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**Anatolian Names in $\text{ᾠ}\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$, CLuw.
***aššatta-, Lyc. B *asata- and Lyc. A ahata-**
Florian Réveilhac**

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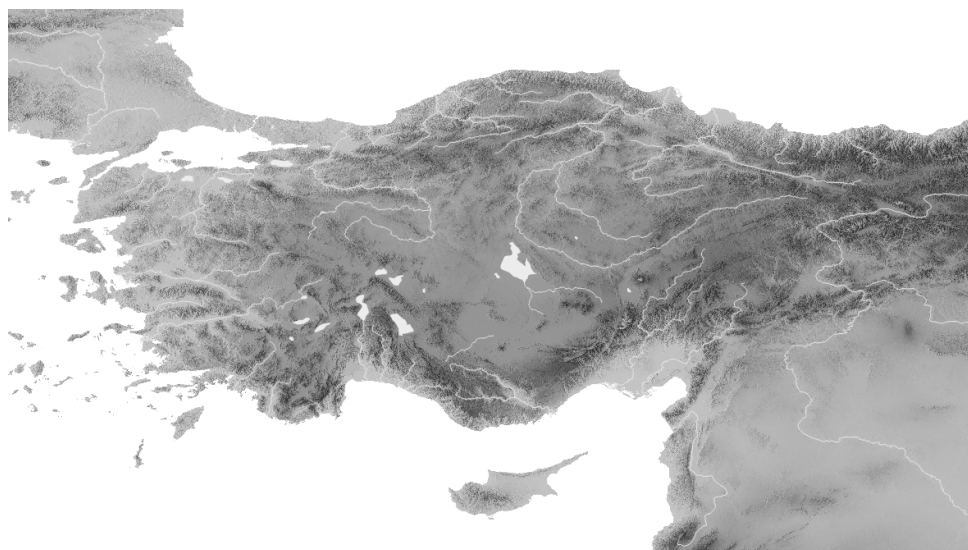
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News from the Lands of the Hittites

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Edited by

FEDERICO GIUSFREDI, ELENA MARTÍNEZ RODRÍGUEZ, ALVISE MATESSI,
STELLA MERLIN AND VALERIO PISANIELLO

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PREFACE

The present volume contains the proceedings of the international conference *Languages and Cultures in Contact in the Ancient Mediterranean*, organized as the final event of the ERC project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299). The conference took place in Verona on May 11 and 12, 2023. It concluded a series of workshops that started in February 2019 with the first edition and continued with an online double event in 2021 and with a new physical edition after the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2022. While most of the papers included in this volume are from the 2023 conference, one (by Giusfredi, Merlin and Pisaniello) is the written version of a paper presented during a previous edition that the authors had not, in the meantime, published elsewhere.

Just like the PALaC project, this volume reflects, with its contents, our complex interdisciplinary view on the study of linguistic and cultural contacts in the ancient world, combining historical linguistics and philology, the study of the history of writing systems and that of religions, cultures and polities in and around ancient Anatolia, from the proto-historical phase of the Middle Bronze Age up to the mature stage of the Hellenistic era.

With over forty articles or chapters, a two-volume final monograph and another edited volume, the output of PALaC has been, we believe, quite rich.¹ Still, science is about publishing as much as it is about communicating ideas and promoting discussion among peers. While it would have been impossible for us to publish the proceedings of all the events we organized during the lifetime of PALaC, we are particularly happy to be able to publish at least the proceedings of the last one, and we are, needless to say, extremely grateful to the editors of *News from the Lands of the Hittites* – Stefano de Martino, Massimiliano Marazzi and Clelia Mora – for giving us the opportunity to do so on the pages of this outstanding journal.

Our gratitude also goes to the authors of the contributions in this collection, for offering such a rich variety of papers on so many different topics. The articles collected in these proceedings reflect such variety. The contributions by Dardano, Melchert, Pozza and Fagiolo, Rieken, and Warbinek deal with the Bronze Age Hittite corpus and the areal relationships of the languages represented in it. Those by Adiego, Réveilhac and Vernet deal with the Luwic languages of the late Iron Age, while Marazzi, Repola and Simon concentrate on Hieroglyphic Luwian.

¹ A list of publications with Open Access links is available at <http://ercpalac.info>.

Giusfredi, Merlin and Pisaniello, and García Ramón explore the problem of Aegean-Anatolian contacts. Finally, the two papers by Cotticelli Kurras and Kölligan take us to a much later stage, and deal, from different perspectives, with the study of the areal context during the age in which the Syriac and Armenian traditions flourished and co-existed with Greek in the late antique stages of the history of Anatolia.

Verona, November 2023

Federico Giusfredi
Elena Martínez Rodríguez
Alvise Matessi
Stella Merlin
Valerio Pisaniello

Anatolian Names in $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$, CLuw. **aššatta-*, Lyc. B **asata-* and Lyc. A *ahata-*

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ABSTRACT

*This article investigates the question of names in $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$ attested in Greek sources from southern Anatolia. The equation with Luwian theophoric names in $/\text{ᾠ}\text{tsid}(i)-/$, long defended, is not possible for undeniable phonetic reasons. Thanks to the comparison with simple names attested in the Lycian, Pisidian and Greek corpora, it is suggested here to identify an onomastic stem $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma/\text{ᾠ}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$, adapted from an abstract noun corresponding to Luw. **aššatta-*, Lyc. B **asata-* and Lyc. A *ahata-*, and associated with several deities as an epithet. The various vocalisms attested in Greek sources are geographically distributed, thus reflecting differences among languages of the Luwic subgroup. On the semantic level, the contexts in which the abstract **aššatta-*/**asata-*/*ahata-* is used argue in favour of the meaning of “peace”, despite its recent questioning.*

KEYWORDS

Luwic languages, Luwian, Lycian, Pisidian, Asia Minor Greek, Onomastics, Divine epithets

1. TRADITIONAL EQUATION: ASIA MINOR NAMES IN $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ~ SECOND MILLENNIUM NAMES IN $/\text{ᾠ}\text{tsid}(i)-/$ ¹

For several decades, scholars have seen in the personal names in $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ the direct descendants of Hittite-Luwian names in $/\text{ᾠ}\text{tsidi}/$. As this association is generally well known, it is not necessary to go into detail on each of the works that have defended it, but it is useful to recall the main stages.

The first to have proposed such an equation is SUNDWALL (1913, p. 247), concerning the names *Μιρασητας*, *Τβερασητας*, *Οπρασητας*,

Ορβαλασητας and *[Ο]ρμαση[τ]ας*, in which he identifies the element *zeti-*, now read *ziti-* and corresponding to Luwian $/\text{ᾠ}\text{tsid}(i)-/$ “man”. However, he excludes from this list the forms *Μοσητα*, *Μουσητα* and *Μωσητας*, which he interprets as reflecting **musa-ta-*.

LAROCHE (1951, p. 128) draws a parallel between names in $/\text{ᾠ}\text{tsidi}/$ and those in $/\text{ᾠ}\text{muwa}/$, both of which are very well represented in the second millennium texts. While astonished by the “piètre fortune de l’ancien *-ziti*, en face de l’étonnante survie de *-muwa*”, he cannot imagine that the former element left no trace in the Anatolian onomastics of Greek sources. He therefore argues that a second member $\text{ᾠ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ reflects the Luwian appellative for “man” and is used in theophoric compounds, thus meaning “Man of X-god/dess”.

At the same time, other scholars engage in similar analyses, sometimes identifying new parallels, such as BOSSERT (1952/1953,

¹ My thanks to the organisers and participants for the discussions, and to Craig Melchert, Ian Rutherford and Ilya Yakubovich for their proofreading of the written version of this work. However, any remaining errors are mine. I would also like to thank Craig Melchert for sharing his forthcoming article from Barcelona with me. This work was made possible by a research fellowship awarded by the Humboldt Foundation, which I would like to acknowledge.

p. 184),² who suggests restoring, instead of [O]ρμαση[τ]ας, [A]ρμαση[τ]ας, which would then constitute the perfect equivalent of the second millennium compound ^{md}SIN-LÚ(-iš) = *Arma-ziti-* “Man of the Moon-God”. Such an equation is based on the assumption, explicit or not, that the sound noted by Greek *eta* very soon became [i], as suggested by the unique example Ιρδασιτας (Isauria). The association between ^o*ziti-* and ^oσητας was also allowed by the fact that the sequence in Anatolian hieroglyphs L313 + L90 was then read LÚ-ta, supposedly representing *zita-*, whereas today it is transliterated VIR-ti and is known to correspond to /tsid(i)-/.

HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961, pp. 171-172) adheres to the same analysis, but adds the variant ^oσατης, on the basis of names where the two variants ^oσητας and ^oσατης seem to alternate, such as in Οπρασατης and Ουπρασητας. He considers, moreover, the group of Μοσητα/Μουσητα/Μωσητας as mirroring a compound **Muwa-zita/i-*, identical to *Muwa-ziti-*.

ZGUSTA (1964, pp. 78-84), on the other hand, rejects the association of ^oσατης with ^oσητας/^oσιτας on phonetic grounds, claiming: “Diese Auffassung des Stammes -satēs, der m.E. selbständig ist und nicht zu -sētās, -sitas gehört, wird unterstützt durch die Existenz eines Stammes -sadas, der auch selbständig ist, so dass er eine gute Analogie zu dem hier erörterten Stamm bietet.” Hence, the comparison with Κτασαδας, Τρουσαδας (Lydia), Σαδαας (Isauria), *Σαδασαμυς (Cilicia, now read Σαδαζεμυς); however, Κτασαδας and Τρουσαδας are rather derived from respectively Lyc. *xddaza-* “servant” and the place-name *Trus-* “Trysa” (cf. Gk. Τρυσ[α]), whereas Σαδα- reflects the divine name / Santa-/ [Saⁿda-] with nasal reduction.

2. REAPPRAISAL OF THE TRADITIONAL EQUATION

In fact, the equation between a so-called stem ^oσητας/^oσατης and Luwian /tsid(i)-/ “man” has been the subject of a major questioning over the past decade, starting with H. C. Melchert’s seminal paper on Western Anatolian personal names. In this study (MELCHERT 2013, p. 39), based on connections previously established between *Immara-ziti-* and Lycian *Ipre-sida-* by CARRUBA (1980),³ on the one hand, and between *Ipresida-* and Ἰμβρασιδης by D. SCHÜRR (2017), on the other, it is suggested that the first millennium equivalent of /tsid(i)-/ should instead correspond to a sequence / sid(V)-/. The only exception conceded by H. C. Melchert is the group supposedly traced back to the virtual **Muwa-zita/i-* “Man of might”, to which the Carian *Mwsat-*, the Pisidian Μοσητα-/Μουσητα-, adapted into Greek as Μωσητας in Cilicia, belong: the Greek adaptation of this alleged compound would have been remodelled by folk etymology. It is certainly true that in areas of linguistic contact, one often finds names with a double linguistic entry or “cover names” (“noms d’assonance”, in French), that is, names that can be interpreted in two or more languages.⁴ This is the case, for example, of Πυριβάτης, attested in a Greek-Lycian bilingual as the Greek version of *Purihimete/i-*, also attested in Greek sources through the assimilated loans Πυριματις/Πορειματις, phonetically closer to the Lycian form. However, as D. SCHÜRR (2017, p. 3) rightly notes, unlike Πυριβάτης, which can really be interpreted from the Greek perspective,⁵ Μωσητας cannot. And one would also have to assume that the Carian and Pisidian forms, which have no [i] in the second member, would be secondary, adapted from the Hellenized form.

3 Already followed by MELCHERT 2004, p. 96.

4 On this matter, see, in this volume, the contribution by I.-X. ADIEGO on Greco-Carian “border names”.

5 I deal with Lycian-Greek *noms d’assonance* in RÉVEILHAC *in press* a and, especially, with Πυριβάτης, p. 76.

2 See also GOETZE 1954, pp. 75-76.

Finally, as D. SCHÜRR (2017, pp. 2-3) points out, Luw. /tsid(i)-/ and the supposed anthroponymic stem °σητα-/°σατη- appear irreconcilable from a phonetic perspective, so their connection to each other, however attractive it might have been, must be definitively abandoned. In the same work, D. Schürr adds new forms to the dossier: an uncertain [A]σατης and Δογλασατης, both attested in Pisidia, as well as Ουφρασατας, from Pamphylia.

3. NAMES' LIST

At this point of the study, it is useful to list all the personal names attested in the alphabetical documents – that is, not only Greek, but also Lycian A and B, Carian, and Pisidian – and likely to reflect a common stem. In the following list are provided, for each name, the variants, the place and, where possible, the approximate date of attestation. Except for the non-Greek attestations, the precise reference of inscriptions can be found in LGPN 5B or C.⁶

a. Two-stem names:

- o ?[A]ρμαση[τ]ας: Lycaonia, not in LGPN; see SUNDWALL 1913, 234 (unpublished inscription: [O]ρμαση[τ]ας), BOSSERT 1952/1953, 184 ([A]ρμασητας), followed by Goetze 1954, 76 and HOUWINK TEN CATE 1961, 134 and 171; but see KPN, 381 n. 60 (“die Existenz des Namens ist unsicher”)
- o Δογλασατης: Isauria, imp.? (KPN § 293, LGPN 5C)
- o Ιασατης: Kibyrtis, ?1st c. BC (LGPN 5C)
- o Ιρδασιτας (gen. -ου): Lycaonia, 3rd c. AD (KPN § 482-3, LGPN 5C)
- o Μιρασητας: x6, Cilicia, 1st c. BC-imp. (LGPN 5B); Μιρασητιανή: Cilicia, 3rd c. AD (LGPN 5B)

- o Μωσητας: x2, Cilicia, 2nd-3rd c. AD (LGPN 5B); Μουσητας: x2, Isauria, 2nd-3rd c. AD (LGPN 5B); Car. *Mwsat-* (ADIEGO 2007, 386); Pis. Μοσητα- (BRIXHE 2016, N 1, 3), Μουσητα- (BRIXHE 2016, N 2, 4, 6, 7, 23)
- o Οπρασατης: Pisidia, ca. 160 BC (KPN § 1099-10, LGPN 5C); Οβρασητας: x3, Cilicia, imp. (LGPN B); Ουπρασητας (acc. -αν): Cilicia, imp. (KPN § 1099-11, LGPN B); Ουφρασατας: Pamphylia, 2nd c. BC (LGPN 5B)
- o Ορβαλασητας (gen. -α): Cilicia, 3rd c. BC (KPN § 1102-1, LGPN 5B)
- o Πονασατης (gen. -ου): Pisidia, imp. (KPN § 1288-3; LGPN 5C)
- o Πορδασητας (son of Πορδαμοας, priest): Cilicia, 1st c. BC (LGPN 5B)
- o Τβερρασητας: x2, Cilicia, 2nd-1st c. BC (KPN § 1521-1, LGPN 5B)

b. One-stem names:

- o [A]σατης (acc. -ην): Pisidia, imp. (KPN § 115 “Die Ergänzung ist unsicher”, cf. LGPN 5C s.n. Οπναλβειβις “f. -σατης”; but now see the following)
- o Ασατας: x2, Pamphylia, 2nd-1st c. BC (LGPN 5B)
- o Lyc. (B) *Esete-* (TL 105.2, Lyc. A context)
- o Lyc. A *Ehetēme(i)-* (TL 135.1)

The names [A]σατης and Ασατας present the same structure as Lyc. *Esete-*, in which the presence of the intervocalic /s/ invites taking it as Lycian B, unlike the derivative *Ehetēme(i)-*. This series of names is crucial, since it allows us to reconstruct an anthroponymic stem **asēta-/asatē-/asata-*, for which we can now search for an underlying lexeme. Beside this trisyllabic stem, one should also take into consideration the following anthroponyms, mostly attested in the indigenous and Greek corpora from Pisidia:

- o Pis. Σατα- (BRIXHE 2016, N 43.1)
- o Σατας: x10, Pisidia, imp. (LGPN 5C)
- o Σητας : x3, Pisidia, imp. (LGPN 5C)

⁶ Caria, Lycia and Cilicia are covered in LGPN 5B, whereas data from Kibyrtis, Milyas, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia and Isauria are found in volume 5C.

- ο Σαταρας: Kibyratis, 3rd c. AD (KPN § 1382-3, LGPN 5B)
- ο Σατηρας: Pisidia, imp. (LGPN 5C)

One could rely on these names to identify a different base having the shape **sata-/*sēta-*. However, the most economical solution is to consider that these names display the former base, which has undergone aphaeresis. This hypothesis seems plausible to me in view of the triviality of this phonetic pattern in southern Anatolia, as shown in the following examples taken in different corpora:

- ο Pamphylian (BRIXHE 1976, pp. 43-45): Θανάδωρος (= Ἀθηνάδωρος), Πελάδωρος (= Ἀπολλόδωρος), Φορδίσις (vs. Ἀφορδίσις = Ἀφροδίσις) etc.;
- ο Sidetic (PÉREZ OROZCO 2007, p. 134): *Θandor-* (← Ἀθηνάδωρος), *Θanpij-* (← Ἀθηνόβιος), *Polonij-* (← Ἀπολλώνιος), *Pordor-* (= Ἀπολλόδωρος) etc.;
- ο Lycian (HAJNAL 1995, p. 189): *Tēne/agure-* (← Ἀθηναγόρας), *Pulenjida-* (← Ἀπολλωνίδης), *Pedrita-* (← Ἀφορδίτα) etc.;
- ο Pisidian (ADIEGO 2017, p. 14): Θαναει- (← Ἀθήναιος)?

The Pisidian corpus, of course, provides only one uncertain example, but this could be due to the scarcity of the corpus itself. This aphaeresis would then confirm that the second syllable of the stem was stressed, as already suggested by the syllabification of Lycian forms.

4. LUWIC COGNATES OF THE STEM *ασητα-/ασατη-/ασατα-*: THE ATTESTATIONS

In order to justify the identification of the stem **asēta-/asatē-/asata-*, it is also necessary, when possible, to rely on the lexicon. Now, we find a Luwic lexeme that is compatible with this analysis, a lexeme that appears in different corpora: Cuneiform Luwian **aššatta-*, Lycian

B **asata-* and Lycian A *ahata-*.⁷ Because their precise meaning is a matter of debate, I will first review the attestations without translating them. The discussion regarding the semantics will be the object of the section 7.

a. Luw. of Hittite transmission **aššatta-*

The first evidence is a Luwian possessive adjective of Hittite transmission, more specifically in the festival for the protective deities (CTH 682.1A):

(i) ^d*A-a-la-aš aš-ša-at-ta-aš-ši-iš* (KUB 2.1 iii 44) “*Āla* of the *aššatta-*” (McMAHON 1991, p. 109).

b. Lyc. B **asata-(/esete(/i)-?)*

The Lycian B corpus provides two attestations of the word **asata-*, in the text of the Xanthos Stele.

(ii) *Trqq[i]z: esetesi|= [k]e er[b]besi=ke* (TL 44d.12-13) “the Storm-God of *asata-* and of *erbbe(/i)-*”

(iii) *Xzzātā=pe: Trqqi<z>: |[T]rmmile: zmpde eseti* (TL 44d.45) “the Storm-God bound⁷ Xanthos to the Lycians in *asata-*”

c. Lyc. A *ahata-* (mostly collectives)

More occurrences are found in the Lycian A corpus, which offers different contexts.

(iv) *se n̄temlē: qastte teli: erbbe: me=ti n̄temlē: przze: astte teli⁷ |sej=ahata: astte* (TL 29.3-4, cf. TEKOĞLU 2006) “and where he destroyed the sacrificial installation in the *erbbe(/i)-*, there⁷ he made the sacrificial

⁷ Although tempting, the connection of HLuw. (“*460”) *á-sa-ta-* to this group is probably to be excluded, because of the negative context of ASSUR letter e, § 10, about which see lastly MELCHERT - YAKUBOVICH 2022, pp. 22 and 24.

installation for the foremost (people? deities?) and made *ahata*-”

(v) *me uwadraxi: ese: przze[...]: eh|etehi: axã: ara: nelede: Arñna* (TL 44a.33-34, cf. DÖNMEZ - SCHÜRR 2015) “(there) was a bovine sacrifice to the foremost (deities?) [...] of *ahata*- I made with due rites in the agora in Xanthos”

(vi) *s=ed=de: ahata ha[de:] ênê: gla=bi: ehetei: se mahãna: ehete[he] Arñna: Tuminehi: Kerθθi: Xãkbi* (TL 44b.47-49) “and he released *ahata*- under the local precinct of *ahata*- and the gods of *ahata*- in Xanthos, Tymnessos, *Kertthi*-, *Kandyba*”

(vii) *se=ije: ahatahi: ñtata me ñtepi: tasñti* (TL 118.4) “they keep putting in the burial place of *ahata*-”

The vocalic discrepancy between *ehetei* (vi) and *ahatahi* (vii) may reflect two different stems, the former being derived from the collective and the latter from a possible common gender in *-ta-* (SASSEVILLE 2018, p 314-315). Whatever the exact meaning of the word, it often appears associated to different deities: *Āla* (i), the Storm-God (ii and iii), and unspecified gods (vi). The close connection between this lexeme and divine names is also found in personal onomastics.

5. THEOPOHORIC PERSONAL NAMES

All the personal names previously mentioned quickly prove to be theophoric, which is hardly surprising given the use of this lexeme as a divine epithet in Luwian and Lycian. Before trying to discuss the semantics of the stem *asēta-/asatē-/asata-*, let us review the personal names, sorting them by morphological types: compounds, derivatives and anthroponymic conversions, i.e. nouns or adjectives turned into personal names.

a. Compounds

Most names can be identified as compounds. For the sake of clarity, they are here presented in four subsections, according to the nature of the first member: attested divine name, attested divine epithet, likely divine name or epithet, and *puna*- “all”.⁸

- Attested theonym as first member:

o I-ασατης: compare HLuw. /Iya-/, adapted from the name of the Mesopotamian god of wisdom, *Ea*. Cf. Iα-γoας, Iα-ζαpμας, I-αζημυς, Lyc. *Ija-mara-* → Iα-μαpας etc.

o Oπp-ασατης/Oυπp-ασητας/Oυφp-ασατας:⁹ *Upra-* (LAROCHE 1966, p. 292; VAN GESSEL 1998, p. 540; ZEHNDER 2010, p. 82). Alternatively, divine epithet **uppara-* (HOUWINK TEN CATE 1961, p 162-164; MELCHERT 2013, p. 44): cf. Cun. *Upparamuwa-* → Gk. Oπpα-μo(υ)ας/Oπpα-μως; Oπpα-μoυασις/Oπpα-μωσις/Oυβpα-μoυασις.

o ? [A]pμ-αση[τ]ας: Moon-God *Arma*. Possibly also in Eρμαδ-ατας, Apμιδ-ατας (Lycia), with variant **Armmāt- vel sim.* of the Moon-God’s name¹⁰ and contraction °*ahata*- → °ατα-.¹¹

- Attested divine epithet as first member:

o Mιp-ασητας and Mιp-ασητιανή: place-name *Mira-*, geographical epithet of one or several gods “of the land of *Mira*” (LAROCHE

8 On the major role played by divine epithets in Luwic onomastics, see YAKUBOVICH 2013 and RÉVEILHAC *in press* b.

9 For the Pamphylian variant Oυφp(α)- with <φ> = [β] or [v] (BRICHE 1976, p. 52): compare Oυφpαpγφαις, -ειτυς *vis-à-vis* Oυβpανγoυεις, -ειτος in Cilicia.

10 Compare Eρμα(ν)δας, Apμαδα-πμυς/Eρμαδα-π(ε)μυς/Eρμοδα-πειμυς etc. On these names, see RÉVEILHAC 2018, p 462-463.

11 As in *Mahanepi[jeme/i-]* → Mαναπιμυς, *Purihimete/i-* → Πυριματις/Ποp(ε)ματις; see RÉVEILHAC 2018, p. 342 and ADIEGO 2020, p. 50.

1966, p. 270; HUTTER 2003, p. 234). Cf. Hier. /Mira-muwa-/; Gk. Μιρας (Pamphylia), Μιρανις (Cilicia), Μιρηνις (Lycia), Μιρα-ουησκη (Cilicia) ← *Mira-washa-.¹²

ο Μωσητας, Μουσητας; Pis. Mo(υ)σητα-; Car. *Mwsat-*: Luw. /muwa-/ “might”, esp. associated with theonyms in personal names (cf. *CHD* L-N, 314-315), e.g. Hier. /Arma-muwa-/, /Sanda-muwa-/, /Tiwada-muwa-/ etc.¹³

ο Ορβαλ-ασητας: Luw. /warpalla/i-/ “strong, powerful” or “armed”, derivative of /warp(i)-/ “courage” (HAWKINS 2000, e.g. p. 466) or “(divine) weapon” (YAKUBOVICH 2019).¹⁴ The use of this adjective as a divine epithet seems to be confirmed by the Pisidian heronym Ορβλης¹⁵ and, indirectly, by the personal names Cun. *Warpa-LÚ*, Hier. /Warpallawa-/, /Warpanda-/, Gk. Ορβασις (Kibyrtatis).¹⁶

ο Πορδ-ασητας: compare possibly CLuw. *paratt(a)-* “impurity”, cf. Ritual of Puriyanni (CTH 768) *nu LÍL-aš^dU-an^dPa-ra-at-ta-aš-ši-in ki-iš-ša-an BAL-hi* (KUB 7.14 i 2-3).¹⁷ Other personal names: Περτα-τουβαρις (Pisidia), Παρτασις (Lycia). Possible phonetic developments: *[Par(a)t(a)-] > [Prt(a)-] (syncope), hence Περτα^o/Παρτα^o > [Prd(a)-]

12 On the names in ^o*wašha-* in the cuneiform corpus, see ZEHNDER 2010, p 97-98.

13 For a recent semantic and etymological reassessment of *muwa-*, see VALÉRIO 2023.

14 The Weapon of the Storm-God is known as a distinct deity since the Bronze Age: see KOHLMAYER 2000, p 31-32.

15 *TAM III*, 864 (Termessos): φυλης Ορβλητος.

16 Cf. ANDAVAL § 2 (HAWKINS 2000, p. 515): /wa=mu war[pa]ssis [Tarhunza]s atsatta/ “the Storm-God of the Weapon loved me” (YAKUBOVICH 2019, p. 550).

17 “I perform the following sacrifice to the Storm-God of the Open Country, (i.e.) ‘(that) of impurity’”, although “the context is formally compatible with treating Parattašši as a separate deity” (YAKUBOVICH 2023, p. 324 n. 6, after PUÉRTOLAS RUBIO 2023).

(conditioned voicing after liquid),¹⁸ hence Πορδ(α)-.¹⁹

ο Τβερ-ασητας: **tubar(i)-* maybe meaning “comrade in arms, (divine) ally”, indirectly attested in the Lycian heronym Τούβερις (St. Byz. *s.n.* “Υλαμοι) and in personal names such as HLuw. /TuPar(i)-/; Car. *Dtybr-*; Gk. Τβεραμοτας, Τβερημωσις (Cilicia), Ερματοβορις (Lycia), Ταρκυνδβερρας (Isauria), Ρωνδοβερρας/Ρωνδβερρας (Cilicia) etc.²⁰

- Likely divine name or epithet:

ο Δογλ-ασατης: compare Δοκλευς (Pisidia)?

ο Ιρδ-ασιτας: compare Ιρδα-μουτας, Ιρδα-ουεξας, Ερδι-μονγος, Ιρδισ/Ερδισ.

- *Puna-* “all(-gods?)” as first member:

ο Πον-ασατης: CLuw. *pūna-*, Lyc. A and B **puna-*, Car. **pun-/pn-/pñ-*.²¹ Other theophoric personal names: Cun. *Puna-muwa-/Lyc. Puna-muwa-/Puna-muwe-* → Gk. Πονα-μοας (Lycia)/Πονα-μυ(φ)ας (Pamphylia); Car. *Pn-ušol-/Pun-wšol-* etc. → Gk. Πον-υσσωλλος (Caria).

b. Derivatives

ο Lyc. A *Ehetēme(i)-* “Belonging to (X-god/dess of) **asata-*” with the suffix of appurtenance *-am(i)-*, as in Luw. /massanam(i)-/ “pertaining to god” (hence Luw. in Hitt. transmission ^{LÚ}*maššanām(i)-* “member of temple” and HLuw. *DEUS-na-*

18 Compare Lyc. *Natr-bbijēme/i-* “Given by Natri”, with ^o*bbijēme/i-* as allomorph of *pijēme/i-* after [r].

19 For the vocalization of [r] as <op> vs. <ap>, <ep>, compare Τροκονδ^o vs. other variants Τρακονδ^o/Ταρκονδ^o/Τερκονδ^o.

20 On this vast group of names and a semantic hypothesis for **tubar(i)-*, see now RÉVEILHAC forthcoming a.

21 See, for discussion, SIMON *et al.* 2022. For the use of this stem in personal names, see ZEHNDER 2010, p. 240 and Serangeli 2017.

mi- “prophet”²² and in theophoric names, like Hier. /Tarhuntam(i)-/, /Tiwadam(i)-/²³ etc.

ο Σαταρας/Σατηρας “(X-god/dess) of *asata-” with suffix *-ra/i-* < PIE **-ro-* or “The one of *asata-” with suffix *-ra-* < PIE **-r-eh₂*. Compare Lyc. *Pixre-*, Car. *Pikra-* → Πιγρης/Πικρης < **pih-ra-* “of splendour, resplendent”, originally used as divine epithet of the Storm-God.

c. Anthroponymic conversions²⁴

ο Lyc. B *Esete-*.

ο Pis. Σατα-.

ο Gk. Ασατας and Σατας/[Α]σατης/Σητας.

6. VOCALIC DISCREPANCIES IN THE GREEK ADAPTATION OF THE BASE: AN AREAL DISTRIBUTION REFLECTING A LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCE

So far, in the forms of Greek transmission, the variants (^οα)σατας/(^οα)σατης/(^οα)σητας have been discussed together, despite the vowel discrepancies, which have to be addressed. The variation between *alpha* and *eta* in the final syllable does not raise any particular problem, because it takes place in the inflectional part, which is by nature more subject to morphological interference. Thus, the final *-ης* probably fitted better into the Koine than *-ας*, which is certainly closer phonetically to the original final, but with a more pronounced dialectal (i.e. non Ionic-Attic) colouration, specifically in a sequence ^οτας/^οτης

which must have been reminiscent of the Greek agent suffix.²⁵

What is more problematic is the variation between *alpha* and *eta* in the penultimate syllable. In order to untangle this, it is worth sorting the different forms according to place and time of attestation, to determine whether areal or chronological factors are at work.

As can be seen in the **Table 1**, a geographical distribution is quite clear between West and East: *alpha* is predominant in Kibyris, Pisidia and Pamphylia, while only *eta* is found in Lycaonia and Cilicia, and Isauria has both adaptations. The variant with *alpha* can be explained fairly well, especially if one remembers that in Lycia, which is close to the regions concerned, an *a*-umlaut produced the forms **asata-* and *ahata-*.

The real difficulty lies in the use of *eta*, which has been associated with different vowels throughout the history of Greek. As previously mentioned, the association between the lexeme /tsid(i)-/ and the onomastic stem under study was based on the very assumption that *eta* noted [i(:)] already in the Hellenistic period. It is necessary to take the time to review the facts to clarify the situation. Firstly, in Roman times there is no longer any quantitative opposition between vowels, especially between those noted by *eta* and *epsilon*.²⁶ What is more difficult to determine, however, is the qualitative value of the vowel noted by *eta*. It is worth reviewing the idea that has been widely held since the work of S.-V. TEODORSSON (1978, p 94-98, for Attic), which claims that from the Hellenistic period onwards there existed in certain regions of the Greek world a phonological subsystem where <η> corresponded to /i/ and that this pronunciation became widespread from the beginning of our era, especially in Asia Minor (see BRIXHE 1984, p 46-49). Certainly, as L. THREATTE (1980, p 160-161) describes for Attica, there are many cases of graphic exchanges between *eta* and *iota* in the

22 See MELCHERT 2003, p. 195.

23 Also as a title in Luwian: /tiwadamis tsidis/ “steward of the Sun [i.e. King]” (GOEDEGEBUURE 2009).

24 On divine epithets converted into personal names, see lastly ADIEGO 2022, p 83-86: Αρβασις/Αρβησις vs. Τροκο-αρβασις ↔ Lyc. B *Trqiz*: *esetsi*=[k]e er[b]besi=ke. Compare also Modern Spanish *advocaciones marianas* used as idionyms: e.g. *María de la Paz/María Paz/Paz*.

25 Compare Iranian personal names in ^οπάτης ← ^οpāta-.

26 See THREATTE 1986, p 385-386 for Attic Greek.

	(^ο α)σατ(α/ης)	(^ο α)σητ(ας)
Kibyratís	Ιασατης (?1 st c. BC) Σαταρας (3 rd c. AD)	
Pisidia	Οπρασατης (ca. 160 BC) Πονασατης (imp.) Σατας (imp.) Σατηρας (imp.)	Σητας (imp.)
Pamphylia	Ουφρασατας (2 nd c. BC) Ασατας (2 nd -1 st c. BC) [Α]σατης (imp.)	
Isauria	Δογλασατης (imp.?)	Μουσητας (2 nd -3 rd c. AD)
Lycaonia		Α]ρμαση[τ]ας Ιρδασιτας (3 rd c. AD)
Cilicia		Μιρασητας (1 st c. BC-imp.) Μωσητας (2 nd -3 rd c. AD) Οβρασητας (imp.) Ουπρασητας (imp.) Ορβαλασητας (3 rd c. BC) Πορδασητας (1 st c. BC) Τβερασητας (2 nd -1 st c. BC)

Tab. 1. Areal classification of the personal names from the Greek documentation.

Roman period, but not to the same extent as what is attested for the digramm <ει>, which quickly becomes interchangeable with <ι>. Besides the interchanges between *eta* and *iota*, there are also cases of interchanges between *eta* and *epsilon*, showing that, at least for some speakers, *eta* always noted an *e*-vowel.²⁷ As far as southern Asia Minor is concerned,²⁸ it is possible to provide a quick survey of interchanges between *eta* and *epsilon* in a few epigraphic collections, from Cilicia and Lycia, but without any claim to exhaustiveness:

- ο <ε> for <η>: e.g. μέ for μή (Cilicia, 1st c. AD, Bean-Mitford *Rough Cilicia* I 197b.9), βλεθῆνε for βληθῆναι (Cilicia, 1st-2nd c. AD, *IK Anazarbos* 1 102.3), ἐπιμελετεύσας for ἐπιμελητεύσας (Lycia, 2nd c. AD, *TAM II*

838.4), Δεμετρία for Δημητρία (Lycia, imp., *TAM II* 1210.4-5), μνέμες for μνήμης (Cilicia, 5th/6th c. AD, *I.Cilicie* 58.2), Δεμέτρ[ιος] for Δημήτριος (Cilicia, 5th/6th c. AD, *I.Cilicie* 115.2), τῆς for τῆς (Cilicia, christ., *CIG* 4438.4), Ἑρακλήδα for Ἡρακλείδα (Cilicia, christ., *MAMA III* 484.3).

ο <η> for <ε>: e.g. τῆκνου for τέκνου (Cilicia, christ., *MAMA III* 85.3), τῆχνην for τέχνην (Cilicia, christ., *MAMA III* 284.2).

These interchanges take place up to a fairly late period, as they are still found in Christian inscriptions. As W. S. ALLEN (1987, p 74-75) notes, the fact that <η> still corresponds to an *e*-vowel in Roman times in some regions is further supported by independent evidence, namely the adaptations of Greek to other languages such as Gothic, Old Armenian or Old Georgian, which still distinguish between the sounds noted by *eta* and *epsilon*. We will therefore adapt G. Horrocks' nuanced conclusion about Egyptian Koine to Asia Minor Koine, that "it would probably be premature to assume the full merger

²⁷ For a detailed account of the graphic confusions in the Ptolemaic Greek of the papyri, see MAYSER (1970, pp. 46-54), who remains very cautious about a closure of <η> into [i] from the late Ptolemaic period.

²⁸ The same interchanges are also attested in papyri of Roman and Byzantine times, on which see GIGNAC 1975, pp. 142-149.

of /ē/ and /i/ before the earlier Byzantine period” (HORROCKS 2010, p. 168).

The fact that <ε> and <η> note a vowel of the same qualitative value in Asia Minor can be seen in some adaptations of Anatolian names, where both graphemes can be used interchangeably: e.g. Οετασις vs. Οητασις (both forms in the same inscription, Cil., 2nd c. BC); Ταρκυν-δβερρας (Isauria, imp.)/Ρων-δ(ο)βερρας (Cilicia, 2nd-1st c. BC) vs. Ξαν-δοβηρας (Isauria, imp.)/Μιν-δυβηρας (Pisidia, 1st c. AD);²⁹ Σαδ-αζεμυς (Cilicia, imp.) vs. Ι-αζημυς (Cappadocia, hell.-imp.); Τερβεμυς (Cilicia, 1st c. BC) /Τρεβε[μυς] (Cilicia, 1st c. BC) vs. Τερβημυς (e.g. Pisidia, imp.)/Τρεβημυς (Isauria, Pisidia, imp.)/Τρηβημυς (Lycia, 1st c. BC-1st c. AD) etc.

As for the Isaurian, Lycaonian and Cilician variant ^οασητας,³⁰ the use of <η> and not <α> probably indicates that the penultimate vowel of the base was not [a], but rather [æ]. The latter could more generally be the source of other variations between *alpha* and *e*-vowels in Greek adaptations of Anatolian names, sometimes imputable to the effect of an *i*-umlaut as in ^οαζαμυς/^οαζε/ημυς³¹ (← /atsæmma/i-/ “beloved”) and (^ο)πιγγραμυς/^οβιγρεμυς³² (← /pixræmma/i-/ “resplendent”), but sometimes without a clear-cut explanation yet, like in the case of Ινδοβαρας (Cilicia, 1st-2nd c. AD) vs. Ινδοβηρας (Cilicia, imp.). This tends to confirm the existence in Luwian of a phoneme /æ/, different from /a/.³³

29 On the segmentation of these forms, see now RÉVEILHAC forthc.

30 The variant ^οασιτας in Ιρδασιτας (3rd c. AD) clearly reflects a case of secondary iotacism of <η>.

31 E.g. Σανδ-αζεμυς (Cilicia, 1st c. BC) vs. Σαδ-αζεμυς (Cilicia, imp.)/Ι-αζημυς (Cappadocia, hell.-imp.).

32 E.g. Πιγγραμυς (Lycia, imp.)/Κοζα-πιγγραμυς (Cilicia, 3rd c. BC) vs. Ρω(μ)-βιγρεμυς (Cilicia, hell.)/Ταρκυν-βιγρεμυς (Cilicia, 1st c. BC)/Τροκομ-βιγρεμυς (Cilicia, 2nd/1st c. BC).

33 This opposition could be reflected for the initial position in earlier Anatolian hieroglyphic spelling, up to the mid-9th century BC, with initial <a> for /æ-/ vs. <á> for /a-/, the latter corresponding to [a] or [a]: see MELCHERT 2010 (cautiously) and YAKUBOVICH 2022, p. 206.

On the other hand, for the variants ^οασατας and ^οασατης attested in the western regions and having a penultimate <α>, it is hard to tell whether the underlying form was /asæta-/ with the choice of <α> as a correspondent of /æ/, or /asata-/ with an effect of *a*-umlaut comparable to that attested in the Lycian appellative. The absence of interchanges between <α> and <η> makes however the second hypothesis more plausible.

As a result, the vocalic variations within the Greek adaptations of the onomastic base reflect rather clear linguistic differences:

- ο (^ο)σητας ← /asæta-/ in Luwian speaking area
- ο (^ο)σατα/ης (and possibly ^οατας) ← /asata-/ (and possibly /ahata-/) with *a*-umlaut in Lycian and Pisidian speaking areas.

7. SEMANTICS OF CLuw. *aššatta-, Lyc. B *asata- AND Lyc. A ahata-

Having justified the vowel variations in the Greek adaptations of the onomastic base, it is now time to return in detail to its semantic value. This section is naturally the most controversial, due to the uncertainty surrounding the meaning of the lexemes in discussion. It must be stressed, however, that whatever their exact meaning, this in no way calls into question the identification previously established between these nouns and the onomastic stem. In all cases, the *assatta*-element is positive in nature and must be studied in relation to its probable antonym.

The terms CLuw. *arpā*- and Lyc. *erbbe*(/i)- have been the subject of much discussion, which need not be repeated here in detail.³⁴ While some scholars have defended for the Luwian word the meaning of “misfortune, adversity” (PUHVEL 1984, p. 168; BEAL 1999, p. 50), others have proposed the more specific

34 For detailed summaries, see NEUMANN 2007, p. 65 and RIEKEN 2022.

meaning of “Niederlage” (*HW*² 1, p. 339) or “confusion, tumult, strife” (MELCHERT 1993, p. 30), especially because of its use with ŠA MÈ “in battle”. I. HAJNAL (1995, p. 70, 105 n. 85) suggested the specific sense of “battle” for Lycian *erbbe(i)-*, followed by H. C. MELCHERT (2004, p. 16). E. RIEKEN (2022) puts forward the more neutral meaning of “unrest” for CLuw. *arpā-*, which is quite appropriate for the Hittite oracular contexts where the Luwian word is used.

After NEUMANN (1984, pp. 89-90) interpreted the Lycian B formula *Trqq[i]z: esetes[i]=[k]e er[b]besi=ke* (TL 44d.12-13) as a merism that coordinates two antonyms, CLuw. **aššatta-*, Lyc. B **asata-* and Lyc. A *ahata-* have been translated sometimes as “victory” and sometimes as “peace”, the latter meaning finding more support in the various contexts in which the term is used.³⁵ However, H. C. MELCHERT (forthc.) very recently challenged the meanings of respectively “turmoil (of battle)” and “peace”, which he had previously defended,³⁶ arguing for the respective meanings of “misfortune” and “good fortune”. Among the arguments against the meaning of “battle” or “turmoil”, the American scholar relies on the use of Lyc. *erbbese/i-* as an epithet of the Storm-God (TL 44d.12-13), arguing that, unlike the epithet “of Peace”, which is attested in the Hittite corpus, such an epithet has, on the other hand, no parallel. However, this objection seems easily overcome: first of all, even if we know of no Storm-God “of War, of Battle” in Hittite, this in no way excludes the possibility that it might have existed elsewhere or later. This would not be so surprising, moreover, if we are to believe other divine martial epithets: KARAS “army camp, troops” is associated with several deities such as ^dĀla (VAN GESSEL 1998, p. 13) or the Storm-God (VAN GESSEL 1998, *passim*) and, in

the Hieroglyphic corpus, one find formulae such as (DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS (SÜDBURG, 2 §2) and EXERCITUS.LA/I/U-na- (DEUS)TONITRUS- (TELL AHMAR 6, *passim*).³⁷ In addition, a divine epithet “of Misfortune” is not attested either in any Anatolian corpus whatsoever. From this strict point of view, the choice of “misfortune” instead of “battle, turmoil” offers no particular benefit. I would even go so far as to say that it presents a disadvantage, since it would mean abandoning the meaning of “of Peace” in favour of “of Good Fortune” for **aššatta-*, even though the Hittite *takšulaš* “of Peace” is well known for the Storm-God, whereas, on the other hand, there is no epithet “of Good Fortune” in Hittite, strictly speaking. Following I.-X. ADIEGO (2022, p. 83), the use of the epithet *erbbese/i-* in first millennium onomastics should be noted, either as a simple name Αρβησις/Αρβησις (Caria, 5th/4th c. BC, LGPN 5B)/Αρβασις (Lycia, 4th c. BC; Cilicia, hell.-imp., LGPN 5B), or in the conversion of the divine onomastic formula associating the name of the Storm-God with its epithet Τροκο-αρβασις (Cilicia, hell.-imp., LGPN 5B). Admittedly, the meaning of “of Misfortune”, a priori surprising in anthroponymy, could here derive from the designation of the Storm-God “(who removes) misfortune”, but this remains hypothetical. In addition, the same epithet enters into the formation of another anthroponymic compound, Κολ-αρβασις (Cilicia, imp., LGPN 5B), the first member of which is found in Κολα-μοας and goes back to Luw. /kwala(n)-/ “army”, probably used here as a hypostasis of the Storm-God.³⁸ In the case of this compound, it is hard to see how the epithet “of Misfortune” can be justified for a Storm-God of the Army, while the sense

35 See, with references, NEUMANN 2007, p. 5 and SASSEVILLE 2022.

36 MELCHERT 1993, pp. 30 and 35 (CLuw.); MELCHERT 2004, pp. 16 and 2 (Lyc.).

37 See also the anthroponyms Hier. EXERCITUS-BOS /Kuwalana-muwa-/ (BoHa 19.192-193) or EXERCITUS-VIR.ZI/A /Kuwalana-tsid(i)-/ (BoHa 19.195-198). See RÉVEILHAC *in press* b.

38 STARKE (1990, pp. 234-236), followed by VALÉRIO - YAKUBOVICH (2022, p. 350), assumes a parallel Luwian stem /k^wal(a)-/ beside /k^walan-/.

of “battle, turmoil” is conversely much more natural. Moreover, Lycian uses of *erbbe(i)-* are found in martial contexts, notably in connection with the verbs *qas-* “to keep destroying” (TL 44a.46-48: *qastte terñ tlahñ erbbedi h[ã]tahe*; TL 29.3: *se=ñtemlê: qastte teli : erbbe*) and *tub(e)i-* “to strike down” (TL 44b.18-19: *m=en=erbbedi: tubei[te]*), which seems particularly compatible with the meaning of “battle”, which I think is better justified than that of “misfortune”: how could a dynast be celebrated as a conqueror performing military acts with “misfortune”?

Furthermore, the meaning of “peace, rest” is better suited than that of “good fortune” to occurrences of its antonym Lyc. A *ahata-*, especially when the latter is the object of the verbs as “to keep doing” (TL 29.4: *sej=ahata: astte*) and *ha-* “to release, to deliver” (TL 44b.47: *s=ed=de: ahata ha[de]*). Finally, in the specific case of the genitival adjective *ahatahi* epithet of *ñtata* “burial chamber” (TL 118.4), the meaning of “of rest, of peace” is no less appropriate than that of “of good fortune”, quite the contrary. It should be noted that, with the exception of the divine onomastic formula ^d*Ālaš aššattaššiš*, attested in a Hittite context, all the other associations of **assatta-* with divine names or epithets, whether in the corpora themselves or in anthroponymic compounds, date from the first millennium. This is consistent with the fact that the lexeme, apart from its use as a divine epithet, is not attested in Luwian, whereas it is used five times in Lycian (A and B). The different occurrences in Lycian seem to testify to the importance attached to pacification after episodes of war, hence perhaps the association of **assatta-* with several deities. Now, can this meaning be confirmed by the anthroponymic data uncovered in the previous sections? Personal names with a single base are of course of no help for the semantic aspect, but in the case of compounds, I have highlighted (cf. section 5) the fact that the stem was generally associated with several theonyms, divine epithets (in probable use of hypostasis) or with *puna-* “all(-gods)”. With a much more general value,

the meaning of “good fortune” is certainly easier to justify in view of the association of the epithet with so many different deities, but I don’t think this disqualifies the meaning of “peace” (*pace* MELCHERT forthc.). On the contrary, it seems to me that the meaning of “peace” constitutes an *interpretatio difficilior*, which can be supported. Firstly, in societies where war was common, it is not unimaginable that various deities were invoked to ward off fighting or keep peace, particularly in the context of treaties. The association of “peace” with deities as different as the Moon-God, Ea, the gods of the land of Mira or all-gods is no less plausible than the association of the Latin epithet *pācifer, -fēra* “peace-bringing, who makes peace” with gods and goddesses as different as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Minerva or Hercules.³⁹ In the above list, *pācifer, -fēra* can certainly be associated with Mars and Minerva, whose attributes are of a military nature. This is easily explained: war and peace are complementary, since the latter only exists in contrast to the former and generally follows it, either through victory or through the conclusion of an agreement. Furthermore, some societies may consider that it is only through arms or the threat of war that peace can be lasting, as illustrated by the famous adage *sī vīs pācem, parā bellum* handed down by Vegetius in *De re militari*. In other words, the association of **assatta-* with martial epithets such as /*warpalla/i-* “armed” or /*tubar(i)-* “comrade in arms, (divine) ally” does not make the meaning of “peace” implausible, but quite the opposite.

This meaning can also be justified by the formation of CLuw. **aššatta-*, Lyc. B **asata-* and Lyc. A *ahata-*. Indeed, it is possible to reconstruct a Proto-Luwic form **asséttā-* or **assóttā-*, that is, a derivative in *-*é-teh₂* of the type Luwian /*piyatta-* (coll.) “gift”, Hittite /*piyetta-* (coll.) “allotment”, Lycian *pijata-* (c.) “donation” (see LEBRUN 1990). Since H. C. MELCHERT’s dictionary (2004, p. 2), followed

39 For the epigraphical references, see LEWIS - SHORT s. v.

by D. SASSEVILLE (2022), the verbal base of this noun is usually related to Hittite $\bar{a}\check{s}\check{s}$ -^(mi) “to remain, to stay”. However, a connection with PANat. $*h_1\acute{e}s$ / $h_1\acute{e}s$ - “to sit” (cf. Hitt. $\bar{e}\check{s}$ -/ $a\check{s}$ -^(ri) “to sit down”, CLuw. $a\check{s}ar$ “he sits down”, HLuw. / asa -⁽ⁱ⁾/ “to sit, to dwell”) cannot be ruled out. A semantic development [SIT DOWN] > [PEACE] is not difficult to justify, either paralleling it with Insular Celtic, where PIE $*sed$ - “to sit” > OIr. $síd$ “residence (of fairies) > fairy mound” but also “peace” and Welsh $hedd$ “peace” (STÜBER 2002, p. 144; HÖFLER 2014, pp. 313 and 315),⁴⁰ or simply because “sitting down” naturally leads to a lack of any activity, particularly military activity.⁴¹

8. CONCLUSION

The equation between / $^{\circ}tsid(i)$ -/ and a supposed onomastic stem $^{\circ}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ / $^{\circ}\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ should be definitively rejected, for undeniable phonetic reasons. Thanks to single-base names attested in the Greek, Lycian and Pisidian corpora, it is possible to reanalyse several Luwic compound names of Greek transmission and to propose a new segmentation with a second member having the form $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ / $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ / $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$. The identification of this new stem finds support in Luwian, Lycian B and A, which attest to the existence of an abstract $*a\check{s}\check{s}atta$ -/ $*asata$ -/ $ahata$ -, whose derived possessive adjective is used several times as a divine epithet. In the various anthroponymic compounds, the stem $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ / $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ / $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$ is mostly associated with a divine element, either a divine name or an epicleris: such names then reflect divine onomastic formulae associating the underlying lexeme with several deities. Other names are derived from the divine epithet, or even modelled

directly on it, according to a mode of formation well represented in the Luwic area. The question of vowel variations within the Greek adaptations of this onomastic base was also addressed: it emerged that the $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha/\eta\varsigma$ variant is predominant between Kybiratis and Isauria, while $^{\circ}\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ is almost exclusive to Lycaonia-Cilicia, thus indicating a linguistic variation between areas where the lexeme may have undergone an *a*-umlaut and the Luwian area where the underlying base must have had the form / $^{\circ}as\acute{e}ta$ -/. At the end of the last section, in which the various semantic hypotheses were presented, it became apparent that the meaning of “peace” for $*a\check{s}\check{s}atta$ -/ $*asata$ -/ $ahata$ - was the most appropriate (*pace* MELCHERT forthc.), based on various elements.

40 “Worüber man (zu Rate) sitzt” → “Friede(nsabkommen)”, cf. Eng. *settlement* “colony, village” and “resolution, agreement”.

41 I thank D. Kölligan for this last suggestion.

ABBREVIATIONS

BoHa 19

S. Herbordt, 2005, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa* (Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 19), Mainz am Rhein.

CTH

E. Laroche, 1971, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, 2nd ed., Paris.

eDiAna

J. Miller – E. Rieken – O. Hackstein – I. Yakubovich, (eds), 2017, in: eDiAna. Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages. (URL: <https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de>).

HW²

J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber – I. Hoffmann – J. Hazenbos – F. Giusfredi – A. Hagenbuchner-Dresel, 1975-, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*, Heidelberg.

KPN

L. Zgusta, 1964, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag.

LGPN 5B

J.-S. Balzat – T. Corsten – R. W. V. Catling (eds), 2013, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 5b, *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*, Oxford.

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TAM III

R. Heberdey, 1941, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. 3, *Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, Vindobonae.

TL

E. Kalinka, 1901, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. 1, *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Vindobonae.

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