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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

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 <i>et al.</i> , <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Berlin, 1914–.
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> , 4 vols., Cambridge, 1898–1923.
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris, 1888–.
Agora XVI	A. Geoffrey Woodhead, <i>The Athenian Agora XVI. Inscriptions. The Decrees</i> , Princeton, 1997.
Agora XIX	Gerald V. Lalonde / Merle K. Langdon / Michael B. Walbank, <i>The Athenian Agora XIX. Inscriptions. Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands</i> , Princeton, 1991.
ANET	James B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament with Supplement</i> , Princeton, [1955] 1969.
APHex I	Marco Perale, <i>Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca. Hexameters of Unknown or Uncertain Authorship from Graeco-Roman Egypt</i> , vol. 1, Berlin / Boston, 2020.
ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i> .
BE	« Bulletin épigraphique », in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> .
BGU	Emil Seckel / Wilhelm Schubart <i>et al.</i> , <i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden</i> , 22 vols., Berlin, 1895–.
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
BMC Caria	Barclay V. Head, <i>A Catalog of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.</i> , London, 1897.
BNJ	Ian Worthington (ed.), <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , 2006–2021. URL: https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/bnjo/ (consulted 25.05.2023).
BoHa 19	Suzanne Herbordt, <i>Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullien aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa</i> (Boğazköy-Hattuša Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 19), Mainz am Rhein, 2005.
BoHa 22	Ali Dinçol / Belkis Dinçol, <i>Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel aus der Oberstadt von vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Großreichszeit</i> (Boğazköy-Hattuša Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 22), Mainz am Rhein, 2008.
C. Ord. Ptol.	Marie-Thérèse Lenger, <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> , Bruxelles, 1964.
Cbd	Katalin Bélyácz / Kata Endreffy / Árpád M. Nagy, <i>The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems database</i> , Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Classical Antiquity, Budapest, http://cbd.mfab.hu/visitors_salutem , accessed on 23/06/2023.
CCCA	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> , 7 vols. (EPRO 50), Leiden, 1977–1989.
CGRN	Jan-Mathieu Carbon / Saskia Peels-Matthey / Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, <i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)</i> , 2017–, consulted in 2023. URL: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be ; DOI: https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN0 .

CHD	Hans G. Güterbock / Harry A. Hoffner / Theo van den Hout (eds.), <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago, 1989–.
CIIP	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae. A Multilingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad</i> , Berlin, 2010–.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1853–.
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> , Paris, 1881–1962.
CIMRM	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , 2 vols., Den Haag, 1956–1960.
CIRB	Vasilij Struve, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani</i> , Leningrad, 1965.
CT	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> , Paris, 1971 (see also https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH).
DAHNP	Database “Ancient Hebrew Personal Names”. URL: https://www.dahpn.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/ (consulted 25.06/2023).
DB MAP	Corinne Bonnet (ed.), Mapping Ancient Polytheisms database. URL: https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr/ (consulted 25.05.2023). S = Source, T = Testimony, E = Element.
DDD	Karel van der Toorn / Bob Becking / Pieter W. van der Horst (eds.), <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> , Leiden [1995] 1999.
DELG	Pierre Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque</i> , Paris, 1968.
Dendara XIII	Sylvie Cauville, <i>Dendara XIII. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d’Hathor. Façade et colonnes</i> , Louvain, 2011.
DK	Hermann Diels, <i>Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> ⁶ , revised by Walther Kranz, Berlin, 1951–1952.
DNP	Hubert Cancik / Helmut Schneider (eds.), <i>Der Neue Pauly</i> , 18 vols., Stuttgart, 1996–2002.
DNWSI	Jacob Hoftijzer / Karel Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Leiden et al., 1995.
DPS	<i>Diagnostic and Prognostic Serie</i> , in: JoAnn Scurlock / Burton R. Andersen, <i>Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine. Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Medical Analyses</i> , Urbana / Chicago, 2005.
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of Jörgen A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> , Aalen, 1964.
EBR	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception</i> , Berlin, 2009–.
eDiAna	Jared Miller et al. (eds.), <i>eDiAna. Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages</i> , 2017–. URL: https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php (seen 20.02.2023).
EDPC	Andrea Ercolani et al. (eds.), <i>Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture</i> , Leuven et al., 2018–.
F.Delphes III	Gaston Colin et al., <i>Fouilles de Delphes III. Epigraphie</i> , 6 vols., 1909–1976.
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischer Historiker I-III</i> , Berlin / Leiden, 1923–1959.
GCS	Series « Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller », Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs; Berlin, De Gruyter.
GMPT	Hans D. Betz, <i>The Greek Magical Papyrus in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells</i> , Chicago / London, [1986] 1992.

- Hebrew Inscriptions* F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*, New Haven, 2005.
- HGANT* Angelika Berlejung / Christian Frevel (eds.), *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe zum Alten und Neuen Testament*⁵, Darmstadt, 2016.
- HW*² Johannes Friedrich / Annelis Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*, Heidelberg, 1975–.
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- I.Assos* Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos* (IGSK 4), Bonn, 1976.
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- I.Delphinion* Georg Kawerau / Albert Rehm, *Milet I 3. Das Delphinion in Milet*, Berlin, 1914.
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- I.Dodone Evangelidi* Sotirios I. Dakaris / Ioulia Vokotopoulou / Anastasios-Phivos Christidis, *Ta χρηστήρια ελάσματα της Δωδώνης των ανασκαφών Δ. Ευαγγελίδη I-II*, Αθήνα, 2013.
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- I.Prusa* Thomas Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum I-II* (IGSK 39–40), Bonn, 1991–1993.

<i>I.Rhamnous</i>	Vasilios Chr. Petrakos, <i>Ο Δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος. Σύνοψη τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρευνῶν (1813–1998) II. Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές</i> (BAAH 182), Ἀθήναι, 1999; VI. <i>Οἱ ἐπιγραφές, τα χαράγματα, τα σταθμά, οἱ μαρτυρίες</i> (BAAH 327), Ἀθήναι, 2020.
<i>I.Roman Cyrenaica</i>	Joyce Reynolds / Charlotte Roueché / Gabriel Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica</i> , 2020. URL: https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/ .
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	Georg Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna I-II.1–2</i> (IGSK 23–24.1–2), Bonn, 1982–1990.
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i>	M. Çetin Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia I-III</i> (IGSK 21; 22 1–2; 68), Bonn, 1981–2010.
<i>I.Syrie</i>	W.H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris, 1870.
<i>I.Tomis</i>	Iorgu Stoian, <i>Inscriptions Daciae et Scythiae minoris antiquae. Series altera. Inscriptiones Scythiae minoris Graecae et Latinae II. Tomis et territorium</i> , Bucureşti, 1987.
<i>I.Tralleis</i>	Fjodor B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis</i> (IGSK 36, 1), Bonn, 1989.
<i>I.Tyr nécropole</i>	Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963–1974) I. Inscriptions de la nécropole</i> , Paris, 1977.
<i>I.Zoora</i>	Yannis Meimaris / Kalliope Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, <i>Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia</i> , vols. 1a-c, Athens, 2005–2016.
<i>IBoT</i>	H. Bozkurt et al., <i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tableterleri (nden Seçme Metinler)</i> , 4 vols., Istanbul, 1944–1988.
<i>ICS</i>	Olivier Masson, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté</i> (Études chypriotes 1), Paris, 1961.
<i>ICUR</i>	Angelo Silvagni et al., <i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae saeculo antiquiores. Nova series</i> , Roma, 1922–.
<i>IG</i>	Adolf Kirchoff et al., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin, 1873–.
<i>IG Iran Asie centr.</i>	Georges Rougemont, <i>Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II. Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, vol. 1. Inscriptions in non Iranian Languages)</i> , Londres, 2012.
<i>IG Porto</i>	Giulia Sacco, <i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Porto</i> , Roma, 1984.
<i>IG Velia</i>	Luigi Vecchio, <i>Le iscrizioni greche di Velia</i> (DAW 316), Vienna, 2003.
<i>IGASMG</i>	Renato Arena, <i>Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia</i> , 5 vols., Alessandria, 1989–1998.
<i>IGBulg III.2</i>	Georgi Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , vol. III. <i>Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus posterior: A territorio Philoppopolitano usque ad oram Ponticam</i> , Sofia, 1964.
<i>IGDGG I</i>	Laurent Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce</i> , vol. I. <i>Colonies eubéennes. Colonies ioniennes. Emporia</i> , Genève, 1995.
<i>IGDOP</i>	Laurent Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont</i> (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 22), Genève, 1996.
<i>IGDS</i>	Laurent Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile</i> , 2 vols., Paris / Rome, 1989; Genève, 2008.
<i>IGLS</i>	Louis Jalabert et al., <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris, 1929–.
<i>IGR</i>	René Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , Paris, 1901–1927.
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , Bonn, 1973–.

IGUR	Luigi Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , Roma, 1968–1990.
ILS	Hermann Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, 1892–1916.
IMS	Miroslava Mirkovič et al., <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , Belgrade, 1976–1995.
IPArk	Gerhard Thür / Hans Taeuber, <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis. Arkadien (IPArk)</i> , Wien 1994.
Jones	A.H.M. Jones, “Inscriptions from Jerash”, in: <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , 18, 2, 1928, 144–178.
KAI	Herbert Donner / Wolfgang Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , I-III, Wiesbaden, 1962–2002.
Kaczko, <i>Attic Dedicatory Epigrams</i>	Sara Kaczko, <i>Archaic and Classical Attic Dedicatory Epigrams. An Epigraphic, Literary and Linguistic Commentary</i> , Berlin / Boston, 2016.
KBo	Emil Forrer et al., <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> , 70 vols., Leipzig / Berlin, 1916–2015.
KN	John Chadwick / John Tyrell Killen / Jean-Pierre Olivier, <i>The Knossos Tablets. A Transliteration</i> , Salamanca, 1989 ⁵ .
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin, 1921–.
KYP	Korshi Dosoo / Edward O.D. Love / Markéta Preininger, <i>Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects</i> , http://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de , accessed on 23/06/2023.
L.	Emmanuel Laroche, <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites</i> , Paris, 1960.
L-M	André Laks / Glenn W. Most, <i>Early Greek Philosophy</i> , Cambridge MA, 2016.
LDAB	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books</i> , online: https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/ , accessed on 23/06/2023.
LGPN	Peter M. Fraser / Elizabeth Matthews et al., <i>A Lexicon of Greek personal names</i> , Oxford, 1987–.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 10 vols., Zürich et al., 1981–2009.
LSAM	Franciszek Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées d’Asie mineure</i> , Paris, 1955.
LSCG	Franciszek Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> , Paris, 1969.
LSCG Suppl.	Franciszek Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> , Paris, 1962.
LSJ	Henry G. Liddell / Robert Scott / Henry Stuart Jones (eds.), <i>A Greek-English lexicon</i> , ⁹ with a revised supplement, Oxford, 1996.
Lyon	David Gordon Lyon, <i>Keilschrifttexte Sargon’s, Königs von Assyrien (722–705 v. Chr.) nach den Originalen neu herausgegeben, umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt</i> (Assyriologische Bibliothek 5), Leipzig, 1883.
LW	Roberto Gusmani, <i>Lydisches Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung</i> , Heidelberg, 1964.
MAMA	W.M. Calder et al., <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris</i> , Manchester / London, 1928–.
MARV	Helmut Freydank, <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte</i> , 2 vols. (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin n.s. 3 and 5), Berlin, 1976–1982.
Meiggs – Lewis, <i>GHI</i>	Russell Meiggs / David Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> , Oxford, 1969.
N	Günter Neumann, <i>Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901</i> , Wien, 1979.
ND	Field numbers of the tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu/Calah).

NH	Emmanuel Laroche, <i>Les noms des Hittites</i> , Paris, 1966.
Nestle-Aland	Eberhard Nestle / Kurt Aland, <i>Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatus critico</i> ²⁷ , Stuttgart, 2001.
Nomima	Henri Van Effenterre / Françoise Ruzé, <i>Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec</i> , 2 vols., Rome 1994–1995.
NRSV	Michael D. Coogan, <i>The New Oxford Annotated Bible. New Revised Standard Version with The Apocrypha. An Ecumenical Study Bible</i> ⁵ , Oxford, 2018.
OGIS	Wilhelm Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , Leipzig, 1903–1905; repr. 1960.
Orph. Fragm.	Otto Kern, <i>Orphicum Fragmenta</i> , Berlin, 1922.
Osborne – Rhodes, GHI	Robin Osborne, P.J. Rhodes, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC</i> , Oxford, 2017.
P.Amherst	Bernard P. Grenfell / Arthus S. Hunt, <i>The Amherst Papyri</i> , London, 1900–1901.
P.Cairo	Wilhelm Spiegelberg, <i>Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Die demotische Denkmäler</i> , 3 vols., Leipzig et al., 1904–1932.
P.Dem. Lille	Henri Sottas / Françoise de Cenival, <i>Papyrus démotiques de Lille</i> , 3 vols., Paris / Le Caire, 1927–1984.
P.Giss.	Jacques Schwartz, <i>Papyri variae Alexandrinae et Gissenses</i> , Bruxelles, 1969.
P.Leid.	Conrad Leemans, <i>Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi</i> , Leiden, 1843–1885.
P.Lond.	F.G. Kenyon et al., <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , London, 1893–.
P.Louvre	Andrea Jördens, <i>Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Louvre I)</i> , Bonne, 1998; Andrea Jördens / Paul Schubert, <i>Griechische Papyri der Cahiers P. 1 und P. 2 aus der Sammlung des Louvre (P. Louvre II)</i> , Bonn, 2005; Andrea Jördens et al., <i>Griechische Papyri aus der Sammlung des Louvre (P. Louvre III)</i> , Bonn, 2022.
P.Oxy	Bernard P. Grenfell / Arthur S. Hunt et al., <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , London, 1898–.
P.Paris	J.A. Letronne et al., <i>Notices et textes des papyrus du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale</i> , Paris, 1865.
P.Petr.	John P. Mahaffy / J. Gilbert Smyly, <i>The Flinders Petrie Papyri</i> , 3 vols., Dublin, 1891–1905.
P.Philadelphia	Jean Scherer, <i>Papyrus de Philadelphie</i> , Le Caire, 1947.
PAT	Delbert R. Hillers / Eleonora Cussini, <i>Palmyrene Aramaic Texts</i> , Baltimore, 1996.
PIR ²	Edmund Groag / Arthur Stein et al., <i>Prosopographia imperii Romani</i> , Berlin, 1933–2015.
PGM	Karl Preisendanz / Albert Henrichs, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1973–1974; Robert W. Daniel / Franco Maltomini, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , 2 vols., Opladen, 1990–1992.
PMG	Denys L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford, 1962.
PNA	Karen Radner / Heather D. Baker, <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> , 3 vols., Helsinki, 1998–2011.

PPUAES III	Enno Littmann <i>et al.</i> , <i>Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909</i> , Leiden, 1907–1922.
PRU IV	Jean Nougayrol, <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> , Paris, 1956.
PSI	Girolamo Vitelli <i>et al.</i> , <i>Papiri della Società Italiana</i> , Firenze, 1912–.
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart, 1894–1980.
Rhodes – Osborne, <i>GHI</i>	P.J. Rhodes / Robin Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> , Oxford, 2003.
RICIS	Laurent Bricault, <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS)</i> , 3 vols., Paris, 2005.
RIMA	A. Kirk Grayson, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods</i> , 3 vols., Toronto, 1987–1996.
RINAP	Hayim Tadmor <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> , Winona Lake, 2011–.
RIA	Erich Ebeling <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> , Berlin <i>et al.</i> , 1928–2017.
RPC	Andrew Burnett <i>et al.</i> , <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , London / Paris, 1992–.
RŠ	Ras Shamra.
RVAp	A.D. Trendall / Alexander Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figures Vases of Apulia</i> , 2 vols., Oxford, 1978–1982.
SA	Simo Parpola <i>et al.</i> , <i>State Archives of Assyria</i> , Helsinki, 1987–.
SAAB 9	Karlheinz Deller / Mario F. Fales / Liane Jakob-Rost, “Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur Private Archives. Part 2”, in: <i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i> 9, 1995, 3–137.
SB	Friedrich Preisigke <i>et al.</i> , <i>Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , Berlin, 1915–.
SC	Series « Sources chrétiennes », Paris, Éditions du Cerf.
Schneider	Nikolaus Schneider, <i>Die Drehem- und Djohatexte im Kloster Monserrat (AnOr 7)</i> Rome, 1932.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Amsterdam <i>et al.</i> , 1923–.
Sherk, <i>Roman Documents</i>	Robert K. Sherk, <i>Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus</i> , Baltimore, 1969.
SIRIS	Ladislav Vidman, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i> , Berlin, 1969.
SNG	Stanley Robinson <i>et al.</i> (1930–), <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , London, 1930–.
Steinepigramme	Reinhold Merkelbach / Josef Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I-V</i> , München, 1998–2004.
SVF	Hans von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , Berlin / Boston, 1978–1979.
Syll. ³	Wilhelm Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (3rd ed.), Leipzig, 1915–1924.
TAD	Bezalel Porten / Ada Yardeni, <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> , 4 vols., Jerusalem, 1986–1999.
TAM	Ernst Kalinka <i>et al.</i> , <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , Wien, 1901–.
Theban Ostraca	Alan H. Gardiner <i>et al.</i> , <i>Theban Ostraca</i> , Toronto, 1913.
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles, 2004–2014.

<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , 10 vols., Stuttgart, 1973–2000.
<i>TM</i>	<i>Trismegistos</i> , online: https://www.trismegistos.org , accessed on 23/06/2023.
Trémouille, <i>Répertoire</i>	Marie-Claude Trémouille (2006), <i>Répertoire onomastique</i> , 2006. URL: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html .
<i>TSSI</i>	John C.L. Gibson / John F. Healey, <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Oxford, 1971–2009.
<i>Ugaritica V</i>	Jean Nougayrol <i>et al.</i> (1968), <i>Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)</i> (Mission de Ras Shamra 16), Paris, 1968.
<i>VAT</i>	Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln).
<i>VS</i>	Friedrich Delitzsch <i>et al.</i> , <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , 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, Kiby. = Kibyrtis, (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 *LGPV* 5b (Car., Cil., Lyc.) and 5c (Kiby., 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”² 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.³

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 Hittian origin and properly Indo-European divinities (Hittite and Luwian),⁴ prior to the integration of Syrian, Hurrian and Mesopotamian deities as a result of the Hittite conquests.⁵ 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.⁶

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.

5 Singer 1994; Schwemer 2008.

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 terms⁷ or abstracts, in the specific case of Luw. /piha-/ “splendour, might”, acknowledging that *pihaššašša/i-* and *pihaima/i-* are used as epithets of the Storm-God.⁸ In his formal classification of theophoric names, E. Laroche distinguishes six main types.⁹

- 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);¹⁰
- 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. ^f*Anni-maššani-* “Mother-Goddess”). The French scholar even points out that compounds of type 4) constitute a “[t]ype peu fréquent, dont la plupart des représentants posent des problèmes difficiles, parce que l’attribut appartient au vocabulaire louvite”,¹¹ 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-

⁷ Houwink ten Cate 1961, 155–156.

⁸ Houwink ten Cate 1961, 139.

⁹ Laroche 1966, 281–287.

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 acknowledging nevertheless that, among the ethnics converted into anthroponyms, some could refer to a deity associated with the place in question.¹² The same discretion 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 Eigenschaften 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 deities, 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 replacing the theonym, as in the case of the Luwian adjectives *pihaim(m)a/i-* and *piham-(ma)a/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

¹² Zehnder 2010, 57–61.

¹³ Melchert 2013.

¹⁴ Haas 1994, 312.

¹⁵ Mouton 2020, 227.

¹⁶ Yakubovich/Mouton 2023.

divine name in ^d*Pihaimiš* and ^d*Pihammiš*.¹⁷ The Luwian name for the Storm-God, Tarhunt, was itself originally an epithet going back to PIE ^{*t_ǵh₂went-} “conquering” and the consonance of which must have recalled the name of the Hittian Storm-God Taru.¹⁸

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 ^f*Arma-wiya-* “Arma (Moon-God) sent (her)” or ^f*Santa-wiya-* “Santa (War-God) sent (her)”, there are theophoric names such as ^f*Halpa-wiya-* “(Storm-God of) Aleppo sent (her)” or ^f*Piha-wiya-* “(Storm-God of) Splendour sent (her)”, in which the geographical epithet or divine attribute is used instead of the theonym.¹⁹ 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’”,²⁰ 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* ^dIŠKUR)²¹ or the Protective God of the Open Country (Hier. *i-mára/i* (DEUS)CERVUS₃).²² Finally, in other cases, it is not possible to restore the theonym associated with the epithet, in the absence of attestation of the theonym + epithet formula.

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.²³ The article thus sheds new light on several names, such as Gk. *Troko-arbasis*, which is related to the formula *trqq[i]z: [...]* *er[b]besi=ke* “Trqqīt (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.

19 Yakubovich 2013, 98–107.

20 Yakubovich 2013, 107.

21 Van Gessel 1998, 662.

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]’épiclesse 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’épiclesse 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 ‘*inuictus*’) et même si elle n’est pas la caractéristique exclusive d’un culte en un lieu unique (Apollon Pythien est honoré dans toute la Méditerranée orientale et Jupiter Capitolin dans les colonies romaines de l’Empire).²⁴

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’épiclesse 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 l’épopée, dans la vulgate mythologique, dans la cité où ils sont *poliades* et dans les jurons), soit par un système binominal d’appellations simples qui fait coexister le nom du dieu, généralement en première position, avec un déterminant souvent adjectivé qui le suit – l’épiclesse – précisant une qualité particulière dudit dieu. Sanctuaires, sacrifices, dons . . ., les actes du culte en Grèce antique s’adressent à des dieux ainsi précisément définis.²⁵

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

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', 'épiclesse' se sont imposées sans véritable discussion.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 *studia Anatolica*, of the term “hypostasis” (from Greek *hupostasis* “substance, substantial existence”),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.”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’.”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 autonomy and implicit derivation.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”.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.

26 Bonnet *et al.* 2018, 575.

27 See, among others, Beckman 2004; Miller 2008; Yakubovich 2013.

28 In Adams *et al.* 2016, 679.

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.

30 On a summary of this issue, see Rousseau 2016, 33–44.

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. *Troko-*arbasis**), 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 ^f*Harwa-wašha-* and ^m*Harwa-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

³² Mouton 2020, 226–227.

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. ^m*Halpa-* (NH 252) “(Storm-God of) Aleppo”, Cun. ^m*Halpa-muwa-* / Hier. /*Halpa-muwa-* (NH 254) “(Having) the Might of (the Storm-God of) Aleppo”, ^m*Halpa-zit(i)-* (NH 259) “Man of (the Storm-God of) Aleppo”, ^f*Halpa-wiya-* (Trémouille *Répertoire, s.n.*) “(The Storm-God of) Aleppo sent (her)”.³⁴ 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 ¹*ni_x-nu-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.

³⁶ Van Gessel 1998, 941.

³⁷ This personal name is also probably behind the Homeric name *Lukaōn* (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)rassa/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-lá/i* /*Immarall(i)-* (*MALATYA* 5; Hawkins 2000, 306–307): Car. *para-iβreλ* (E.Me 47); Gk. *Imbarēldos* (Car.), *Imbralos* (Car.);
- Derivative **im(ma)raima/i-* “Of (the X-God of) the Open Country”: Gk. *Imbraimīs* (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)

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 *erbbese/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/Dsu+ra/i-* /sur(i)-/ “abundance, fullness” and CORNU+*RA/I-ti-* /suraTi(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 ^d*Ala GURUN-aš iyatnaš* “Ala of plenty of fruit”.⁴⁵
- The field of protection and punishment. For example, based on the Lycian formula *Maliya hrixuwama* “Maliya the Supervisor”⁴⁶ (*TAM* I, 80.3), one can interpret the Lycian name *Hrixñma-* (*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 *xтта-*, found in several Lycian names, such as Lyc. *I-xтта-* (*TAM* I, 56.2) / Gk. *I-ktas*, if one admits that this form comes from the reduction of **Jja-xтта-* (god Ea/Iya),⁴⁸ Gk. *Erma-ktas* (Moon-God Arma), *Tedi-ktas* (Father X-God), could be the direct cognate of CLuw. *hatt(a)-* “striking, harm” (cf. HLuw. /hatta-/ “to hit”, Lyc. *xтта(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”, *epiēranos* “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. **xttbile/i-* “destructive” (cf. Lyc. *xttba-* “harm”), recognised in the names Lyc. *Hrixttbile/i-* (TAM I, 22.1) “Super-Destructive”, Gk. *Ermektibilis* / *Ermaktibilos* / *Ermaktubelis* (Lyc.) “Destructive Moon-God (Arma)”, *Ktibilas* (Lyc.) “The Destroyer” (here with probable individualising suffix).⁵⁰

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)-/ (MARAŞ 1, §1d; Hawkins 2000, 262); Lyc. *Mutle(i)-* (TAM I, 150) and *Mutlëi-* (M 210; with individualising suffix); Gk. *Motolōn* (Lyc.), *Motalōs* (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 Tarhunti/ “to the great Storm-God of Heaven”.⁵⁴ And this formula, “Great Storm-God”, is precisely mirrored in the compound name ^mUra-^dU (NH 1441).⁵⁵ On this basis, it is possible 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.^dIŠTAR-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 (^dIŠKUR NIR.GÁL) and 787–788 (^dU 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 considered 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 *RABŪ(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. ^m*Maššana-ura-* / ^mDINGIR^{MES}-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* ^dUTU-*i*, GAL-*iš* ^dUTU-*uš*, ^dUTU-*i* GAL-*i* etc.),⁶² and thus meaning “Great Sun-God”. Similarly, /*Massana-ura-*/ “Great Gods” reflects the formula DINGIR^{MES} 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. *xñtawate/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. *xñtawati Xbi-deñni* / Gk. *Basilei Kauniōi*) and the King Arkesimas (Lyc. *Arccazuma xñtawati*/Gk. *Arkesima*), in the Létōon 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. *Dtýbr-*), the Storm-God *Tarhunt* (Gk. *Tarkun-dberras* [Cil.]), the Moon-God *Arma* (Gk. *Erma-toboris* / *Erman-doberis* /

57 In Réveilhac forthcoming a, I suggest analysing indigenous names in *-oas* found in the Greek sources from Lycia and neighbouring regions as *Satznamen* which have the Lycian bare verbal stem *uwe-* “to look favourably” in the second member, here in imperative use. For the meaning of this verb, see Sasseville 2020, 380.

58 Although in this case it cannot be excluded that it is an adaptation of the Lycian name *Hura-*.

59 On some of the names attested in the Greek sources, see already Houwink ten Cate 1961, 164–165.

60 Melchert 2013, 41.

61 Yakubovich 2017, 41.

62 Van Gessel 1998, 879–880.

63 *CTH* 324, *KUB* 33.4.5 36 ii 11: cf. van Gessel 1998, 997–998. Note also the reverse order of the elements in the formula in *šalliš* DINGIR^{LIM}-*iš* / *šalli*-DINGIR^{MES} / DINGIR^{LUM} *RABŪ*: see van Gessel 1998, 974, 989–990.

64 Brixhe 2016, 83–84.

65 Melchert 2013, 35.

66 Réveilhac forthcoming b.

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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ Thus, the name of the “father” is associated with the Sun-God Tiwad in the Luwian formula /tatis Tiwaz/,⁶⁹ the origin of which is none other than that of the proto-Indo-European Father Sky, also known in Vedic (*dyāuṣ pítar* “(o) Father Sky”), Greek (*Zeu pater* “(o) Father Zeus”) and Latin (*Iū-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.⁷⁰ Therefore, anthroponyms formed with the father’s name (Luw. /tad(i) /, Lyc. *ted(i)*, Car. *ted-*) are to be understood as theophoric: e.g. Cun. ^m*Tati-ŠEŠ* (NH 1309), Gk. *Tede-nēnis* (Lyc.), *Tedi-nēnis* (Cil.), which must have the sense of “Father (Sun-God?) (divine) Brother”.⁷¹ The names of Greek transmission *Tedi-arsasis*, *Tedi-komadis*, *Tedi-ktas*, *Tedi-monis*, *Tedi-sbēs* (Lyc.), *Tedi-aris* (Cil.) are probably also to be interpreted in the same sense, while the Lycian noun *Teθ(θ)i-weibe/i-* is a probable compound displaying the genitive 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 Ὑλάμοι· πόλις Λυκίας, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ ἐν β΄ Περι Λυκίας. Εἶτα Διονύσιός φησι Τούβερην καὶ Τέρμεριν δύο ἀδελφὰς γῆμαι καὶ γεννῆσαι δέκα ἄρρενας ἑκάτερον. Ὑλάμους δὲ τοὺς καρπούς φασι. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑλαμίτης. “Hylamoi: a city of Lycia, as Alexander Polyhistor states in book 2 of About Lycia. Then Dionysios relates that Touberris 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 taada[s]* “Father Zeus” (LW 14.10).

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

⁷¹ Pace Neumann 1996, 11; Melchert 2013, 38; Réveillhac 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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