton do not disagree when they write:

> Nous définissons l’épîcèse à partir du cadre de son usage dans la nomination des puissances divines. Dans ce polythéisme [scil. grec] comme dans d’autres (et un moindre degré dans certains monothéismes), les dieux sont nommés de deux façons : soit par leur nom seul (c’est le cas, dans le monde grec, dans la vulgate mythologique, dans la cité où ils sont poliades et dans les jurons), soit par un système binomial d’appellations simples qui fait coexister le nom du dieu, généralement en première position, avec un déterminant souvent adjectivé qui le suit – l’épîcèse – précisant une qualité particulière dudit dieu. Sanctuaires, sacrifices, dons . . . , les actes du culte en Grèce antique s’adressent à des dieux ainsi précisément définis.

However, as the seminal article by Bonnet *et al.* rightly notes

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24 Belayche/Prost 2005, 211.
25 Brulé/Lebreton 2007, 220.
la prise en compte croissante des épithètes divines comme clé d’interrogation du fonctionnement du polythéisme hellénique ne semble avoir entraîné une fixation (relative) de la terminologie que par décantation – c’est-à-dire sans réelle justification théorique. Les catégories de ‘théonyme’, ‘épithète’, ‘épiclèse’ se sont imposées sans véritable discussion.\textsuperscript{26}

Now, while the distinction between these terms is certainly convenient, it is not sufficient in order to account for the complexity of the systems for naming the divine in the ancient worlds. It is also worth noting the use, in the \textit{studia Anatolica}, of the term “hypostasis” (from Greek \textit{hupostasis} “substance, substantial existence”),\textsuperscript{27} borrowed from Near Eastern studies and, in particular, from biblical studies, where it is used to designate, in the words of K. Helms, “semi-independent divine entities that, on the one hand, are a part of a larger deity and, on the other, at times act independently [. . .]. Often these semi-independent entities develop through a gradual process of personification and differentiation from the deity.”\textsuperscript{28} According to V. Haas, aspects or partial functions and instantaneous manifestations thus become attributes such as “Storm-God of the Palace”, “Storm-God of the Growth”, of thunder, lightning etc.; the aspects of a deity then take on an existence of their own and become hypostases: “Hypostasiert werden nicht nur Äußerungen der großen atmosphärischen Götter wie Blitz und Donner, sondern auch deren Ausstrahlung: Den hethitischen Wettergott und den Sonnengott begleiten ‘Respekt’ und ‘Ehrfurcht’.\textsuperscript{29} The term “hypostasis” then designates a particular type of divine epithet (or epiclesis) with the ability to stand in for the theonym + divine epithet formula, which implies that not all divine epithets have this ability. This should be verified in detail in order to judge the relevance of the distinction between hypostasis and divine epithet. The terminological question is further complicated by the use of the term “hypostasis” in linguistics, where it has been given different definitions since the end of the 19th century, ranging from derivation of inflected forms to autonymy and implicit derivation.\textsuperscript{30} However, when I. Yakubovich studies theophoric names in which the divine epithet has been substituted for the theonym, he identifies this substitution process as belonging to “hypostasis”, from one of its linguistic meanings, namely “when the underlying dependent noun assumes all the grammatical functions of the reconstructed head-noun and acquires the lexical meaning of the reconstructed noun phrase”.\textsuperscript{31} All of this should therefore be kept in mind when addressing the issue of divine epithets in the Anatolian worlds and delving into the literature on this subject.

\textsuperscript{26} Bonnet et al. 2018, 575.
\textsuperscript{27} See, among others, Beckman 2004; Miller 2008; Yakubovich 2013.
\textsuperscript{28} In Adams et al. 2016, 679.
\textsuperscript{29} Haas 1994, 313. See, for example, the use of this term in Laroche 1947 (e.g. 47, 54 or 61), where it is used to refer to more or less independent manifestations of more important deities, such as Kummiya, king of the gods fought by Kumarbi and considered as one of the most important hypostases of Teshub, the Hurrian Storm-God.
\textsuperscript{30} On a summary of this issue, see Rousseau 2016, 33–44.
\textsuperscript{31} Yakubovich 2013, 98–99 and n. 44.
A. Mouton has recently proposed a provisional typology of Hittite divine epithets, distinguishing seven different categories:\(^{32}\)

- Mesopotamian inheritances (e.g. “King of Wisdom”, “Righteous Lord of Judgment”);
- Epithets defining the deity’s preferred domain (e.g. “Sun-God of Disease”);
- Epithets denoting a positive or negative role of the divine entity (e.g. “Evil Woman”);
- Epithets that define a deity’s geographical area (e.g. “Sun-God of Heaven”, “Sun-Goddess of the Earth”), including cities associated with divine names;
- Laudatory epithets (e.g. “Luminous Sun-God”, “Powerful Storm-God”);
- Epithets borrowed from diplomatic protocol (e.g. “my Lord”, “my Lady”);
- All the epithets for which we do not yet have a translation.

As one can see, different criteria are used here to distinguish between the types of divine epithets, sometimes in relation to the origin of the epithet, sometimes to the function or role exercised by the deity and sometimes to a geographical association.

The results of two studies by I. Yakubovich (2013) and I.-X. Adiego (2022) invite further research into the anthroponymy of Luwic languages in order to reveal other theophoric names formed by using divine epithets. In order to do this and taking into account the risk of over-interpretation that the analysis of proper names implies, complementary methods can be adopted. By first identifying theonym + divine epithet formulae in the various epigraphic sources from the second and first millennia, such as “Storm-god of the Turmoil” attested in Lycian B or “Storm-god of Splendour” in the cuneiform sources, it is possible to understand anthroponymic compounds reflecting the same theonym + divine epithet formula, either in its exact form (e.g. Gk. *Trokoarbasis*), or in a related form, such as when an abstract is found instead of an adjectival form (e.g. /Piha-tarhunt-/ “Storm-god (of) Splendour”). But it is also possible to resort to combinatorial analysis and parallels. Thus, on the basis of the well-known compounds in *wašha-* and *zit(i)*- usually associated with a divine name or epithet, the two compounds *ḥarwa-wašha-* and *mḥarwa-zit(i)*- invite us to consider the element /harwa-/ “road” not as a simple appellative, but as a divine epithet referring to one (or several) “god(s) of the Road”.\(^{33}\)


\(^{33}\) Yakubovich 2013, 100.
4 Preliminary Typology of Divine Epithets Found in Luwic Personal Names

In the context of the theophoric names of the Luwic languages, it is possible, at least for the time being, to identify five main types of divine epithets, based on the typology outlined by A. Mouton. Of course, there are also a lot of divine epithets here, the meaning of which is still unclear. Nevertheless, for those whose meaning is assured, there are geographical epithets, epithets corresponding to the deity’s place of action, functional epithets, laudatory epithets and divine titles. These types are described and exemplified below.

4.1 Geographical Epithets in the Form of a Toponym or an Ethnic, Corresponding to a Cult Place

For example, the city of Aleppo was a major place of worship for the Storm-God, so the name Aleppo is found in several names in reference to the Storm-God of Aleppo: among others, Cun. mHalpa- (NH 252) “(Storm-God of) Aleppo”, Cun. mHalpa-muwa- / Hier. /Halpa-muwa-/ (NH 254) “(Having the Might of (the Storm-God of) Aleppo”, mHalpa-zit(i)- (NH 259) “Man of (the Storm-God of) Aleppo”, fHalpa-wiya- (Trémouille Répertoire, s.n.) “(The Storm-God of) Aleppo sent (her)”. Some simple names come from the anthroponymic conversion of ethnic names, which are more likely to correspond to divine epithets than to sobriquets. The hieroglyphic corpus thus provides the name ñiₙu-wa/i-ia /Ninuwiya-/35 which is formally the ethnic of the city of Nineveh, associated with the cult of Ishtar36 and thus to be understood as “(Ishtar) of Nineveh”. In the case of Luggawanni- (Trémouille Répertoire, s.n.) “(God[s] of) the Lukka lands”37 the interpretation as a divine epithet is supported by the compound attested on a hieroglyphic seal /Lukka-muwa-/ (BoHa 19, 204) “(Having the might of (the God[s] of) the Lukka lands”. In the Lycian corpus, the name Pttaraza/i- (TAM I, 113.1), identical to the ethnic of the city of Patara,38 could refer to a deity honoured there, such as the goddess Maliya/Athena or Natri/Apollo.39

34 Laroche 1966, 273; Yakubovich 2013, 102.
35 KARKAMIŠ A11b, §2; Hawkins 2000, 103–104.
37 This personal name is also probably behind the Homeric name Lukaòn (see already Granata 2013, 22).
38 Melchert 2004, 102; Réveilhac 2018, 473.
39 The Xanthos Stele contains the sequence Pttara Malijehi (TAM I, 44a.43), while the Patara coins feature heads of Athena and Hermes or Apollo (Raimond/Vismara 2007).
4.2 Epithets Corresponding to the Place Where the Divine Power is Exerted (Sky, Earth, Steppe etc.)

Thus, in the compound /TaPa-zid(i)/ (BoHa 22, 101), attested on a hieroglyphic seal, the first member could correspond to CLuw. tappaš- “sky, heaven” (HLuw. /tiPas-/), a place that is associated with different deities in the Anatolian corpora: Sun-God, Storm-God, Protective God or gods that are still undetermined. The anthroponym is then to be translated as “Man of (the X-God[s] of) Heaven”. Among the clear examples of theophoric names formed using such an epithet is the group of names formed on the base /im(ma)ra/i-/ “open country” (and its derivatives) associated sometimes with the Storm-God, sometimes with the Protective God:40

– Compound “Man of the (X-God of the) Open Country”: Cun. Immara-ziti- (NH 450); Lyc. Ipre-sida- (TAM I, 29.1; 69.1; N 334.1, cf. Tekoğlu 2002–2003, 106–107); Gk. Imbra-[s]idēs (Lyc.);
– Anthroponymic conversion of the epithet “(X-God of the) Open Country”: Gk. Imbras (Lyc.), Imbrēs (Lyc., Car.), Imbrais (Lyc.);
– Derivative *im(ma)rasa/i- “Of (the X-God of) the Open Country”: Car. iβarsi- (E.Ab 3; E.Bu 4) / iβrsi- (C.Ka 3) / βrsi- (E.Th 26; 48; C.Hy 1a; C.St 1); Gk. Imbrassis (Car.), Imbarsis (Car.);
– Derivative *im(ma)ralla/i- “(X-God) of the Open Country”, also attested as a theonym in HLuw. as (DEUS)mara/i-lā/i /Immarall(i)/ (MALATYA 5; Hawkins 2000, 306–307): Car. para-iβrel (E.Me 47); Gk. Imbarēlōs (Car.), Imbralos (Car.);
– Derivative *im(ma)railma/i- “Of (the X-God of) the Open Country”: Gk. Imbraimis (Lyc.).

4.3 Functional Epithets Referring to the Specific Field of Action of the Deity Invoked

This category is particularly broad, given the wide variety of functions performed by deities in the Luwic worlds. Among the different domains represented, the following three can be highlighted:

– The military field, as exemplified by names reminding us the formula HLuw. (DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS /Tarhunz kwalanassis/ “Storm-God of the Army”,41 such as Hier. /Ku(wa)lana-muwa/- (e.g. BoHa 19, 192–193) “(Having) the Might of (the Storm-God of) the Army”, /Ku(wa)lana-runtiya/- (BoHa 19, 194) “(Storm-God of) the Army (and) Protective-God”, /Ku(wa)lana-zid(i)/- (e.g. BoHa 19, 195–198)

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40 Yakubovich 2013, 99. On most of the following names, see already Adiego 2007, 335; Melchert 2013, 35.
41 SÜDBURG §3; Hawkins 1995, 23–24.
“Man of (the Storm-God of) the Army”, Cun. Kuwalanalla- “Of (the Storm-God of) the Army” (KBo 5, 7 obv. 6). To this same category belongs the Lycian (B) epithet erbese/i- “of Turmoil”, which can be found in names like Gk. Trokoarbasis (Cil.), Kolarbasis (Cil.), Ouanaouarbasis (Cil.), Arbas(s)is (Cil., Lyc.), Arbēs(s)is (Car.): as explained above, this epithet is associated with the Storm-God in the Lycian B part of the Xanthos Stele;

– The agricultural area, in different aspects. For example, the wine sphere is represented in Hier. /Tuwarisa-/ (NH 1401), which is reminiscent of tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa /tuwarisassa Tarhunzas/ “Storm-God of the Vineyard.”42 The prosperity that comes from good harvests could also be present in the names Hier. /Sura-/ (BoHa 22, 131), Lyc. Hura- (TAM I, 47.1; 119.2), Hurttuwete/i- (TAM I, 38.3–4; 94.1)43 and Gk. Erma(nd)ortas (Lyc.), if they are related to HLuw. (CORNU +RA)/tsu-ra/i- /sur(i)-/ “abundance, fullness” and CORNU+RA/Iti- /suraT(ī)ya/- “satiated” (derived from the unattested */suraT(i)-/).44 These words are not directly attested as divine epithets but can be compared with the Hittite formula Ala GURUN-aš iyatnas “Ala of plenty of fruit”.45

– The field of protection and punishment. For example, based on the Lycian formula Malija hrixuwama “Maliya the Supervisor”46 (TAM I, 80.3), one can interpret the Lycian name Hrixnhma- (TAM I, 89.1, 2; 90.1, 2) / Gk. Rhikommas (Lyc.) as reflecting the epithet, in reference to the goddess Maliya and her protecting role.47 On the other hand, some gods are invoked for their punitive function, as can be seen in a number of curse formulae attested in the Luwian and Lycian inscriptions. Accordingly, the onomastic element xtta-, found in several Lycian names, such as Lyc. I-xtta- (TAM I, 56.2) / Gk. I-ktas, if one admits that this form comes from the reduction of */Ija-xtta- (god Ea/Iya),48 Gk. Erma-ktas (Moon-God Arma), Tedi-ktas (Father X-God), could be the direct cognate of CLuw. hatta(-) “striking, harm” (cf. HLuw. /hatta-/ “to hit”, Lyc. xttai(i) “to do harm”),49 used as a divine epithet in a formula such as “X-God of Striking”. Such an epithet would therefore be close in meaning

42 SULTANHAN §8, Hawkins 2000, 466. On this epithet, see Weeden 2018.
43 See Réveilhac forthcoming a, where this name is tentatively interpreted as a Satzname meaning “(The X-God[dess] of) Abundance will favour (him)”. 44 On these lexemes, see Bauer 2022 and Bauer/Yakubovich 2022.
45 Van Gessel 1998, 10.
46 This epithet has been compared, for the meaning, to some epithets of Athena (episkopos “overseer”, epìranos “assisting”, epikouros “protector”), to whom Maliya is equated (Serangeli 2015), and, for the etymology, to the epithet eriounios of Hermes; see García Ramón 2015, 126–136.
47 In order to do so, one must assume a reduction of the sequence */uwa/- > */u/- and, eventually, a syncope, maybe due to an accent shift. For both phenomena in Lycian, see Hajnal 1995, 14 and 182–183, respectively.
48 On the identification of HLuwian (DEUS)i-ya- /Iya-/ as the representation of the originally Mesopotamian god Ea and its use in the Luwic onomastics, see lastly Giusfredi 2019.
49 Melchert 1993, 63; Melchert 2004, 85.
and etymologically related to Lyc. *xttbi/‑i “destructive” (cf. Lyc. xttba‑ “harm”),
recognised in the names Lyc. Hrixttbile/i (TAM I, 22.1) “Super-Destructive”, Gk. Er-
mektibilis / Ermaktilos / Ermaktubelis (Lyc.) “Destructive Moon-God (Arma)”, Kitib-
las (Lyc.) “The Destroyer” (here with probable individualising suffix).

4.4 Laudatory Epithet

Among these epithets, some are already well known, such as the Luwian adjective
/muwatall(a/i)/‑ “mighty”,51 associated especially with the Storm-God in Hittite texts
behind the sumerogram NIR.GÁL and in Hieroglyphic Luwian in (DEUS)TONITRUS
FORTIS /Tarhunt-muwatall(a/i)/‑.52 This very epithet is the basis of several names: the
Hittite royal name mMuwatalli (NH 837); HLuw. /Muwatall(i)/‑ (MARA Ş 1, §1d; Haw-
kins 2000, 262); Lyc. Mutle(/i) (TAM I, 150) and Mutlêi‑ (M 210; with individualising
suffix); Gk. Motolôn (Lyc.), Motolôs (Kibyr.).53

The Luwian adjective /ura/‑ “great” is also one of the laudatory epithets which we
find associated with the Storm-God in the Hieroglyphic Luwian formula CAELUM
MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS, corresponding to the dative sequence /tipasassan ura Tar-
hunti/ “to the great Storm-God of Heaven”.54 And this formula, “Great Storm-God”, is
precisely mirrored in the compound name mUra.4(U (NH 1441).55 On this basis, it is pos-
sible to interpret a number of personal names with /Ura/- referring to a deity, the
Storm-God or another one, as suggested by the compounds Cun. mGAL.4IŠTAR-a-
(Trémouille, Répertoire s.n.) “Great Shaushka” and Hier. /Ura-Sarma-/ (KARKAMIŞ
A4a, §7; Hawkins 2000, 157) “Great Sarruma”.56 It is therefore only natural to find this
element associated with bases that are usually used in the formation of theophoric
names: e.g. Hier. /Ura-zid(i)/‑ (BoHa 19, 503; NH 1439) “Man of the Great (X-God[dess])”;
Gk. Oura-moutas (Cil.) “Great (X-God[dess]) of Conquest”, Or-peigesis (Lyc.) “Great

50 See Adiego 2022, 84–85.
51 On some of these names, see Houwink ten Cate 1961, 167; Melchert 2013, 34.
52 E.g. KARKAMIŞ A4b, §4; Hawkins 2000, 80–82.
53 Van Gessel 1998, 661 (IŠKUR NIR.GÁL) and 787–788 (U NIR.GÁL); Mouton 2020, 226.
54 ANCOZ 9, §2; Hawkins 2000, 359.
55 The interpretation of such names as predicative compounds with the meaning “X-God(dess) (is)
great” (Yakubovich 2017, 40) cannot be taken for granted. On the other hand, they must neither be con-
sidered as “descriptive compounds” – then judged as “hubristic names” by I. Yakubovich: they would
rather have a similar value as pure and simple theonyms converted into anthroponyms (see already
Laroche 1966, 281–282), that is, names intended to place their bearer under the protection of a deity.
56 See the large number of deities associated with the epithet “great” in Hittite texts: van Gessel 2001,
55–56 (Hitt. šalli‑), 107 (sumerogram GAL) and 163 (akkadogram RABÛ(M)).
(Storm-God of) Lightning”, Our-oas (Pamph.) “Great (X-God(dess)), favour (him)!” 57 and as a simple name in Oras (Lyc.), 58 Ourēs (Cil.), Ouros (Pamph.). 59

The epithet can sometimes be found in second position in anthroponymic compounds, such as Cun. mMaššana-ura/- mDINGIRMES-GAL, Hier. /Massana-ura/- (NH 774), translated as “Great (one) of the gods” 60 or “Great (among) gods”. 61 However, this does not seem necessary in view of this other compound attested on a hieroglyphic seal dating from the Hittite Empire: /Tiwada-ura-/ (BoHa 19, 462, 463). The latter is reminiscent of the formula where a solar deity is accompanied by the epithet “great”, positioned either before or after the divine name in Hittite (e.g. šalli 4UTU-i, GAL-iš 4UTU-uš, 4UTU-i GAL-i etc.), 62 and thus meaning “Great Sun-God”. Similarly, /Massana-ura/- “Great Gods” reflects the formula DINGIRMES GAL used, for instance, in the Telipinu Myth in a merism that associates it with the “lesser gods”. 63

4.5 Divine Title

Most of these titles are related to the political or military power, such as “king”, “queen”, “lord”, “master” etc. and can be associated with several deities: it is only natural to find some of these title used in personal names. Thus, the Pisidian name Γδε-βετι, 64 is the cognate of Luw. /hantawatt(i)-/ and Lyc. xḫtawat/i- “king”, 65 the former being connected to the Steppe-God in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription MALATYA 5 and the latter used as an epithet of two gods, the Caunian King (Lyc. xḫtawati Xbi-dešini /Gk. Basilei Kauniōi) and the King Arkesimas (Lyc. Arccazuma xḫtawati/Gk. Arkesima), in the Lētōn Trilingual (N 320.7–8). I have also recently proposed that a / tubar(i)-/ element should be recognised in several Luwic names. 66 This basis, combined with several theonyms, such as Ida (Car. Dtybr-), the Storm-God Tarhunt (Gk. Tarkun-dberras [Cil.]), the Moon-God Arma (Gk. Erma-toboris / Erman-doberis /
Erman-duberis [Lyc.] or the Protective God Runtiya (Gk. Rōn-doberras/Rōn-dberras [Cil.]), but also with divine epithets (e.g. Gk. Perta-toubaris [Pis.], cf. CLuw. paratt (a)-“impurity”), might have originally been a divine title meaning “battle companion, (divine) ally”, which even became a local heronym in Lycia, according to the testimony transmitted by Stephanus of Byzantium.

To this group might be added epithets from the family lexicon, in particular those with a significant presence of the names of the “father” and “mother”, associated with several deities. Such usage finds well-known parallels in neighbouring Indo-European, Hurrian and Semitic traditions. As already assumed by Houwink ten Cate, the use of kinship terms in Luwic onomastics is related to their function as divine epithets. Thus, the name of the “father” is associated with the Sun-God Tiwad in the Luwian formula /tatis Tiwaz/, the origin of which is none other than that of the proto-Indo-European Father Sky, also known in Vedic (dyauṣ pitar “(o) Father Sky”), Greek (Zeus pater “(o) Father Zeus”) and Latin (Iu-piter “Father Jove, Jupiter”). It should be noted that this epithet, while originally associated with Tiwad to emphasise the primary hierarchical role that this god played in the pantheon, might have been extended to other deities, such as the Wine-God Tipariya.

Therefore, anthroponyms formed with the father’s name (Luw. /tad(ī)/, Lyc. ted(ī)-, Car. ted-) are to be understood as theophoric: e.g. Cun. mTati-SHES (NH 1309), Gk. Tede-nēnis (Lyc.), Tedi-nēnis (Cil.), which must have the sense of “Father (Sun-God?) (divine) Brother”.

The names of Greek transmission Tedi-arsasis, Tedi-komadis, Tedi-ketas, Tedi-monis, Tedi-sbēs (Lyc.), Tedi-aris (Cil.) are probably also to be interpreted in the same sense, while the Lycian noun Tēθ(θ)i-weibe/i-’ is a probable compound displaying the genitival adjective teθθe/i- (< *tedese/i-) “of the Father (Sun-God?)” as its first member.

5 Conclusions

Following on from recent work, this preliminary study has attempted to highlight the important presence of divine epithets in the formation of Luwic anthroponyms (especially in Luwian, Lycian, Carian and Pisidian). The main difficulty in identifying these

67 Ὕλαμοι: πόλις Λυκίας, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυϊστῶρ ἐν β Περὶ Λυκίας. Εἶτα Διονύσιος φησι Τούβεριν καὶ Τέρμεριν δύο ἀδελφὰς γῆμαι καὶ γεννῆσαι δέκα ἄρρενας ἐκάτερον. Ὕλάμους δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς φάσι. Τὸ ἔνθεκον Ὕλαμίτης. “Hylamoi: a city of Lycia, as Alexander Polyhistor states in book 2 of About Lycia. Then Dionysios relates that Tuberis and Termeris had married two sisters and that each of them had fathered ten (children) males. (The Lycians) call the fruits hylamoi. The ethnic is Hylamite.”

68 Houwink ten Cate 1961, 139.

69 A similar formula is also known in Lydian (an Anatolian language not belonging to the Luwic subgroup), with lēms taadas “Father Zeus” (LW 14.10).

70 ARSUZ 1 and 2, §24b; Dinçol et al. 2015.

71 Pace Neumann 1996, 11; Melchert 2013, 38; Réveilhac 2018, 477, the meaning “Brother of the (same) father” is forced.
divine epithets lies in the fragmentary nature of the corpora of the languages in question, which obviously limits their understanding. It should be noted, however, that this field of study is in constant progress thanks to the regular appearance of new documents and the progress made by historians, historians of religions, philologists and linguists.

The identification of divine epithets in anthroponyms must first be based on the divine onomastic formulae attested in the various Anatolian corpora. Some of these formulae are reflected, directly or indirectly, in anthroponymic compounds. Combinatorial analysis and parallels with other names finally allow us to restore certain divine onomastic formulae.

We were able to identify five main types of divine epithets used in the formation of Luwic personal names: geographical epithets, epithets corresponding to the place of action of the deity, functional epithets, laudatory epithets and divine titles. But it must be borne in mind that there are a number of onomastic elements whose meaning is unknown and which probably constitute other divine epithets. The task is therefore still considerable, since each element must be the subject of meticulous investigation involving the data available in the various corpora.

More broadly, it appears that the place of theophoric names in the Luwic languages in the wider sense, that is anthroponyms formed with a divine name and/or a divine epithet, is more significant than has been believed until recently. A more precise morphological analysis of Luwic theophoric names can then be carried out in order to highlight the different formations at work and compare them with the existing types in other Indo-European and geographically neighbouring languages, such as Hurrian and the Semitic languages.

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