Linguistic and Cultural Interactions between Greece and Anatolia

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Linguistic and Cultural Interactions between Greece and Anatolia

In Search of the Golden Fleece

Edited by

Michele Bianconi



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Al mio maestro Romano Lazzeroni (1930–2020)
in memoria

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The story behind this book is short if compared to some of its predecessors, but long if compared to the rhythm of today's world. The initial idea for a miscellaneous volume on Graeco-Anatolian matters came to me while I was organising the "Golden Fleece" conference, which took place at the Ertegun House and at St Hilda's College in Oxford in January 2017. This volume features many of the papers presented on that occasion, along with further contributions on various other topics. It is now part of the PRIN project "Ancient languages and writing systems in contact: a touchstone for language change", funded by Italian Ministry of education, university and research.

While in recent years young scholars and doctoral students are expected to do much more than their predecessors (in terms of dissemination of their research, teaching, organisational experience, etc.), the available resources rarely match the expectations of Academe. Oxford is a lucky exception, and the Ertegun Programme, which—along with St Hilda's College and the Faculty of Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics—funded an international and exceptionally well-attended conference organised by a second-year DPhil student, is an exception within the exception.

I cannot be thankful enough to all the people who believed in the project, and to the institutions that made it possible. Thanks to all the contributors who decided to participate in the volume: I hope that their scholarship, patience, and attention will be rewarded. A warm thanks also goes to Katie Chin and Erika Mandarino at Brill, who provided invaluable assistance throughout the editorial process.

In these past few years, the academic world has seen the loss of exceptional scholars, on whose shoulders we still stand: one in particular, my *maestro* Romano Lazzeroni, is sorely missed. This volume is a small token *in memoriam*.

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INTRODUCTION

Looking for the Golden Fleece: Where Are We Going?

Michele Bianconi

The idea for this volume originated from a conference named *In Search of the Golden Fleece. Linguistic and Cultural Interactions between Greece and the Ancient Near East* and hosted at the University of Oxford on January 27–28 2017. This was an unexpectedly successful event, which attracted people from all around the world and represented one of the very few recent symposia specifically devoted to linguistic and cultural contacts between Greece and the Ancient Near East, with a specific focus on pre-classical Anatolia. Some of the chapters in this volume have been presented (in either the same or in a different form) as papers at the "Golden Fleece" conference, but the reader may also find contributions from other specialists in Greek and Anatolian studies, who kindly accepted to be part of this project.

This book offers a new and up-to date selection of case studies of linguistic, cultural, and literary contacts between Greece and ancient Anatolia. This is a sub-field almost as old as Anatolian studies themselves: as soon as scholars started finding traces of the 'Greeks' in the Hittite tablets (cf. the famous *Aḫḫiyawa Frage*) and—at the same time—'Anatolian' elements were detected in the Homeric poems, a new field of studies was born.

The aim of this book is to provide new insights on a multi-faceted topic, which—thanks to the recent advances in our understanding of the Anatolian languages—needs to be thoroughly re-evalutated. The past century has seen incredible progress in comparative Indo-European linguistics: a good part of it is represented by the decipherment of Hittite (Hrozný, 1915–1917) and by the inclusion of the Anatolian branch in the Indo-European family. As for the history of the Hellenic world, the decipherment of Linear B (by Michael Ventris in 1952) has unveiled a new, more ancient, layer of Greek language and culture. As a consequence, combined evidence of different nature is progressively defining a clearer (yet often patchy) picture of the interfaces between two categories, the "West" and the "East", which should possibly be re-thought, in line with the recent history of ideas.

The literature on contacts between (pre-classical) Greece and the Ancient Near East is abundant, but only very few recent works in the English-speaking

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world have specifically focussed on the relationships between Greeks and the Indo-European people of Ancient Anatolia. Some noteworthy examples are the 2016 monograph *From Hittite to Homer* (Bachvarova 2016), and the volume *Anatolian Interfaces* (Collins—Bachvarova—Rutherford 2008). The main recent example in the non-English-speaking world is the series of volumes *Homère et l'Anatolie* (I, II and III; Mazoyer 2008, Faranton—Mazoyer 2014, 2017). Nevertheless, none of these contributions specifically addresses the issue from a linguistic and philological point of view. Despite the fact that there are individual chapters on philological issues, the main focus is most often literary, historical or archaeological. Such is the gap that the present volume would like to fill, with its more specifically linguistic and textual focus, which includes interdisciplinary contributions on contact linguistics, writing systems, literature, cultural motifs, and religious practices.

Previous studies on Greek-Anatolian interactions traditionally focussed on Hittite (cf. ch. 1 of this volume for a history of the scholarship): this is fully understandable, because Hittite is the best-attested and most studied language of the Anatolian branch. However, in the last few decades there has been a remarkable advance in our knowledge of the so-called 'minor languages' (in particular Hieroglyphic Luwian). This is why one of the goals of this volume is to give greater space to the (so-called) minor Anatolian languages, namely Luwian, Lydian, Carian, etc.—without of course excluding Hittite, whose evidence still outnumbers by far that of the other Anatolian languages.

Despite the fact that we are still lacking a comprehensive re-assessment of all the (real and alleged) contact phenomena between the early varieties of Greek and the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, a collection of new case studies in an interdisciplinary perspective, with a specific focus on textual and linguistic data could be of good value to scholars working on very different fields. The hope is that book will be of use and interest to classicists interested in archaic Greek literature, but also to Indo-Europeanists whose fields of expertise include Greek and the Anatolian languages, and to scholars working on the Ancient Near East. This would not, of course, exclude other potential readerships, as most chapter will also be accessible to non-specialised readers with some knowledge of Greek or of the languages of the Ancient Near East, or to anyone interested in ancient religion, anthropology, cultural exchanges and language contact, with special reference to the civilisations of the Aegean-Anatolian area.

A case in point is contact of linguistic nature. Language contact studies have recently entered a 'golden era': the publication in the past two decades of several handbooks and companions on language contact and related top-

ics (Thomason 2001, Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006 Winford 2003, Heine—Kuteva 2005, Matras 2009, Haspelmath—Tadmor 2009, Hickey 2010, 2017, and Bakker—Matras 2013 just to cite a few) is only one of many hints of such popularity. These studies have provided the historical linguist with invaluable tools for the analysis of ancient languages, and they have paved the way for new questions that philologists can ask their documents.

The last decade has also seen a further consolidation of a three-dimensional model of language change, which includes a third vector of language change besides space and time: society. The approach that should be adopted takes into account the very recent developments of historical sociolinguistics (Conde Silvestre 2007, Hernández Campoy—Conde Silvestre 2012, Marotta—Rovai 2015, Molinelli—Putzu 2015) and apply them both to genetically related and unrelated languages. The majority of modern studies on language contact have in fact focussed on contact between non-related languages (Epps et al. 2013): there, external change is more easily identifiable, as an eventual similarity between these language can otherwise be only of typological (or casual) nature. Contact-induced change is less easy to detect in genetically related languages: unless there is a sharp split (which is a minority of cases), recently separated languages also tend to be found in the same area, and this means that speakers may continue to be in contact.

The Ancient Near East, together with the immediately surrounding areas, provides a series of excellent case studies for language contact: not only does it offer a wealth of original documents of various nature, but it also shows situations of contact between both related and unrelated languages, situations of monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism. At the same time, it provides an impressive range of different social and historical circumstances in which language contact can be studied. Some papers of this volume try to answer some of the questions of modern contact linguistics by looking at the ancient data, and at the same time they provide solutions to old questions concerning the ancient cultures under examination through modern theories and methodologies of language contact.

The "Search for the Golden Fleece", the myth chosen for the name of the Oxford symposium and for this book, is the journey of a Greek hero towards the East, and conceptually represents what many scholars have done in the past decades, which is looking to the near East in search of models that influenced Greek culture and literature in a very early age. This of course is only one side of the coin, as it reflects an exquisitely "Western" perspective. Much of the research of the past three decades has shown that modern (or, to phrase it better, less ancient) constructs such as East and West do not prove very useful when they are applied to the Aegean-Anatolian area in the second millennium

and in the first part of the first millennium before the common era. Rather, one should treat the topic of linguistic and cultural contact between areas such as these with a rigorous methodology, in an interdisciplinary way and by using a case-by-case approach. As recent research has shown (e.g. Metcalf 2015), a focussed approach is more likely to yield interesting results when it comes to contact between Ancient Greece and pre-Classical Anatolia.

In what follows, the reader will find synthetic chapter-by-chapter overview of the book.

The first chapter provides a history of the existing scholarship on the subject. The aim is to give the expert reader a synopsis and a *status quaestionis*, and at the same time to provide a gentler introduction to the topic for whoever approaches it for the first time, by giving bibliographical references to and by outlining a diachronic framework in which the present volume is inscribed.

In the following chapter, Paola Dardano addresses phraseological questions, and in particular the similarities in covenantal formulations in Mesopotamia, Syro-Palestine, Anatolia and Greece, which seem to point to a common origin. Some expressions were imported and adapted to new uses: for instance, the locution ὅρκια πιστὰ τέμνειν 'to cut a solemn covenant', i.e. 'to make a pact', designates the cutting of the victim's throat, and—according to Dardano—such a formula, which has to do with the practice of sacrificing an animal at the time of making binding oaths, may be associated with similar formulas used in the Ancient Near East prior to Homer.

José Luis García Ramón's article deals on phraseological coincidences and syntactic similarities between Early Greek and the Anatolian languages. In particular, he discusses the initive periphrasis of the Homeric type βῆ δ' ἴμεν (and variants) 'to start to go', comparing it to Hittite *dai-/tiia-* + the 'supine' *-(u)uan-* 'to begin to do' and to Hieroglyphic Luwian *ta-* + the infinitive in *-una* and arguing that the Greek expression is a calque from an Anatolian language.

H. Craig Melchert's contribution addresses the problem of the Carian letters conventionally numbered 5 and 28. On the basis of their distribution, he argues that there is a contrast between the sounds represented by these two signs, and that such a contrast reflects that of [u(:)] vs. [o(:)] in the second-millennium Anatolian IE languages. He further suggests that renderings of personal names from Caria and other south-western regions in Greek sources might be a hint that the two back rounded vowels may have undergone a "chain shift" similar to that in (Attic-)Ionic Greek, and assesses the possibility of a contact phenomenon.

Norbert Oettinger devotes his article to another much-debated topic of phonological nature, i.e. the fate of the PIE laryngeals in Lydian. After a review

of the available evidence, with a specific focus on Greek words of Lydian origin and the Hesychian glosses defined as 'Lydian', he argues that in word-initial position, the Proto-Indo-European second and third laryngeals (*h_2 and *h_3) yielded Lydian *k*-. This is in contrast with the *communis opinio*, according to which Lydian preserves no trace of Proto-Anatolian (and PIE) laryngeals in initial position, and opens new interesting scenarios, bringing Lydian closer to the other western Anatolian languages.

Rostislav Oreshko explores the problem of ethno-cultural contact in Early Iron Age Anatolia, with a specific focus on the series of divine names of Anatolia that he groups under the label 'Cube Goddesses'. These include *Kufaws*/*Kuwaws*, *Kubaba*, and (*Matar*) *Kubeleya* and their various Greek adaptations. Specifically, he argues for two different components: an 'Aegean-Balkanic' tradition and a Hurrian one. These would respectively produce the Phrygian *Matar Kubeleya*, (known in the Greek world as Κυβέλη, Κύβελη or Κύβελις) and the goddess *Kubaba*, the poliad deity of Karkemish in Northern Syria.

Ian Rutherford's article deals once more with religious matters, but from a different perspective. Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece resulted, among other things, in his return to Greece with an Anatolian princess, who brings with her unknown ritual practices. This seems to be an example of how dynastic marriages may, at least sometimes, have resulted in religious innovation. Rutherford focusses on the Late Bronze Age situation on the basis of the assumption that a 13th-century letter found in the Hattusa archives is from a king of *Aḫḫiyawa*, and refers to a much earlier marriage between a king of *Aḫḫiyawa* and a princess of *Aššuwa*, an important state in Northwestern Anatolia. He analyses two possible instances of influence from Anatolian religion: the "Potnia Aswiya" (interpreted as 'Lady of Assuwa') referred to in the Linear B records from Pylos, which is possibly an exonym for goddess worshipped in this region of Anatolia; secondly, the deity *Apaliuna*, referred to in the Hittite treaty with Wilusa (from the early 13th century BC), which is often linked to Greek Apollo. He then suggests that the agents for religious change could have been foreign consorts marrying into royal families.

In his chapter, Zsolt Simon discusses the Greek name Μόψος and its (allegedly) related forms in documents from Anatolia (Hittite *Mukšus*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *Muksas*, Lydian *Moxos*, and also Phrygian *Muksos*). Through a fine-grained analysis of the primary material, he endeavours to reconstruct more precise borrowing routes, arguing against the traditional explanations according to which the "Mopsos names" are either borrowings from Greek into the languages of Anatolia or borrowings from the languages of Anatolia into Greek. Instead, he suggests that we should reconstruct two different names, a Pre-Greek one, and an Anatolian one.

Willemijn Waal deals in her paper with the origin of writing in Anatolia and the Aegean, a field whose details are still poorly understood. By combining evidence from both sides of the Aegean, she discusses to what extent the Aegean and Anatolian writing and administrative practices can be seen as the results of joint regional developments. On the basis of Near-Eastern parallels, she presents arguments for a wider use of Linear B script which includes, but is crucially not restricted to, administrative purposes. She ultimately provides an example of how studying the Aegean in parallel with the neighbouring regions can yield interesting results, and that a more integrated approach might make the traditional distinction between "East" and "West" less applicable as far as these areas are concerned. In a short addendum to Waal's article, Martien Dillo suggests that the signs on the Uluburun tablet (a fortunate 1986 found) could be interpreted as Mycenaean signs representing numbers.

Ilya Yakubovich closes the volume with a chapter on another divine figure, the war god Enyalius, who in the Greek tradition is often associated with Ares. He argues for a western Anatolian origin of this deity on the basis of a striking similarity with the Lydian title *ẽnwala-*. After discussing formal and semantic aspects of this possible connection, he suggests that Greek Ἐνυάλιος was borrowed from a western Anatolian deity known as (something like) **santas ẽnuwalyas* 'Santa the Lord' (Santa was a Hittite/Luwian god of war). This borrowing process would show the same semantic shifts that one may observe in other theonyms such as Belus, Adonis, and possibly even Potnia (cf. also Rutherford's article).

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CHAPTER 1

"There and Back Again": A Hundred Years of Graeco-Anatolian Comparative Studies

Michele Bianconi

1 Introduction

«Le problème des relations culturelles et linguistiques entre la Grèce et l'Asie Mineure est aussi vieux que les études helléniques [...] La découverte et le déchiffrement progressif du hittite et de ses annexes, particulièrement du louvite occidental et du hourrite oriental, on pendant un temps, inspiré l'espoir de régler enfin ce problème. Peuple indo-européen de langue archaïque, les Hittites semblaient être le chaînon manquant, l'intermédiaire naturel unissant la Babylonie—plus généralement les civilisations d'expression cunéiforme—aux Grecs orientaux d'Ionie. La question des apports culturels à la Grèce naissante allait être décidée: Ex Oriente Lux! [...]». With these words the great anatolianist Emmanuel Laroche opened his speech at a meeting of the *Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* in 1973, about 20 years after the decipherment of Linear B and less than 60 after that of Hittite.

While a generic interest towards the 'Orient' dates back to antiquity, and informed western scholarship even in pre-scientific times, it was the very discovery of the languages belonging to the Anatolian branch[1] which prompted

1 Hittite was deciphered and identified as an Indo-European language by Bedrič Hrozný in 1915, and since then it has become one of the most important languages for our reconstruction of the mother language. Our understanding of Hieroglyphic Luwian, by contrast, took much longer, since after the initial progress made by Hrozný, Forrer, Bossert, Gelb and Meriggi it is only with the "new readings" of some very common signs by J.D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann (Hawkins—Morpurgo Davies—Neumann 1974) that we now have a much better picture of this language and a better idea of its dialectal position within Anatolian (see *CHLI*: 6–17 for a brief history of the decipherment). While for Hittite and Luwian (in both its cuneiform and hieroglyphic varieties) we have thousands and hundreds of documents respectively, the other languages belonging to the Anatolian branch are more scarcely attested: we have a dozen (hardly understandable) texts in Palaic (second-millennium, cuneiform), about 170 inscriptions on stone (mostly funerary texts), few graffiti and about 150 legends on coins in Lycian (first-millennium, alphabetic; two Lycian texts are written in a separate dialect, known as Lycian B—in opposition to 'ordinary' Lycian A—or Milyan and representing—according to some—an archaic and literary variety), about 115 inscriptions in

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Hellenists to look specifically at the indo-europeanised part of Asia Minor in order to find new solutions to old questions concerning Greek linguistic or cultural features that were not directly comparable with those of other IE branches, and therefore not easily explainable through direct inheritance from the proto-language/culture. Hittite (and, later, Anatolian as a branch) was perceived, as Laroche remarked, as the missing link between Greece and the Ancient Near East, which was better known—until then—through the *monumenta* of the other 'cuneiform civilisations'.

This chapter touches upon some selected points in the history of an idea, which—despite being almost a hundred years old—is still developing and giving rise to a wealth of literature. This is meant to be an introduction for the reader who approaches this field for the first time, and at the same time a useful tool for the more experienced scholar, who may find here bibliographical references spanning from the beginnings of Anatolian scholarship about a century ago to very recent times.

2 The Beginnings: Forrer's Hypothesis and the *Aḫḫiyawa Frage*

It would not be an overstatement to say that Graeco-Anatolian studies started almost at the same time in which Anatolian studies did. Only a few years after the decipherment of Hittite, Emil Forrer proposed to identify Greek names in Hittite texts: in his much-cited 1924 article, *Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi* (Forrer 1924a), he compared *Aḫḫiyawa* with the land of the Ἀχαιοί, equating *Tawagalawaš* with *Ἐτεϝοκλέϝης (= Ἐτεοκλῆς), *Ayawalaš* with *Αἴϝολος, and *Antarawaš* with Ἀνδρεύς, and opening what is generally known as the *Aḫḫiyawa Frage*,[2] that is the question as to whether the toponym *Aḫḫiya*(*wa*) in Hittite sources could be identified with the land of the Mycenaean Greeks.

Lydian (first-millennium, alphabetic), whose dialectal position has been debated for a long time (it was recognised relatively late as a full member of the family and it was thought to have acquired 'Anatolian' features by contact, since it is markedly different in many respects from the other members of the branch), about 250 documents in Carian (first-millennium, alphabetic), which has largely been deciphered only in recent times, about 50 inscriptions in Pisidian (first millennium CE, alphabetic, cf. Brixhe 2016), and 10 inscription in Sidetic (first-millennium, alphabetic). The relationship between Greek and Phrygian, which despite being spoken on Anatolian soil is a separate branch of Indo-European, will not be considered here.

2 Early comparisons were also *Lazpa* ~ Λέσβος, *Taruiša* ~ Τροία, *Attariššiya* ~ Ἀτρεύς, *aiawalaš* ~ *Αἰϝολος; Forrer 1924b and Hrozný 1929. The first hypothesis of a Greek name in a Hittite text, however, pre-dated the decipherment of this language: Luckenbill had identified the name *Alakšandu* ~ Ἀλέξανδρος already in 1911 (*pace* Costanzi 1924).

One should say that, at first, Forrer's ideas were met with scepticism—if not with open hostility—by the doyens of German Hittitology;[3] some scholars, however, kept adding examples which would support his theories, and the same year saw another influential article by P. Kretschmer, who identified *Alakšanduš* of a Hittite treaty with Ἀλέξανδρος of *ϝίλιος (Kretschmer 1924). Other early comparisons were *Wiluša* ~ Ἴλιος and Μίλητος ~ *Millawanda*.[4] The discussion on such onomastic comparisons would continue even in more recent times (e.g. Ἀτρεύς ~ *Attariššiyaš* and Πρίαμος ~ *Pariyamuwa* or *Piyamaradu*; cf. respectively West 2001 and Bryce 2005: 359 with references), but progress is best seen in the fact that several scholars started looking for further historical traces of the Greeks in the second millennium, as they reconstructed possible historical interactions with the newly-discovered Anatolian-speaking peoples. At the same time, more attention was given to the place of the Anatolian branch within the Indo-European family (on which cf. 4.1 *infra*). The *Aḫḫiyawa Frage* is anything but closed,[5] and it has repeatedly been defined a "matter of faith", because—despite all progress—it is still rather difficult to reconstruct an absolutely accurate scenario with the available material.[6]

Forrer's ideas had a better fortune outside Germany, where, in subsequent years, scholars began to give a more specifically linguistic dimension to these possible interactions; at the same time the equation *Aḫḫiyawa* = Mycenaean world became widespread,[7] and much attention was also given to the geographic localisation of this land (Carruba 1964a).

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3 Famously, Sommer in his canonic monograph (Sommer 1932), but also Friedrich and Götze. In a fascinating 1998 article, Oswald Szemerényi reconstructs Forrer's academic biography (Szemerényi 1988).

4 These were proposed respectively by Kretschmer (1924) and Hrozný (1929), against Forrer who linked these toponyms to the regions of Elaiusa in Cilicia and Milya (Μιλυάς). Cf also Kretschmer 1930a, Sayce 1925, Poisson 1925.

5 «The Aḫḫiyawa problem is still a matter of faith: there is no strict proof, possible either pro and contra» Güterbock 1986: 33; «Die Aḫḫijawa-Frage ist eine „Glaubensfrage"» Fischer 2010: 66.

6 The literature is vast: in addition to the early works by Forrer and others, one may cite Pugliese-Carratelli 1950–1951; Kretschmer 1954; Carruba 1964b, 1995; Güterbock 1983, 1984, 1986; Mellink 1983; Vermeule 1983; Starke 1997; Hawkins 1998, 2002; Heinhold-Krahmer 1999, 2004, 2007; Bryce 1988, 1989, 2003, Taracha 2001; Hajnal 2003; Latacz 2004, Steiner 2007, Gander 2012 and 2017. The most recent *status quaestionis* may be found in Fischer 2010, together with an extensive bibliography, while a useful collection of all Hittite texts mentioning *Aḫḫiyawa* is Beckman—Bryce—Cline 2011. The latest developments on the issue (together with references) may be found in Beckman 2016 and in a very recent SMEA forum article (Bryce 2018, Cline 2018, Kelder 2018, Rutter 2018, Schon 2018, D'Agata 2018).

7 A tentative explanation of this equation on linguistic grounds is laid out in Finkelberg 1988.

3 The 1950s–1980s: The 'Italian School' and the "Aegean-Micrasiatic *Sprachbund*"

The decipherment of Linear B and the identification of Mycenaean Greek, followed by an overall re-evaluation of Greek dialectology (cf. e.g. Porzig 1954b and Risch 1955), provided new material for the discussion of linguistic contacts between some varieties of Greek and the neighbouring languages.

One of the first scholars who engaged in this debate was Vittore Pisani, who—in his *Storia della lingua greca*[8]—wrote that some Greek dialects, namely Ionic and Mycenaean, «partecipavano di un'area linguistica estesa che in un primo tempo conteneva ittito, luvio, palāico e gli stadi anteriori di licio, lidio, ittito geroglifico e in un secondo tempo accolse anche il frigio e l'armeno, provenienti dalla Tracia» (Pisani 1960: 22; cf. also Pisani 1971–1973 for further isoglosses). He was also among the first scholars who extended the comparative study of Greek and Anatolian from the domain of lexicon (especially onomastics and *Wanderwörter*, i.e. "wandering" culture words) to that of morphology.[9]

Thanks to Pisani's input, the idea of an *Aegean-Micrasiatic*, or *circum-Aegean*, *Sprachbund* became quite successful in Italian scholarship in the 1950s and 1960s. What we call *Sprachbund* or "linguistic area" is «generally taken to be a geographically delimited region including languages from at least two language families, or different subgroups of the same family, sharing traits, or combinations thereof, most of which are not found in languages from these families or subgroups spoken outside the area [...]. Not all shared features have the same 'weight': highly 'marked', exotic, or unique shared traits weigh more than does material that is more easily developed independently, or found widely in other languages [...]. The strongest linguistic areas are those whose shared traits can be shown to be diffused—and cannot be ascribed to a common ancestor, to chance or to universals» (Aikhenvald 2006: 11–12). Nikolaj S. Trubeckoj coined this term in a brief communication at the first international conference of linguistics in The Hague in 1928, with reference to a group of languages spoken in the Balkan region (Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Macedonian, and the Torlak dialect of Serbian) that show several innovations due to language contact (Trubeckoj 1930). The Balkans are still considered the 'proto-

8 But see already Pisani 1955, 1956 and 1958. On the linguistic landscape of Western Anatolia between the two millennia, see Nencioni 1950.

9 He suggested e.g. that the Homeric and Ionic preterital formations in *-σκ-* may have originated in Hittite, where the suffix *-sḱ-* is notoriously productive, and the isogloss needs to be extended to Armenian, which has a peculiar aorist in *c'* < **sḱ* (Pisani 1959).

typical' linguistic area in Western scholarship (and in the western world),[10] but more examples can be cited: in the Indo-European panorama, one should at least mention the theory of India as a linguistic area (Emeneau 1956) and the concept of Standard Average European (Whorf 1941, Haspelmath 1998, 2001).

As aforementioned, several Italian Indo-Europeanists started working on this new *Aegean-Micrasiatic Sprachbund*: one may cite Roberto Gusmani, who studied lexical coincidences between Greek and Hittite, Enzo Evangelisti, who mainly focussed on the verb but also took into account phonetics and the lexicon, and Romano Lazzeroni, who looked at shared morphology, lexicon and phraseology in the 1960s and in later works.[11] Some years after Pisani, Mario Negri also supported similar theories, and took a deep linguistic interaction in the early stages of Greek for granted, arguing that two components played a role in the formation of the Homeric language, a 'palaeo-Aeolic' one and an 'Aegean-Anatolian' one, which was open to the influence of the Ancient Near East (Negri 1981, *passim*[12]). He also focussed on possible similarities between the Greek and Hittite verbal systems (Negri 1974, 1976). Celestina Milani, another scholar of the 'Milan school', contributed some articles on the relationship between Greek and the Anatolian languages, mainly Hittite (Milani 1969, 1980, 1993).

This idea was by no means restricted to Italian soil: several scholars in Europe subscribed to the hypothesis of a linguistic area including Greek and the Indo-European languages of ancient Anatolia,[13] or argued that the Greek lexicon had been influenced, to different degrees, by the neighbouring languages.[14] Nonetheless, despite a relatively widespread consensus in European scholarship over substantial linguistic contacts between Greece and Anatolia,

10 The literature on the Balkan *Sprachbund* is extensive: e.g. Sandfeld 1930, Schaller 1975, Banfi 1985, 1991, Joseph 2010, Friedman—Joseph 2017, *forthcoming*.

11 Gusmani 1965, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, Evangelisti 1965, 1966, Lazzeroni 1960, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1969a, 1969b, 1989.

12 On p. 46, n. 109, he gives a tentative list of Mycenaean and Anatolian (specifically Hittite) personal names, and subsequently states: «Il dato linguistico non si lascia comunque intendere diversamente, se non immaginando un ambiente mistilingue, estremamente permeabile, dove il sovraregionale e il vernacolo, il greco e il non greco coesistevano: in un simile ambiente si deve essere costituito quel modo di far poesia e quello strumento di poesia che è la lingua e la tradizione epica, luogo d'incontro e di sintesi di motivi (linguistici, culturali, tradizionali e così via) di provenienza diversa. In un simile crogiolo vanno cercate le fonti più antiche di Omero.» (Negri 1981: 47).

13 In Gusmani's words, a «lega linguistica, cui l'ittito e alcuni dialetti greci avrebbero attivamente preso parte attraverso l'elaborazione di alcuni importanti elementi comuni» (Gusmani 1968a: 87).

14 Kretschmer 1939; Szemerényi 1965, 1968, 1969, 1974, 1987; van Windekens 1957–1958, 1985, 1987; van Brock 1959; Kronasser 1960.

not everyone was speaking with one voice. For instance, Laroche—in the aforementioned 1973 speech—concluded that «La thèse souvent affirmée d'une aire linguistique égéo-asianique, englobant tous les peuples pré- ou protohistoriques des Balkans à l'Euphrate et même au-delà, se heurte à l'invraisemblance d'une telle extension. En effet, les apparences portent à croire que cette vaste zone était morcelée». As for the type of linguistic interference, Laroche stated that «Il reste néanmoins que des mots voyageurs ont pu et dû passer d'Est en Ouest, atteindre quelque part les colonies achéennes et se perpétuer dans le grec le plus ancien, chez Homère, par exemple. Ces emprunts de type usuel se réfèrent à des realia très spécifiques plus qu'à des concepts» (Laroche 1973 *passim*; cf. also Laroche 1955). One may find equally opposite positions even in more recent scholarship (cf. section 6 *infra*).

A very popular line of enquiry in the mid-20th century was the study of substrate languages in the Mediterranean, with particular reference to what is generally known as "Pre-Greek". Perhaps not unexpectedly, the progressive understanding of the Anatolian languages would play a role in such a debate, so it might be worth taking a detour and look at those hypotheses directly involving Greek and the Anatolian languages and envisaging prehistoric contact between the two branches.

3.1 *Substrate and Substrate Studies*

The study of substrate languages and pre-Hellenic peoples has been popular since the 19th century, and after the discovery of the Anatolian languages new substrate theories involving Anatolian have been proposed. For reasons of space, I shall limit myself to a brief survey of those hypotheses directly involving Greek and the Anatolian languages and envisaging prehistoric contact between the two branches.[15]

The first scholar who collected traces of Pre-Greek languages originally from Asia Minor is Paul Kretschmer: in his *Einleitung* (1896: 289–409), he listed Greek toponyms in *-nt(h)-/-nd-*[16] (e.g. Λάβραυνδος), personal names in *-(s)s-*, *-m-*, *-l-*, *-r-*, *-n(n)-*, *-t-/-d(d)-/-ζ-*, *-k-/-g-*, *-b-*, *-muwa*[17] (e.g. Πανύασσις, Τρέβημις, Σάβαλος Κιλλάρας, Μυρεννείς, Σίνδιτα, Ναδιανδός/Ναζιανζός, Βάτακος, Σπαρεύδιγος, Μανδρόβης, Κιδραμύας, etc.), and some *Lallnamen* (e.g. Νάνα, Δάδα, etc.), arguing that they all belonged to non-IE *kleinasiatische* languages.

15 For a detailed survey of the history of scholarship, see Verhasselt 2009, 2011 and Silvestri 2013.

16 He included in this category toponyms in -αδα, -εδος, -ιδος, -υδος and -ννα, in which the nasal dropped before or was assimilated to the dental (Kretschmer 1896: 306–307).

17 This suffix would turn up in Greek as -μοας, -μουας, or -μυης (Kretschmer 1896: 332).

After Kretschmer's work (cf. also Kretschmer 1930a and 1930b, which took into account the first data available from Hittite), the list of Pre-Greek toponyms was expanded and refined,[18] but it is only in the 1950s that the Anatolian languages fully entered the picture of Pre-Greek substrate studies. Rather than look for unknown or hypothetical languages such as 'Pelasgian', scholars like Heubeck and Huxley argued that one could find the languages that preceded Greek within the newly-discovered IE branch (Heubeck 1961, Huxley 1960). Alfred Heubeck, specifically, thought that the pre-Greek language of Crete was Indo-European and related to the Anatolian languages, and that the entire Aegean-Anatolian area was occupied first by a pre-IE group (called 'Lelegic'), then by an Anatolian layer which included the attested Anatolian languages, the languages of Cyprus (Eteocypriot and the language of Cypro-Minoan) and Linear A, and that only after this did the Greeks arrive.

Leonard Palmer argued that the suffixes *-ss-* and *-nd-* were Anatolian, specifically Luwian:[19] in his view, the 'Parnassos folk' might have migrated to Greece at the beginning of the second millennium, bringing with them toponyms of the *Parnassos* and *Erymanthos* types (cf. also Laroche 1961). His reasoning is as follows: Gk. Παρνασσός finds a match in *Parnas*(*s*)*a*, a Cappadocian toponym, so if it is true that *parn-* is a typically Anatolian root for 'house' (cf. Hitt. *parnalli-* 'domestic', HLuw. *parnawa-* 'to serve', Lyc. *prñeze/i-* 'household'), then the toponym Παρνασσός must originally come from Anatolia. He then cited Laroche's conclusion that the toponyms in *-ssa*, *-wanda* and *-nda* are originally Anatolian (Laroche *apud* Palmer 1968: 342), admitting at the same time that these could have been brought to Greece by people speaking languages different from Luwian.[20] So, one needs to look for further traces, namely morphological traits specific to Luwian which are still productive in Greece. The name of the Cretan goddess Δικτύννα could, in Palmer's opinion, prove the case. This theonym is traditionally associated with the name of Mt. Δίκτᾱ, and this implicitly means considering -υννα a suffix used to create derivatives from toponyms. If we look for languages in which this *-unna* is present, then Anatolian offers good candidates: as Laroche (1961) has shown, a suffix **-uwan* appears in Hittite as *-uman*, *-umna-*, *-umana-*, *-umena-*, *-umma-*, and in Luwian as *-wanni-* > *-unni-* (with contraction). The type *-umna-* would belong to the northern part of Anatolian, whereas *-unna-* should be ascribed to a southern Anatolian type. This is why Δικτύννα and Δελφύνη could be theonyms with

18 A good and detailed account running up to the 1970s is Sakellariou 1977.

19 Palmer 1958, 1965, 1968, 1980.

20 Toponyms may be diffused secondarily: e.g. one finds Celtic toponyms in ex-British colonies, but this does not mean that Celtic speakers diffused them.

Luwian ascendancy, and *Larymna*, *Methymna*, and *Kalymna* could possibly be further Anatolian toponyms in Greece. Finally, he hypothesised that the language of Linear A inscription is 'Luvoid', on mythological, archaeological, and linguistic grounds.[21]

Palmer's ideas have been fiercely contested,[22] and substrate hypotheses involving Anatolian have not been pursued until recent times, when Margalit Finkelberg revived them by complementing the linguistic analysis with a historical/archaeological analysis of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean. She concluded that Asia Minor and Greece (including Crete) had been homogeneous from a linguistic point of view until the coming of the Greeks, the second wave of IE invaders (Finkelberg 1997: 13; 2005: 52). Finally, Beekes briefly commented upon the issue of Anatolian and Pre-Greek, claiming that it is methodologically more sound to regard most hypothetical Anatolian loanwords as Pre-Greek. (*EDG*: xvi). The issue of Greek substrate(s), together with an eventual Anatolian component thereof, still awaits a final answer and must, for the time being, remain open.

4 The 1980s–2000s: 'The American School' and Ancient Anatolia as a Linguistic Area

Later, but in a relatively independent fashion from their Italian colleagues, American scholars also worked on language contact between Greek and Anatolian. Two, in particular, have been the figures who most significantly contributed to the field: on the one hand, Jaan Puhvel, in a number of articles and a

21 These are some of his initial arguments «(a) the evidence that a vegetation cult whose main *dramatis personae* were the Mother Goddess (The Queen) and the Young God (The Lord) was common to the Near East and the Levant at this time; (b) the conclusion of the excavators of Beycesultan that the affinities of this Luvian culture are decisively with Crete; (c) the faithful rendering of the cult titles into so many languages; (d) the evidence for CH *išhaššara-* leading to a postulated Luvian **Ašhaššara-*; (e) the diagnosis of a syllabic group in the Linear A script (before Ventris's decipherment of Linear B) as the name of an important divinity; (j) the application of the Ventris values to the group in question reveals a name of a strikingly resemblant phonetic pattern (*j*)*a-sa-sa-ra*; (g) finally the identical play of morphological machinery in the optional addition of the enclitic *-mi-*/*-me-*, in both areas. All this may be held to justify the conclusion that the language of the Linear A text is "Luvoid", at least as a working hypothesis» Palmer 1958: 84; cf. also Palmer 1965 and 1968. This conclusion is similar to what Margalit Finkelberg has argued in more recent times (Finkelberg 2001 but cf. criticism in Melchert 2001).

22 See e.g. Morpurgo Davies 1986 with references (especially p. 115 fn. 30).

short pamphlet,[23] dealt with matters of shared phraseology and specific lexical items; on the other hand, Calvert Watkins—perhaps one of the most influential Indo-Europeanists of the last half century—adopted once again the paradigm of the *Sprachbund*, identifying ancient Anatolia as a linguistic area in a much-cited and influential article (Watkins 2001). There, he argued that second- and first-millennium Anatolia shows a number of areally-diffused features (on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels) that affect both Indo-European and non-Indo European languages, adding that Greek, or at least its Eastern dialects, had taken part in some of these contact-induced changes.

One of his main merits is having brought new data from the minor Anatolian languages into the discussion, especially Luwian. With very rare exceptions (also due to the fact that Luwian was at the time understood less well than it is now), Hittite had been the main (or only) object of comparison. Watkins, besides dealing with purely linguistic matters, also ventured into the world of shared phraseology and possible Anatolian models for early Greek poetry (from Homer to Sappho), and discussed issues such as the language of the Trojans, postulating the existence of a possible "Wilusiad" on the basis of a fragmentary Cuneiform Luwian text.[24] Some of Watkins's students also contributed with studies of possible loanwords, lexical isoglosses or shared syntactic features.[25]

The identification of specifically Anatolian elements had important bearings not only for the understanding of the Ancient Near East or for eventual contacts with early Greece, but it also became of primary importance for linguistic and cultural reconstruction. Before resuming our main narrative and looking at Graeco-Anatolian contacts in Hellenic studies, we shall embark on another detour and briefly look at why these two branches are traditionally so important in comparative Indo-European philology and linguistics.

4.1 *Anatolian and Indo-European*

Because of its almost uninterrupted attestations, spanning over three millennia, its prestige status in European culture, and the early recognised similarities with other Indo-European branches (in particular with Indo-Iranian),

23 Many of his pre-1977 articles (e.g. Puhvel 1973, 1976, 1977) are collected in Puhvel 1981; among later works, one may cite Puhvel 1978, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1996, 2002, 2003. The 1991 pamphlet *Homer and Hittite* is particularly important because, among other things, it re-opens the contact hypothesis for the much-debated issue of the *sk-preterites* in Greek and Hittite (Puhvel 1991), cf. 3.1 *infra*. Many of Puhvel's ideas are also included in his *Etymological Dictionary of Hittite* (1984-ongoing).

24 Watkins 1986, 1995, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008.

25 Joseph 1982, Melchert 1998, 2008, Katz 2004, 2007.

Greek has always been at the very centre of Indo-European reconstruction. Despite being a *centum* language, Greek shares with Indo-Iranian, and also with Armenian and Phrygian, a number of core lexical items and, more importantly, a significant array of morphological structures, especially in the verbal paradigm: e.g. modal formations (subjunctive and optative), augment, generalisation of reduplication in the perfect, and personal endings. The similarities in forms and categories of the Greek and Vedic verb are such that the PIE verbal system has traditionally been reconstructed on the basis of the comparison of these two languages alone. Scholars were usually able to derive the situation in other branches from the "Graeco-Aryan" model.[26]

This model, which reached its fullest expression in Brugmann and Delbrück's *Grundriß*, was challenged by the addition of Hittite (and subsequently Anatolian) to the family.[27] One would perhaps expect the most archaic branch attested to be more similar to the mother language than the others, and to show most of the features that were previously reconstructed for PIE—and in this respect Anatolian confirmed some previous assumptions, as it preserved 'archaic' features such as the consonantal outcomes of two PIE laryngeals (*h_2 and *h_3) and the productivity of the heteroclitic *-r*/*-n* stems, which are only found in fossilised forms in the other branches. However, several fundamental constituents of the traditional 'Indo-European grammar' were lacking: the feminine gender, the aorist, the subjunctive and optative moods, and possibly the dual number, are completely absent in the Anatolian languages, at least from a synchronic point of view.

This has led scholars to adopt different approaches in the definition of the position of Anatolian with respect to the other IE branches, and even to reconsider the overall shape of the family tree in order to adapt it to the Anatolian data. There have been two main approaches: one is the *Schwundhypothese* ('loss hypothesis'),[28] by which Anatolian lost the aforementioned categories, and is therefore to be considered a relatively innovative branch. Another view, called *Herkunftshypothese* ('origin hypothesis')[29] in past decades, considered Hittite, Luwian, etc. as languages belonging to an exceptionally archaic branch, and

26 For instance, it is relatively easy to argue that the Latin *perfectum* as a category is a conflation of the PIE aorist and perfect, because both its main morphological markers have precise correspondences in the Greek and Vedic aorist and perfect (e.g. *scrip-s-ī*, with the *-s-* characteristic of the *s*-aorist, cf. Gk. ἔδειξα 'I showed', Ved. *ayaukṣam* 'I yoked'; *ce-cin-ī*, 'I sang / have sung' with the reduplication characteristic of the perfect, cf. Gk. δέδορκα 'I have seen / I see', Ved. *cakara* 'I have made').

27 Among the many early studies, cf. e.g. Benveniste 1935, 1954, 1962.

28 Among which we should list Pedersen 1938, Eichner 1975, Risch 1975 and Kammenhuber 1980.

29 Cf. Adrados 1962, Meid 1975 and Neu 1984.

postulated that some categories are absent in Anatolian because they were created after it branched off from the rest of the family. This obviously required a radical revision of PIE itself.[30]

Some scholars went even further, arguing that Anatolian was to be placed at the same level of the *Stammbaum* as all the other IE languages put together (i.e. that it was a 'sister' language of IE),[31] and that it is therefore necessary to postulate a proto-language from which Anatolian branched off first. The hypothesis of this proto-language first saw the light with Edgar Sturtevant (Sturtevant 1929, 1933), who named it 'Indo-Hittite,' and it has been much discussed ever since. Following strong opposition in the thirty years after its first proposition,[32] this hypothesis was supported by few scholars—unlike the *Schwundhypothese*, which was the majority view in Europe until the 1990s.

However, the progress in Anatolian philology of the last decades and the reexamination of old questions with new material has led most Indo-Europeanists to agree that the archaism of Anatolian is a real issue, that its prehistoric speakers separated or became isolated from other IE speakers, and that therefore their languages did not share common innovations of the other branches. This means that some revisions to 'traditional' PIE are required (Melchert *forthcoming*). The Indo-Hittite hypothesis has been revived as well and,[33] for the first time, it is gaining support even in Europe (notably, in the 'Leiden School', where one now finds the perhaps more accurate denomination 'Indo-Anatolian', cf. e.g. Kloekhorst 2018). Along these lines, non-Anatolian IE has been recently referred to as 'Nuclear IE' (Chang et al. 2015), cf. the *Stammbaum* in Figure 1.1.

As for the *relative* closeness of Greek and Anatolian from the point of view of shared isoglosses, one would expect that, given their distance in the *Stammbaum*, they share relatively few. This is indeed what emerged already from Porzig's overview of the position of Hittite, as he pointed out that this branch

30 The *Zeit-Raum Modell* proposed by Neu and Meid was one of the possible answers to this need (Cf. Neu 1976, Meid 1979). In this model, the proto-language is a diasystem which can be represented in two dimensions, not an abstraction representable with a single point (Schmidt 1983, Strunk 1994); the focus is on the relative chronology of PIE itself, and the goal is to describe diachronic language change taking into account the evolution of PIE itself when the single groups branched off.

31 It was Emil Forrer (1921: 26) who first advanced the idea: «Man wird also nicht umhin können, das Kanisische als Schwestersprache des aus den indogermanischen Sprachen erschlossenen Urindogermanischen zu bezeichnen».

32 See e.g. Puhvel 1966 with further references.

33 Cf. Oettinger 1986, 2013–2014; Ringe does not spell out the name 'Indo-Hittite', but claims that «there is by now a general consensus among Indo-Europeanists that the Anatolian subfamily is, in effect, one half of the IE family, all the other subgroups together forming the other half» Ringe 2017: 6.

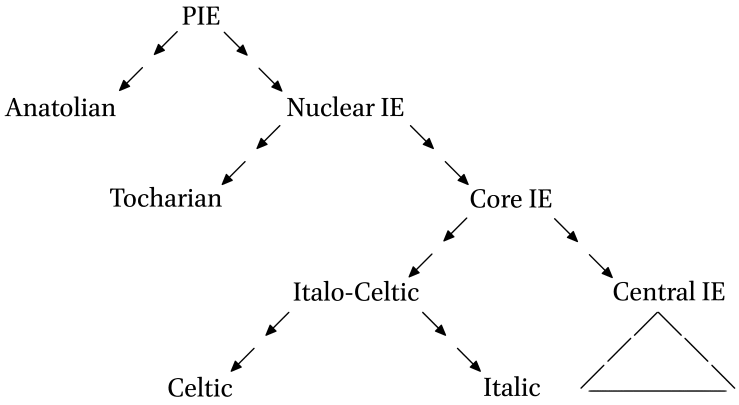

FIGURE 1.1 A cladistics tree of the IE language family FROM RINGE 2017: 7

shares few traits with Greek, namely: the assibilation of /ti/, the forms for the [DOWNWARD] direction, Gk. κατά ~ Hitt. *kattan*, and the multiplicative suffix Gk. -ακι(ς) ~ Hitt. *-anki* (Porzig 1954a: 189). It was clear even to the strongest proponents of the Graeco-Anatolian *Sprachbund* that the similarities between Greek and the Anatolian languages did not date back to a very archaic stage; on the contrary, they thought that new isoglosses came about once both groups settled down in their historic regions.

5 The West Face of Anatolia: Literatures and Cultures in Contact

So far, we have mainly talked about the ideas of comparative philologists, orientalists, and historians of the ancient world. However, the matter of Greek contacts with the Ancient Near East has increasingly become a topic of interest for classicists as well. One of the first scholars to include Hittite sources in a major work in Homeric scholarship was Denys Page, who referred to some of the *Aḫḫiyawa* texts in his *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959); among Hellenists, the most ground-breaking figure in this and many other respects has been Martin L. West, who already took into account Near-Eastern influence in early Greek literature in his edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* (West 1966).[34] Subsequent

34 One must say that the attention of classical scholarship towards the Ancient Near East was by no means new (see already Lesky 1950). The same can be said about the attention of orientalists towards archaic Greece (e.g. Güterbock 1948 on the Kumarbi myth and Hesiod); an interesting reading in this respect is Dowden 2001 who, in reviewing West's *East Face of Helicon*, draws a history of the concept of "orientalism" applied to the study

works culminated in the monumental *The East Face of Helicon*, in which West gathered a wealth of possible (though not completely uncontroversial) parallels between *topoi* and literary motifs found in our earliest Greek texts and in Near-Eastern literature. Although the focus was not specifically on the Indo-European languages and cultures of Anatolia, his and Walter Burkert's pioneering contributions[35] convinced many Hellenists to look East in order to find at least some models for Hesiod, Homer and much of early Greek literature.

Burkert envisaged two possibilities by which literary and cultural transmission from the East to the West could have taken place: 1. transmission through freely-moving wandering poets, craftsmen of the verbal art who brought stories and religious practices in the first millennium (namely in the Orientalising Period); 2. transmission through bilingual scribes, who introduced Akkadian literary (especially epic) models into early Greek literature (cf. also Bryce 1999, who suggested that the transmission was carried out by Anatolian scribes in Mycenaean Greece). These ideas have recently been challenged by Mary Bachvarova, who in her very recent monograph stressed the importance of long-distance élite interactions, to the detriment of the centrality of the free will and free circulation of Burkert's poets. In her view there was a deep interconnection between Greek and Anatolian courts in the Late Bronze Age: singers, healers, and the members of the court themselves would travel long distances and attend religious festivals, making literary, religious and cultural transmission possible (Bachvarova 2016).

One should note that West's focus was wide-ranging and often all-encompassing, and included parallels admittedly of different value. Some more recent contributions (such as Metcalf 2015), which somewhat narrowed the focus, have shown that at least in some textual genres Near-Eastern influence was present, but not pervasive.

6 A Field in Rapid Expansion

As one may infer from the literature cited in the preceding sections, scholarly attention has almost always been directed towards the situation of the late second millennium; however, the last half-century has seen incredible progress in the study of first-millennium Anatolian languages, and consequently, also in the study of their interactions with other languages. In 1961, Günter

of early Greek culture and literature, focussing, among others, on influential works such as Walcot 1966, Astour 1967 and Bernal 1987.

35 West 1988, 1997, Burkert 1984, 1991, 2004, 2005.

Neumann published a study of the remnants of the Anatolian languages (in particular Hittite and Luwian) at a time when Greek was already the dominating language (Neumann 1961). In more recent years, there have also been specific contributions on interactions between Greek and Lycian,[36] and on Anatolian influences on the Greek dialect spoken in Pamphylia (e.g. Dardano 2006, 2007, 2012, Skelton 2017). Among the main studies on the contact between Greek and Lydian, one may cite Shane Hawkins's, which featured an overall re-examination of the language of Hipponax and its Lydian influence (Hawkins 2013), and Norbert Oettinger's, who argued for a possible Lydian origin of Greek psilosis (Oettinger 2002; but cf. Oettinger in this volume for a re-appraisal of the problem of the initial laryngeal in Lydian).

These studies were parallel to, and possible thanks to the significant progress in our documentation of the Anatolian languages (cf. fn. 1 *supra*). The increase in our understanding of the Anatolian languages has also given rise to a wealth of literature ranging from shared phraseology[37] to onomastics,[38] from ritual and religion[39] to the study of society and institutions.[40] Very recent years have seen a surge in scholarly work in the broader field of contacts between the Greek and Anatolian worlds, among which one should cite three very recent monographs,[41] a few miscellaneous volumes,[42] and several articles on cultural and literary contacts between Greece and Anatolia,[43] or the Ancient Near East more broadly defined.[44]

We have seen above that the debate on Graeco-Anatolian contacts, and specifically on the linguistic relationships (in its broadest sense) between the two branches, started a long time ago, with scholars taking opposite sides. Today, this seems to be once more a popular topic, and no consensus seems to have been reached as to the degree of contact between Greek and the Anatolian lan-

36 Le Roy 1981–1983, 1987; Brixhe 1993, 1999; Schürr 1999; Rutherford 2002; Molina Valero 2007, 2009, 2010; Payne 2008; Dardano 2015 among others.

37 Oettinger 1981, 1989–1990; Quattordio Moreschini 1988.

38 Quattordio Moreschini 1983; Hutter 1995; Milani 1998, 2001; West 2001; Colvin 2004; Widmer 2006; Dale 2011.

39 Nenci 1961; Giorgieri 2001; Beekes 2003; Rutherford 2020.

40 Cataudella 2002; Finkelberg 2005.

41 Haubold 2013; Metcalf 2015; Bachvarova 2016.

42 Collins et al. 2008; Mazoyer 2008; Mouton—Rutherford—Yakubovich 2013; Faranton—Mazoyer 2014, 2017.

43 Högemann 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Schuol 2002; Rollinger 2004; Bernabé 2004, 2006. 2008; Bachvarova 2005, 2009, 2012; Rutherford 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2016; Mouton—Rutherford 2015; Bryce 2008; Oreshko 2013; Teffeteller 2013, 2015, just to name a few.

44 Karavites—Wren 1992; Faraone 1993; Rollinger 1996, 2014, 2015; Van Dongen 2007, 2008, 2011; Powell 2011; Currie 2016; Raaflaub 2017.

guages between the second and the first millennium BCE. This is reflected in many of the contributions that have appeared in these most recent years: there have been articles of linguistic nature on individual problems of morphosyntax,[45] lexicon,[46] and phraseology;[47] ne of the most recent handbooks on the Greek dialects devotes its first chapter to the Anatolian languages,[48] and a few articles, encyclopaedia entries, and parts of monographs re-assessing part of the evidence for contact between Greek and one or more Anatolian languages have recently been published.[49] The advances in Anatolian and IE philology and the progress in linguistic methodology of the last 50 years suggest that a new comprehensive re-assessment is in order (Bianconi 2019 is a first step in this direction); however—as we have seen—linguistics is only one piece of the puzzle, and the very nature of the field requires the contribution of experts from many different sub-fields. This volume aims to be a further step towards this goal.

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45 Lazzeroni 2006; Daues 2008, 2009; García Ramón 2011a, 2012, Dardano 2011, 2020, Dale 2015.

46 E.g. Simon 2018, Oreshko 2018, Janko 2014, Gasbarra—Pozza 2013, 2019, Jiménez Delgado 2008, Mastrelli 2002.

47 García Ramón 2011b, Dardano 2013, 2017.

48 Miller 2014: 11–17. Perhaps the author wanted to pay a symbolic tribute to L. Palmer, who opened his *The Greek Language* in a similar way (though on completely different grounds).

49 Yakubovich 2010: 140–157; Gasbarra—Pozza 2012; Hajnal 2014, 2018; Hawkins 2010; Melchert 2014a, 2014b; Bianconi 2015, 2020; Cotticelli-Kurras—Giusfredi 2018.

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CHAPTER 2

Homeric Covenantal Terminology and Its Near Eastern Forerunners

Paola Dardano

1 Introduction[1]

In the third book of the *Iliad* Hector on Paris-Alexander's behalf arranges a pact between Achaeans and Trojans in order to put an end to the ten-year siege of Troy. The Achaeans accept the proposal on the condition that Priam himself is present at the ceremony.[2] The agreement regards a duel between Menelaus and Paris. It seems quite clear that once the dispute has been settled by battle between the two champions, it will also involve binding stipulations for the resolution of the war, as well as provisions for future alliance and friendship between the former enemies: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες / ναίοιτε Τροίην ἐριβώλακα "But you others, swearing friendship and solemn treaties, may you all live in deep-soiled Troyland" (*Il.* 3.73–74). Here ὅρκια (the sacrificial victims to be used in the oath-taking ceremony and, by extension, the treaty) is coupled significantly with φιλότης "friendship", and suggests an end to the war. A permanent relationship of friendship can thus be established between the Acheans and the Trojans, apart from the outcome of the single combat.[3]

Both sides agree to a sacrifice to solemnize the pact.[4] The agreement specifies the type of animals, namely, a white male lamb and a black female lamb: these are to be sacrificed to the Sun and the Earth respectively, with a third lamb

1 I am indebted to two anonymous referees for very helpful comments and criticism that helped me improve the formulation of what follows. I of course remain solely responsible for the contents.

2 The request that Priam should take the oath instead of Paris was intended to strengthen his position in case Paris violated the agreement (*Il.* 3.105–110).

3 Although treaties are usually formal arrangements, terms such as "treaty, agreement, compact" and "pact" are often used interchangeably, and there seems no need to create special technical terminology for this paper. The term "covenant" is sometimes used to describe formal treaties, and sometimes one-sided promises, as in God's covenant with Abraham in Gen. 15.

4 On Homeric oath rituals, see Casabona 1966; Kitts 2005; Carawan 2007.

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sacrificed to Zeus. The ceremony is of particular importance to the plot of the *Iliad*: indeed, the fact that we get such a detailed description of it underlines its pivotal importance.[5]

The purpose of this paper is to examine some close phraseological correspondences in covenantal formulations and idiomatic expressions in Mesopotamia, Syro-Palestine, Anatolia and Greece in order to provide valid indirect evidence of the contacts between different traditions through which such phrasing appears to have crossed languages. The structure of the paper is as follows. After presenting the agreement described in Book 3 of the *Iliad* (section 2), the structural aspects of Near Eastern treaties and Homeric agreements will be illustrated, providing a brief commentary on their practices (section 3). There then follows an analysis of some of the terminological correspondences employed in these agreements, comparing Greek, Hittite and Akkadian lexical and phraseological units (section 4). By discussing a specific case, i.e. the locution ὅρκια τέμνειν, I hope to show the complexity of the problem and make suggestions which may lead to further research and a more thorough examination of available materials (section 5).

2 A Homeric Agreement

2.1 *The Truce und Peace Settlement*

The description of the ceremony itself begins in v. 264 and encompasses a number of separate elements which will be discussed in some detail. Priam goes to the plain where Agamemnon and the Greeks are waiting to make the agreements. Agamemnon presides and introduces the ritual sheep-sacrifice with an invocation to the gods as witnesses. After the invocation, Agamemnon once again repeats the stipulations, adding a new condition not mentioned in the original proposal: Paris will either kill Menelaus or be killed by him, and Helen and her possessions will go to the winner. In either case, both Trojans and Greeks hope to see an end to the war:

5 Book 3 focuses on the establishment of a certain relationship between the Greeks and Trojans by means of the ceremony described as ὅρκια τέμνειν, and Book 4 concerns the violation of this relationship by the Trojans and the events that ensue until a sort of resolution is achieved in Book 7. In Book 4 Athene induces Pandoras to shoot an arrow at Menelaus, breaking the truce and peace settlement reached in Book 3. This breach is described by coupling ὅρκια with δηλέομαι, and occasionally with καταπατέω or συγχέω, words which suggest injury, violence, harm or destruction (see below, section 4.2).

Il. 3.267–301

ὤρνυτο δ᾽ αὐτίκ᾽ ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,
ἂν δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς πολύμητις· ἀτὰρ κήρυκες ἀγαυοί
ὅρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον, κρητῆρι δὲ οἶνον
μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν.
Ἀτρείδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χείρεσσι μάχαιραν,
ἥ οἱ πὰρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο,
ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνε τρίχας· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις.
τοῖσιν δ᾽ Ἀτρείδης μεγάλ᾽ ηὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·
“Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,
Ἠέλιός θ᾽, ὃς πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐπακούεις,
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τείνυσθον, ὅτις κ᾽ ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃι,
ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ᾽ ὅρκια πιστά.
εἰ μέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃι,
αὐτὸς ἔπειθ᾽ Ἑλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα,
ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν·
εἰ δέ κ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
Τρῶας ἔπειθ᾽ Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι,
τιμὴν δ᾽ Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν, ἥν τιν᾽ ἔοικεν,
ἥ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.
εἰ δ᾽ ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμὴν Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες
τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν Ἀλεξάνδροιο πεσόντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα ποινῆς
αὖθι μένων, εἵως κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχείω.”
ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῶι.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας,
θυμοῦ δευομένους, ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἵλετο χαλκός,
οἶνον δ᾽ ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσόμενοι δεπάεσσιν
ἔκχεον ἠδ᾽ ηὔχοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτῃσιν.
ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε·
“Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
ὁππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια πημήνειαν,
ὧδέ σφ᾽ ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι, ὡς ὅδε οἶνος,
αὐτῶν καὶ τεκέων, ἄλοχοι δ᾽ ἄλλοισι δαμεῖεν.”

Then Agamemnon, king of men, and wily Odysseus stood forth, and the noble heralds brought the sacrificial offerings, mixed wine in the bowl,

> and laved the royal hands. And Atreides drew the knife that ever hung next the great scabbard of his sword, and cut wool from the heads of the lambs, which the heralds shared among the Greek and Trojan leaders. Now Agamemnon raised his arms and prayed aloud: 'Father Zeus, great and glorious, you who reign on Ida, and you all-seeing and all-knowing Sun, and you rivers, and you earth, and you beneath that take vengeance on the dead for their oath-breaking: be witness to what we solemnly swear. If Paris kills Menelaus, Helen and all her treasure are his to keep; and we depart in our sea-going ships. But if red-haired Menelaus kills Paris, the Trojans must yield Helen and her riches, and pay the Greeks proper recompense, on a scale men shall remember. And if Priam and his sons choose not to pay though Paris falls, then we fight on to win our claim, however long it takes to make an end to war.' So saying, he slit the lambs' throats with the merciless bronze, and loosed them to the earth as they gasped for breath, the knife robbing them of their powers. Then wine from the bowl was poured into the cups, and oaths sworn to the immortal gods. This was the Greek and Trojan plea: 'Great and glorious Zeus, and all you deathless gods, may the brains of whatever race first wreaks harm in defiance of this treaty be poured out, like this wine, on the ground, theirs and their children's too; and their wives be taken in servitude.'

The sacrifice of the lambs is made by Agamemnon himself, standing in front of both armies with Odysseus at his side. Representing the Trojan side is Priam, flanked by Antenor. The passage portrays the procedure of sacrifice in considerable detail. Agamemnon begins by cutting the hair from the victim's head, and the heralds distribute it to all the Trojan and Achaean princes (273–274). The ritual thus associates all the participants directly with the sacrifice. A special knife called a μάχαιρα (271), not to be confused with a sword, is also used to sacrifice the victims.[6] The ritual usually entails the washing of the hands prior to the beginning of the sacrifice itself. Significantly, in the next part of the ritual Agamemnon is said to pray (ηὔχετο, 275), rather than swear (ὄμνυμι, almost always found in conjunction with ὅρκος, is used in nearly every explicit oath-taking passage in the *Iliad*[7]). His prayer falls into two main parts: the first (276–280) consists of an invocation of various deities (Zeus, the Sun, the Rivers, the Earth and some unidentified chthonic deities) to witness and guard

6 Agamemnon simply slits the necks of the victims and allows them to bleed to death. There is, however, no mention of any receptacle for the blood, nor of any direct contact with the victims apart from grasping some of their severed hair.

7 See *LfgE* 3, 777–778.

the agreements, while the second (281–291) consists of the actual terms of the peace settlement.

The offerings include wine as well as the sacrificial victims themselves; πιστά stresses the obligation to abide by the promises given, while ὅρκια, strictly speaking, signifies the sanctified sacrificial animals. However, the original signification of the locution ὅρκια πιστὰ τέμνειν (*Il.* 3.73) eventually became such a conventional formula that it came to be identified with the treaty itself. Finally, Agamemnon ends his prayer and cuts (292, τέμνειν) the throats of the lambs, and some of the Greeks and Trojans pray that those who break the treaty may have their brains poured forth like wine (298–301). The curse includes the wives and children of those guilty of this, although a different punishment is invoked for them.

The right kind of sacrificial animal was believed essential for the validity of a treaty: in such episodes in Homer, the sacrifice of lambs, and their colour, seems to be related to the idea of choosing a victim that is appropriate for the occasion. In the course of the ritualistic sacrifice, the animal is cut up or dismembered, and the making of treaty is metonymized as ὅρκια τέμνειν "cutting a covenant". It is commonly accepted that we are also dealing here with a sign or symbol of what will happen to any covenanter who dares to turn their back on the agreement. The ritual also involves a series of sympathetic actions, whose function is to link the fate of a perjurer to that of the lambs or their severed hair. The verb τέμνειν is used for the cutting of the hair of the lambs here, as well as for the cutting of their throats at the end of the ceremony.[8] Furthermore, the hair is distributed to all the Greek and Trojan leaders who presumably hold it throughout the ceremony. It is the preliminary cutting and distribution of the hair which connects both parties to the animals; these will be cut again in sacrifice after the invocation of the gods and the recitation of the terms of the agreement. The distribution of the hair is the symbolic manifestation of the acceptance by the parties of the binding relationship that is ordained in the rest of the ceremony. Significantly, the animals are provided by both Trojans and Acheans (103 ff.), emphasizing their role in connecting the parties to each other, and to the gods. Therefore the analysis of the ceremony reveals that the animals not only serve to link the gods to the human transaction, but also to connect the parties to one another through a symbolic expression of the binding force of the agreement.

8 It is interesting to compare the Akkadian locution *napištam lapātum* "to take the oath", lit. "to touch the throat" (see *CAD* L 84b–85a). Touching the throat by parties to a treaty was in fact the equivalent of the saying "may my throat be cut if I break this solemn agreement!".

Thus, through an oath accompanied by libations (298–301), each participant binds himself individually, and not just his own life but the lives of his family. The wine spilt from the cups of the individual princes is unequivocally associated with the self-curse that each one calls down upon his own head, should he violate the oath. The effect of the curse is extended beyond the participants to their wives and children. The entire oath serves as a prophecy, because the Trojans do in fact break their oath and the destruction envisaged in the self-curse in lines 300–301 actually comes to pass: their men and children will be killed and their wives will be enslaved.

What this passage in the *Iliad* entails is not exactly an oath, but the establishment, by means of a formal and sanctified agreement, of a relationship involving mutual obligations binding the parties to refrain from warring and to perform certain actions should the specified events occur. This relationship is solemnized not through oaths made by the parties to the gods but by means of the sanctified animals, the ὅρκια (πιστὰ) θεῶν "the (sacrificial) victims offered to the gods" (245, 269), who serve physically and symbolically as the connection between man and man, and thence with the gods who serve as witnesses and guarantors of the terms of the treaty. That this relationship lies at the center of the conceptual framework of ὅρκια τέμνειν in this passage is emphasized once again in the prayer of the bystanders before the single combat. They pray first about the outcome of the combat, and then say "but to us may come friendship (φιλότητα) and solemn treaties (ὅρκια πιστά)":

Il. 3.320–323

> Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,
> ὁππότερος τάδε ἔργα μετ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκεν,
> τὸν δὸς ἀποφθίμενον δῦναι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω,
> ἡμῖν αὖ φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ γενέσθαι.
>
> Father Zeus, who rule from Ida, most glorious, most great, whichever of the two it is that brought these troubles on both peoples, grant that he may die and enter the house of Hades, but to us may come friendship and solemn treaties.

2.2 *The Oath Ritual*

The taking of an oath and the making of an agreement as described in the third Book of the *Iliad* is surely one of the most celebrated cases of suspected literary borrowing. Regarding *Il.* 3.276–280, Jaan Puhvel, in a paper entitled "Embedded Anatolianisms in Greek Epic", argues that the invocation of Zeus

and Helios recalls the Anatolian practice of calling upon the Storm God and the Sun God as witnesses when swearing an oath.[9] Almost ten years later Peter Högemann concludes that the similarities are so great that direct borrowing of Anatolian practice is unquestionable.[10] According to Frank Starke the curse formulas, including the symbolic pouring on the ground of the brains of the violators and their children, just like the wine of the libation ritual had been poured during the ceremony, are modelled on Hittite oaths of allegiance. For this reason he believes that the "anatolische Charakter der Ilias" can be ascertained.[11]

2.3 *Considerations of Method*

The present article has been inspired by remarks made by these scholars, who call our attention to some covenantal customs described in the third Book of the *Iliad*, which suggest, at the very least, an Anatolian influence. My investigation focuses upon the agreement-making practices depicted in Homeric epics and their terminology. It will be shown that the striking similarities of the cultural practices and their linguistic expression are not the product of coincidence and casual links, but indicate a cultural transfer dating back to the second millennium.

The pioneering work of Walter Burkert and Martin West has brought to light many parallels between the literatures of the Ancient Near East and the Homeric epic,[12] and has established beyond any reasonable doubt that there was an East Mediterranean epic tradition with its roots in the third millennium and still flourishing and developing in the first half of the first millennium BCE.[13]

Interestingly, specific lexical and phraseological accordances between Greek and Near Eastern languages have long been noticed.[14] As Martin West observes, there are also Semiticisms in Homeric Greek:[15]

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9 Puhvel 1991. See also Nenci 1961.

10 Högemann 2003: 4.

11 Starke 1997: 465, 483.

12 In this paper, the terms 'the Near East' (here referring to Anatolia, Mesopotamia and the Levant) and 'Greece' should both be understood in a purely geographical sense. As will become clear, neither the Near East nor Greece formed a single unit at any time during the period under discussion.

13 See Burkert 1984; Burkert 1991; Burkert 2004; Burkert 2005; West 1988; West 1997. See among recent studies Dowden 2001; Schuol 2002; van Dongen 2007; Bryce 2008; van Dongen 2008; Powell 2011; Haubold 2013; Bachvarova 2016; Raaflaub 2017.

14 See Gusmani 1968; Gusmani 1969; García Ramón 2011a; García Ramón 2011b; Puhvel 1991; Puhvel 1993; Dardano 2012; Dardano 2013; Hajnal 2014; Dardano 2017.

15 It may be worth remembering that Mycenaean texts show that Greek borrowed a number

> We shall find that Homeric and other Greek poetic diction is characterized by many turns of phrase that do not correspond to normal Greek idiom as we know it from Classical prose, but do correspond to Oriental idiom. It will emerge that 'Semiticisms' are not something that first appear in Greek in the Septuaginta: there are Semiticisms in Homer.
>
> WEST 1997: 220–221

Although it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Greek epic tradition was strongly influenced by contacts with the Near Eastern tradition at some stage of its history, in the present semi-chaotic stage of the debate, when hypothesis and counter-hypothesis are presented from both sides without much hope of any cogent demonstration,[16] it seems wise to try to analyse the passages in which agreements appear. These passages should be classified and compared with the ones which appear to invite comparison; finally, we should ask whether any noteworthy similarities of treatment are present and, if so, whether they can be taken as evidence of a relationship between the literatures concerned. All this goes to show that possible phraseological borrowings in the Homeric epics do not prove conclusive as to the question of Greek-Anatolian language contacts: most of these borrowings cannot be assigned a time nor traced back to a specific source. It should be clearly stated that if certain features can be identified as specifically Ancient Near East Mediterranean, they may be so either through parallel development from a common source or by dependence of one on the other. This is why it is difficult to associate them with a specific situation of contact or a specific source language.[17]

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of Semitic words before our first texts, i.e. there were close contacts with Semitic peoples long before the Dark Ages. Most of the borrowed words refer to herbs or plants, textiles and precious objects which may have been introduced through trade relations.

16 A certain cultural continuity in the southwest of Asia Minor is postulated by Starke 1997; Högemann 2000a; Högemann 2000b; Benzi 2002. According to them Trojan society as described in the *Iliad*, is assumed to be a direct reflection of a Bronze Age Anatolian social structure. However, this "continuity hypothesis" is called into question in various respects by the critical analysis of Blum 2001; Blum 2002.

17 Alongside Ahhiyawa-Achean identification, there is the related question of whether the Hittite texts contain references to a Trojan War, as has also been proposed by many scholars, on the basis of an identification of the toponyms Wiluša and Taruiša with Homeric Wilios and Troia. Overall, the picture that emerges from the Hittite texts is that, between ca. 1400 and 1200 BCE, the Hittite state had several encounters with Ahhiyawa on Anatolian soil—sometimes in an apparently peaceful context, but more frequently in a bellicose setting. The West coast of Anatolia appears to have been the stage for these encounters, and it thus seems reasonable to assume that Ahhiyawa was situated close to this region. For a reconsideration of the Ahhiyawa-question see Fischer 2010. A new edition of the Ahhiyawa texts, with translations and commentaries, is currently published by Beckman et al. 2011.

I also admit unreservedly that there are some important problems of a general order. First of all, given the destruction of most of the written information regarding the Mycenaean era, any attempt to understand its social conventions is very difficult. Of course there must have been some agreements in the course of the wars, raids, disputes, and other common enterprises that obviously took place, but owing to the paucity of textual evidence, we have nothing that tells us about Mycenaean treaties and related social conventions. Secondly, even though the agreements contained in the Homeric epic provide us with useful examples of the typology of agreements prevalent during the Dark Ages, we should bear in mind that although most of the Near Eastern treaties would easily fall under the formal category of what are in modern times recognized as treaties, the same is not necessarily the case with the Homeric agreements. In other words, Homeric literature was not intended to reproduce legal documents, although it certainly reflects many of the customs of the age and of preceding times, including the way Greek people made agreements. This leads to a third, more general point, which concerns the different character and institutional context of Greek and cuneiform Mesopotamian literature. Despite their many similarities, they do not always coincide in form and function: the boundaries between genres, for example, were drawn in different ways, and some genres have no obvious parallels at all. Last but not least, there were also important differences in the modes of production and reception of the texts. While cuneiform writing was a specialized scribal skill, writing Greek required no very great expertise or learning. In addition, much cuneiform literature was produced for storage in archives and libraries, rather than for public performance. The Eastern epic, at least in Mesopotamia, is based on a fixed tradition of writing and on schools of scribes spanning more than two millennia. Within this tradition texts were copied and recopied, and sometimes also translated into different languages.

3 Near Eastern Tradition and Homeric Agreements

3.1 *Hittite Treaties*

It is well known that in the Near East there was a long legal tradition of a much more highly sophisticated form than that evidenced by the Homeric agreements. The largest number of treaties preserved are from the Hittite empire, dating from between 1500 and 1200 BCE and written in Akkadian or Hittite.[18]

18 As a general rule, diplomatic partners within Anatolia received treaties in the Hittite language, while those in Syria and beyond were given in Akkadian.

Because of their more developed form, as well as the geographic proximity of the Hittite state to the Greek world and the probable contacts of the Hittites with the Mycenaean civilization, Hittite treaties constitute the principal reference point of my analysis.

The archives of Hattuša have delivered more than thirty-five treaty texts, and if some are but fragments, others are complete texts which allow a thorough analysis of the technique the Hittites used in drafting a treaty.[19] The first thing to be noted is that Hittite treaties can be divided into two broad classifications: the parity treaty and the vassal treaty. These names explain the nature of the classes very eloquently. The parity treaty was entered into by equals, by the Hittite Great King with a Great King, and involved perfect reciprocity. Each party had the same duties as the other, and each bound himself by an oath. The vassal treaty, which is the most commonly attested variety of diplomatic agreement from Hatti, includes cases where an agreement has been imposed by the more powerful Hittite king on an inferior. The obligations are not reciprocal but one-sided. We can sum up the contents of the vassal treaty as follows: 1) titulature, 2) history of past relations, 3) stipulations, 4) tablet clause (it is required that the tablet recording the treaty be preserved in a temple and read occasionally), 5) list of divine witnesses, 6) curses and blessings.

It must be emphasized that Hittite treaty-making policy was flexible in form and content. Although we subsume all the texts under the two-fold division, parity and vassal, the latter category was variable. It could be adapted to the needs of a varying situation and these variations help us to evidence what the essentials were. What is of particular importance is the fact that the section devoted to the history that had gone before the treaty could be omitted. What is never dropped from any pattern thus seems to be that which was held to be essential to a treaty in accordance with the Hittite way of thinking. This had two elements: the stipulations (i.e., the obligations to be assumed) and the invocation of the gods as witnesses with the consequent implication of divine sanctions. And not merely the gods of Hatti were invoked as witnesses, but also those of the vassal so that if the vassal should fail to live up to the obligations imposed by the treaty, he would be going against his own deities as well as those of the foreign power. This explains the unfailing presence and essential importance of this part of the treaty. Even though it is the Hittite king who, as the

19 The most important part of the material was published by Beckman 1999. See also Devecchi 2015. For discussion and literature see Weinfeld 1990; Beckman 2006. On curses and blessings in Hittite treaties see Christiansen 2012: 137–284.

speaker throughout the document, invokes the deities and not the vassal, the list of the gods is the sign that the treaty involved not merely the imposition of the will of the superior but the acceptance, under oath, of that will by the inferior. The consequences are also spelled out in the last part of the treaty, that is, the curse and blessing formula. The standard formulation of the list of divine witnesses and of curses and blessings appears in the treaty between Muršili II and Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru:

> [The Sun-god of Heaven, Sun-goddess] of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, Storm-god of Hatti, [Šeri (and) Hur]ri, Mount Nanni, Mount Hazzi [...] the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, the winds, and the clouds. They shall be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath. All the words of the treaty and oath [which] are written [on] this tablet—if Tuppi-Teššub [does not observe these words] of the treaty and of the oath, then these oath gods shall destroy Tuppi-Teššub, [together with his person], his [wife], his son, his grandsons, his household, his city, his land, and together with his possessions. But if Tuppi-Teššub [observes] these [words of the treaty and of the oath] which [are written] on this tablet, [then] these oath gods [shall protect] Tuppi-Teššub, together with his person, his wife, his son, his grandsons, [his city, his land], his (!) household, his subjects, [and together with his possessions.].
>
> BECKMAN 1999: 63–64

This formula recurs again and again in Hittite treaties with very little variation.[20] It is striking in its brevity and sobriety, its generalities and rather colorless expressions when we remember of what the ancients were capable of in the way of curses. The conclusion of the treaty between Muwatalli and Alakšandus of Wilusa expands this formula slightly (see Beckman 1999: 91–93), but it is only the Šatiwazza treaty which is significantly different. Here we find vivid language and various figurative expressions (see Beckman 1999: 52–54).

It is generally accepted that the Hittite treaty formulation grew out of the political circumstances of the Near East in the middle of the second millennium. However, when it was adapted by the Assyrians, some elements were removed and other elements, like the curses, were elaborated. The Assyrians developed a treaty typology in the first millennium BCE that seems to continue

20 See Beckman 1999: 28–29, 40–41, 46–48, 57–58, 68–69, 81–82, 85–86, 111–113, 121–122.

the Hittite treaty tradition but differs on two major points: a) their treaties did not contain a historical prologue;[21] b) they elaborated the curses, on the one hand, and omitted the blessings, on the other; in other words the Assyrians did not believe that someone who maintains loyalty deserves special blessings and, as a result, blessings were eliminated from the treaty formulation altogether. On the contrary, the list of curses was expanded in order to terrorize any vassal who might be inclined to disobedience.[22] It is also striking, that in Hittite and Assyrian treaties the sacrificial element is absent: this might be explained by the supposition that in the formulation of the treaty, the proclamation of the oath replaces the sacrificial ceremony, or rather, the treaty becomes valid not by virtue of the ritual but by the imprecation of the oath.

To sum up, Near Eastern treaties are by their very nature contracts established by an oath: essential to their expression were the terms of the contract and the list of the divine witnesses. With some variations, this structure can also be discerned in many of the Homeric agreements. However, it is important to consider that in the Homeric epics these agreements are not separately created documents that the poet incorporates into his narrative, but rather themes we need to distil from the poems.

3.2 *Divine Witnesses*

Divine agency plays an important role in ancient Near Eastern legal procedures. Witnesses had the function not only to certify that the treaty was made, but also to ensure that it was kept. To this purpose the Hittite treaties include a detailed list of gods. The advantage of this is that they can be appealed to where the human factor fails or proves insufficient. The gods were not considered passive onlookers of the transaction but participants and the final arbiters. Fear of the gods was enough to motivate a party to keep its oaths: they were expected to pursue violators and to reward those who kept their word. In Hittite treaties there is the convention of calling on a series of gods as witnesses, or swearing by them, which amounts to the same thing. The list of deities may be lengthy; it may culminate in "the Thousand Gods of Hatti" (*CTH* 106; see Beckman 1999: 111), having begun with the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who may be compared to Zeus and Helios as invoked by Agamemnon as witnesses to his treaty with Priam (*Il.* 3.276–277). Agamemnon uses the formula Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδη-

21 The historical prologue of the Hittite treaties served as a sort of apology. In the prologue, the Hittite sovereign mentions his gracious deeds toward his vassal and his ancestors, which should in turn encourage his vassal's loyalty.

22 See Kitchen—Lawrence 2012, Part 1, 941–947 (Assur-nerari V of Assyria and Mati'-ilu of Arpad); 985–1001 (Esarhaddon's Succession and the Medes).

θεν μεδέων (276), by which he invokes Zeus of Ida, the local mountain of Troy, to be the witness of their accord along with the local rivers and other divinities. The citing of Helios in the Homeric formula probably has its roots in Near Eastern tradition: the sun-god of Heaven, like the Babylonian Šamaš, supervises justice and so has an important place in treaty oaths. The belief that Helios can see everything is compelling: the Babylonian Šamaš has the same title, *bār kal mimma šumšu* "surveyor of everything whatever" (OECT 6.82) and it makes him the guarantor of justice.[23] Agamemnon's list continues with "the Rivers, the Earth, and you (or they) who punish dead men below if one has sworn false". In the treaties of Muršili II the list of divinities ends with "the Mountains, the Rivers, the Springs, the great Sea, Heaven and Earth, the Winds, the Clouds: let these be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath" (*CTH* 62; see Beckman 1999: 63).[24] In this respect the similarity in treaty-making between the Near Eastern and the Greek world is very striking, when we consider that the reference to and the invocation of natural forces is rather unusual among Greeks. The bases of such practices remain the same: to increase the power of an invocation or an oath by calling on primeval forces, represented by heaven and earth or by their corresponding gods. An oath administrated by the gods guaranteed the inviolable character of the agreement and the way was thus open to the customary friendship attendant upon the reconciliation of enemies.

In the Hittite treaties the gods acting as witnesses, as well as avengers, are introduced by the formula: *n=at kēdani linkiya kutruweneš ašandu* "Let (the gods who were summoned) be witnesses to this oath" (KBo 8.35 II 13). The personified oath, i.e. the oath deity (without divine determinative), becomes punisher of the oath-breakers: *kūnn=a* UN-*an lingaiš* […] … *le appanzi* "may not Oath[s?] … seize this person" (KUB 35.148 IV 18–19); *mān* UN-*an daššuš lingai*[*š epzi* "if strong Oath seizes a person" (KUB 30.45 II 10); -]*an ke NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *harnin*[*kandu* "may these Oaths destroy him" (KBo 16.28 III 8); *nu=šmaš=kan NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} DUMU$^{HI.A}$-*KUNU andan kardi=šmi=pa*[*t a*]*zzikandu* "may the Oaths eat your children inside your bowels!" (KBo 8.35 II 23–24); *n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *šarrizzi n=an ke NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *appandu* "he who breaks these oaths, him these Oaths shall seize" (KBo 6.34 IV 7–8); *NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *harninkandu* "let the Oaths destroy (the offender)!" (KUB 13.20 IV 6).[25]

23 The Sun-god is addressed as the deity "who sees all things and hears all things" in *Od.* 11.109 and *Od.* 12.323; see also *Od.* 8.271. On Šamaš in the Hittite texts see Beckman 2012; Steiler 2017.

24 Similarly, the list of deities in the Homeric passage is followed by "You be witnesses" (*Il.* 3.208).

25 The phrase *niš ilāni* is best translated not as "oath" but as implicitly what is sworn "(by) the life of the gods", i.e. the treaty itself.

The term for "oath deity" is usually the ergative form of *lingai-* "oath", namely *linkiyanza* (sg.) or *linkiyanteš* (pl.):[26] *nu=tta uittu kēl ŠA* SÍSKUR *linkiyanza epdu* "may the Oath of this ritual come and seize you" (KBo 11.72 II 39–40); *tu]ppiaš uttār šarrit* [...] *linkiyanteš appantu* [...] *n=aš har(a)ktu* '[who] violated the terms of the tablet, [him] shall the Oath-deities seize ... he shall perish' (KUB 36.106 rev. 5–6); "He took an oath before the gods and then transgressed the oath" *n=an linkiyanteš ēppir* "the Oath-deities seized him" (KBo 6.34 III 15–17). The main "gods of oath" were the Moon-god (^{d}SÎN), the goddess Išhara and the Storm-god (^{d}IM): *ŠA* ^{d}IM *linkiyaš* ^{NA_4}KIŠIB "the seal of the Storm-god of swearing" (KUB 17.21 IV 19); ^{d}*Išharaš linkiaš išhāš* "Išhara, mistress of the oath" (KBo 8.35 II 10); ^{d}SÎN EN *MAMETI* ^{d}*Išharaš* MUNUS.LUGAL *MAMETI* "Moon-god lord of the oath, Išhara queen of the oath" (KUB 26.43 rev. 19); ^{d}*Išhara* MUNUS.LUGAL *NEŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} "Išhara queen of the oath" (KUB 21.1 IV 14); *andurza=ma[=šši]=kan INA* ŠÀ-*ŠÚ* DUMU$^{<MEŠ>}$ ^{d}*Išhara kišantaru n=an karipandu* "inside in his bowels may the children of Išhara dwell and devour him!" (KBo 6.34++ III 22–23); *kuiš=wa=kan ke lingauš šarrizzi nu=šši* ^{d}IM-*aš* ^{GIŠ}APIN *arha duwarnāu* "who breaks these oaths, may the Storm-god shatter his plow!" (KBo 6.34 III 39–41).[27]

3.3 *Curses*

The parties to the treaty lay dire curses upon themselves and their descendants should they break their oaths, and often these are accompanied by prayers for blessings of various kinds if they abide by the terms. This is illustrated by the Hittite and Assyrian texts as well as the Greek ones. As a rule, the curses expressed in the Homeric epics are brief. As we have seen in the Hittite treaties, and especially in the Assyrian ones, the formulaic development of cursing apparently became much more elaborate, with the result that long segments of the treaties were devoted to curses. It should be stressed that elaborate enumerations of this type of material do not fit well into the Homeric poetic scheme. In a few Homeric treaties curses and blessings are not even alluded to, although it is almost certain that they were even constitutive parts of such agreements originally. Their absence can be explained by the more informal character of these pacts, by the aristocratic ethos of the covenanters, and by the nature of the epos itself, which is not interested in the full details of agreements as is the case with the legal or the historical documents. In addition, some of the Homeric

26 The personified Ὅρκος son of Eris, is a divinity who punishes the false and perjured; see Hes. *Op*. 219, 804; *Th*. 231.

27 A god can also be punished as an oath-breaker: *mān=at=kan* UL*=ma ašnuši nu=tta uidd*[*u*] *kēl ŠA* SÍSKUR *NIŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} *tuk taknaš* ^{d}UTU-*uš ēpdu* "But if you do not make it good, let the oath-god of this ritual seize you, the Sun-god of the earth" (KBo 11.72 III 7–9).

agreements are between men and gods or between gods: in both cases, curses would be inappropriate, although these are not entirely absent (*Il.* 14.267–274; *Od.* 5.177–186).

3.4 *Agamemnon's Oath*

Evidence that the rituals associated with Homeric treaties and pacts and their terminology are largely similar to Near Eastern practices and their terminology emerges not only from the Homeric account of the agreement described in the third Book of the *Iliad*. One famous oath, Agamemnon's pledge to Achilles (*Il.* 19.264–268) is particularly striking. Agamemnon has to swear an oath that he has not slept with Briseis, an oath he strengthens through the addition of a sacrifice. The ceremony itself (*Il.* 19.250 ff.) is, in many respects, similar to the treaty ceremony described in Book 3, but includes the oath of Agamemnon regarding Briseis. In addition, after the completion of the sacrifice, Achilles prays to Zeus, absolving Agamemnon, at least partially, of responsibility (*Il.* 19.270–275). This active participation of Achilles emphasizes the mutuality of the whole proceedings, and a sense of a relationship being restored, something that would have been lacking had Agamemnon simply sworn his oath concerning Briseis.

In *Il.* 19.249 ff. Agamemnon swears, after having cut the bristles of a boar brought to him by Talthybius. He speaks, and cuts the boar's throat with his "pitiless bronze". Although this self-curse does not explicitly mention the boar, the similarities with the scene described in the third Book are striking:

Il. 19.249–268

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέσσῃι ἀγορῆι θέσαν, ἂν δ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων
ἵστατο· Ταλθύβιος δὲ θεῶι ἐναλίγκιος αὐδὴν
κάπρον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παρίστατο ποιμένι λαῶν.
Ἀτρείδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χείρεσσι μάχαιραν,
ἥ οἱ πὰρ ξίφεος μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο,
κάπρου ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος, Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν
ηὔχετο· τοὶ δ᾽ ἄρα πάντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτόφιν εἵατο σιγῆι
Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ μοῖραν, ἀκούοντες βασιλῆος.
εὐξάμενος δ᾽ ἄρα εἶπεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν·
"ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος,
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἵ θ᾽ ὑπὸ γαῖαν
ἀνθρώπους τείνυνται, ὅτις κ᾽ ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃι,
μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρῃι Βρισηΐδι χεῖρ᾽ ἐπένεικα,
οὔτ᾽ εὐνῆς πρόφασιν κεχρημένος οὔτέ τε᾽ ἄλλου.
ἀλλ᾽ ἔμεν᾽ ἀπροτίμαστος ἐνὶ κλισίῃισιν ἐμῆισιν.

εἰ δέ τι τῶνδ᾽ ἐπίορκον, ἐμοὶ θεοὶ ἄλγεα δοῖεν
πολλὰ μάλ᾽, ὅσσα διδοῦσιν ὅτίς σφ᾽ ἀλίτηται ὀμόσσας."
ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στόμαχον κάπρου τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῷι.
τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα
ῥῖψ᾽ ἐπιδινήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν·

These (i.e. the gifts) then they set in the middle of the place of assembly, and Agamemnon rose up, and Talthybius, whose voice was like a god's stood by the side of the shepherd of men holding a boar in his hands. And the son of Atreus drew out with his hands the knife that ever hung beside the great sheath of his sword, and cut the firstling hairs from the boar, and lifting up his hands made prayer to Zeus; and all the Argives sat where they were in silence as was right, listening to the king. And he spoke in prayer, looking up to the broad heaven: "Be Zeus my witness first, highest and best of gods, and Earth and Sun, and the Erinyes, that under earth take vengeance on men, whoever has sworn a false oath, that I never laid hand on the girl Briseis either by way of a lover's embrace or in any other way, but she remained untouched in my huts. And if anything in this oath be false, may the gods give me many woes, all those that they are used to give to anyone who sins against them in his swearing". He spoke, and cut the boar's throat with the pitiless bronze, and the body Talthybius whirled and flung into the great gulf of the gray sea to be the food for fishes.

Here, too, if we interpret the treatment of the boar as a sympathetic act connected to an unstated self-curse, it is not difficult to see a parallel with the scene described in the Book 3. Nearly the same gods who punish the false swearing of oaths are among those who are called on as witnesses to the ὅρκια ceremony: Zeus, the Earth, the Sun and the Erinyes. In both passages the slicing of the animal's throat is the climactic moment. Altogether the two oath-sacrificing narratives of the *Iliad*, a fuller one in Book 3 and a condensed one in Book 19, share many identical features and formulations. Particularly striking is the vocabulary: Agamemnon draws "with his hands his μάχαιρα, which always hung by the great sheath of his sword" (*Il.* 3.271–272; *Il.* 19.252–253); he prays, holding up his hands to Zeus (*Il.* 3.275–276; *Il.* 19.254–255); he invokes a series of divine witnesses, concluding with the Erinyes, either by function: "those who toil underground and punish humans, whoever should swear a false oath" (*Il.* 3.279), or by naming them: the "Erinyes, that […] take vengeance on men, whoever has sworn a false oath" (*Il.* 19.259–260); he curses oath-violators, either before (*Il.* 19.265–267) or after the oath-sacrifice (*Il.* 3.300–301); he cuts the throat of the victim(s) with the μάχαιρα: "And so he said, and he cut the

throats of the lambs/of the boar with the pitiless bronze" (*Il.* 3.292; *Il.* 19.266). However, it should be noted that in Book 19 the cutting of the hair from the sacrificial animals (*Il.* 3.271–274) and its distribution to the participants of the oath do not occur. In both cases the victim is not eaten, but disposed of.

4 Terminological Correspondences: Vocabulary and Phraseology

4.1 *Appellation of the Treaty*

All through the ancient Near East in Sumer, Hatti, Assyria and Syria, despite the diversity of languages and the passage of the centuries, the vocabulary of treaty-making is singularly consistent. A fixed procedure for the conclusion of treaties and political agreements began to crystallize in the middle of the second millennium BCE.[28] Relations between the Egyptians, Hurrians, Hittites, Kassites, Assyrians and even Acheans were formalized by means of treaties based on a common vocabulary and common formal procedures.[29] This was always a matter that implied giving one's word, making a pledge or taking an oath, but the very designation of a treaty implied an obligation assumed under oath.

The classical appellation for 'treaty' was coined from the very beginning, i.e. the middle of the second millennium, in hendiadystic structures. It should be stated immediately that there was no single word for covenant. In both Hittite and Akkadian the covenant was designated by a locution which could be translated literally as "bond and oath". The notion of pact was expressed in Hittite documents (written in Akkadian) as *riksu u māmītu* "bond and oath" (the equivalent in Hittite are *išhiul* and *lingaiš*).[30] This designation refers to the most important constituent elements of the agreements: the stipulations (i.e., the

28 See Podany 2010.

29 On Near Eastern covenant terminology see Weinfeld 1970 and Weinfeld 1973; for a discussion of the Near Eastern influence on Homeric covenants and agreements in general see Karavites 1992: 82–124.

30 On Akk. *māmītum* see *CAD* M 189b–195a: 1. "oath (sworn by the king and the gods), sworn agreement"; 2. "curse (consequences of a broken oath attacking a person who took it, also demonic power)". On Hitt. *išhiul* 'binding, obligation, injunction, treaty' see *HED* A, E/I 400–401. In the Hittite texts other words also occur as designation for the treaty (*AWAT*, *memiaš*, *uttar*). The term for covenant in the ancient Near East connotes not only bilateral pacts but also a unilateral imposition as well as a solemn promise. As a classical example of a covenant as imposition we could cite the so-called Hittite "instructions". These "instructions" actually constitute collections of commandments issued by the king for governors, princes, military commanders, city mayors, royal guard, palace personnel and temple officials. Like the treaties, the instructions are called *išhiul*; see Miller 2013.

bond) and the curses and blessings (i.e., the oath) by which the contracting parties invoked the gods as witnesses and guarantors of these provisions.[31] In the Akkadian of the first millennium *adê* replaced the *riksu* of the second millennium and the old *riksu u māmītu* became *adê māmīte*.[32] There is a parallel in Hebrew between *bryt* 'covenant' and *'lh* 'oath' (Deut. 29: 11, 13) and Greek ὅρκος καὶ συνθήκη which has the same meaning (in the Greek locution the order is inverted, oath before bond); in brief, the Greeks used similar terms for the covenant and likewise combined them into a hendiadys.

This use of hendiadys is noteworthy because it is also typical of Hittite vocabulary. In the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Hatti and Aziru of Amurru we find the locution [*ammu*]*k=wa=za išhiulaš lenkiyaš* "I [am a man] of covenant and oath":[33]

> KBo 10.12 III 21–25
> (21) *mā*]*n* LÚ *našma* MUNUS ^{URU}*Hattuša=za* (22) [*kuišk*]*i hūiazi n=aš=kan tuel* KUR-*e* (23) [*anda*] *uizzi zik=ma kišan* $Ū_L$ *mematti* (24) [*ammu*]*k=wa=za išhiulaš linkiyaš* (25) *nu=wa lē*] *kuitki šaggahhi*
>
> If any man or woman flees away from Hattuša, and escapes into your land, you shall not say: 'Now, I [am a man] of covenant and oath, but would not (care to) know anything of it'

Furthermore, this hendiadys is not infrequently attested in Hittite treaties written in Akkadian. In the curses and blessings which close the covenant between Muršili and Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru, we find the phrase (Akk.) *awâte*^{MEŠ} *ša riksi u ša māmēti* "the words of treaty and of oath" (KBo 5.9 IV 21, 23, 27 f.). In the same treaty a long section invokes the gods of both parties to "be witnesses to this treaty and oath" (*ana annî riksi* [*u*] *ana māmētum* ^{LÚ}*šēbūtum* KBo 5.9 IV 19). Mention is made specifically of "Moon-god lord of the oath and Išhara, queen of the oath" (KBo 5.9 III 24′–25′). In the treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Tette of Nuhašše, probably composed in Hittite and translated into Akkadian, we read:

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31 Also in the Kaneš-Assyrian Merchants' treaties we find the use of the term *māmītu*: "If we reject your oath, may our blood, as (from) this cup be poured out!" (Kitchen—Lawrence 2012, Part I, 188–189). Here mutual self-curses are invoked by both parties, the term "oath" being synonymous with the overall treaty-document.

32 See *CAD* A_1 131b–133b.

33 As designation of "liegeman" is also attested *linkiyaš antuhša-* or *lingayaš* /*ŠA MAMETI* $ÌR^{DUM}$ "person under oath, sworn ally, sworn vassal"; see *CHD* L-N 66a. On Hitt. *link-* see *HED* L 85–97.

šumma Tette awâte^{MEŠ} *annāti ša riksi u māmīti lā inaṣṣar u ištu māmīti īteteq* "If Tette does not keep these words of treaty and oath, but transgresses the oath" (KBo 1.4 IV 40–42).

Hendyadistic appellation of the covenant is frequently attested in the *Iliad*. In the second Book Nestor, reproaching the Acheans for their lack of determination in pursuing the war, warns them that such behaviour is in violation of their agreements, namely συνθεσίαι (τε) καὶ ὅρκια "agreements and oaths" (*Il.* 2.339). Clearly the reference to συνθεσίαι and ὅρκια entails ritualistic sacrifices accompanied by curses and blessings. In the next two lines he clearly refers to a ritual solemnizing of the agreement with σπονδαὶ ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί "drink-offerings of unmixed wine and handclasps", signifying a formal agreement made by the Acheans prior to their departure for Troy:

Il. 2.336–343

> τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·
> "ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ παισὶν ἐοικότες ἀγοράασθε
> νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὔ τι μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα.
> πῆι δὴ συνθεσίαι τε καὶ ὅρκια βήσεται ἥμιν;
> ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίατο μήδεά τ᾽ ἀνδρῶν
> σπονδαί τ᾽ ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἧις ἐπέπιθμεν.
> αὔτως γὰρ ἐπέεσσ᾽ ἐριδαίνομεν, οὐδέ τι μῆχος
> εὑρέμεναι δυνάμεσθα, πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντες."
>
> And there spoke among them the horseman, Nestor of Gerenia: "Well, now! You are holding assembly like silly boys that care not for deeds of war. What then is to be the end of our compacts and our oaths? Into the fire let us cast all counsels and plans of warriors, the drink-offerings of unmixed wine, and the handclasps in which we put our trust. For we are vainly wrangling with words, and we can find no solution at all, though we have been here for a long time".

The nominal hendiadys συνθεσίαι καὶ ὅρκια has a parallel in the verbal hendiadys σὺ σύνθεο καί μοι ὄμοσσον (*Il.* 1.76) which comprises the verbs συντίθημι "to put together, (med.) to agree on, to make a covenant" and ὄμνυμι "to swear":

Il. 1.74–77

> ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαί με, διίφιλε, μυθήσασθαι
> μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκατηβελέταο ἄνακτος.

τοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μοι ὄμοσσον
ἦ μέν μοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν·

Achilles, dear to Zeus, you ask me to declare the wrath of Apollo, who smites from afar. Well, then, I will speak; but do you consider, and swear that you will be eager to defend me with word and hand.

The covenantal relationship in Mesopotamia had also been expressed by idioms referring to "peace", "brotherhood", "love" and "friendship", such as Akk. *šulmu* "well-being, health", *salīmu* "peace, concord", *ṭābtu* "goodness, good behavior", *ṭūbtu* "friendly relations", *damiqtu* "favor, good will, luck" and *ahhūtu* "brotherhood"; these terms, similar to those in the previous section, tend to appear in the form of a hendiadys. A locution which expresses the aspect of peace and friendship, a precondition for establishing a covenant, is *ahhūtu u raʾamūtu* "brotherhood and love". It is especially in the letters of Tušratta, the Mitanni ruler, that the treaty is defined as *ahhūtum u raʾamūtum* (EA 17: 12 ff., 19: 13 ff.). This hendiadys passed to the Greeks in the form of φιλία καὶ συμμαχία (Th. 6.36) and it is not impossible that it reached them through the Achaeans, i.e. the Ahhiyawa, who had treaty relations with the Hittites.

"Brotherhood" as a term for covenant is already attested in the political agreements between the Sumerian states of the third millennium as well as in the Ebla agreements where the parties involved call themselves "brothers". The purpose of this "brotherhood" is to secure peace and establish good relations between two kings and their respective peoples. Such relations were intended to endure beyond the life-span of the kings themselves, as their successors were expected to continue the friendly relationship.[34] This terminology is also attested in the international correspondence of the second millennium, since political relationships between allied rulers was conceived of as one of kinship, either of fraternity (Akk. *ahhūtu*) or sonship (Akk. *mārūtu*) and paternity (Akk. *abbūtu*).[35] The title of "brother" acknowledges not exclusively equality of rank (it could be used between rulers of unequal rank), but it connotes the establishment of friendly relations through the successful conclusion of a treaty. In the "Tawagalawa Letter" the Hittite king gives the Ahhiyawan king the title of "brother" and thus acknowledges the parity of his rank (see Beckman et al. 2011: 108–109).[36]

34 See Podany 2010.

35 The forms of address in Hittite diplomatic correspondence can also testify these relationships; see Hoffner 2009.

36 In the famous treaty between Muwatalli II of Hatti and Alakšandu of Wilusa we encounter the same desire for brotherly relations; see Beckman 1999: 87–93.

Other hendiadystic terms expressing friendship and peaceful relationships are *ṭūbtu sulummû/šulmu* "goodness (and) peace/welfare" and *ṭābtu damiqtu* "love (and) friendship", which often occurred in the Hittite and Ugaritic treaties. Like Akkadian *ṭābtu damiqtu*, the Hittite *aššul* "grace" and *kaneššuwar* "friendship" also connote kindness and covenantal relationship. A good example of this is a decree of Hattušili concerning his chief scribe Mittannamuwa, in which verbal and nominal forms deriving from *kanešš-* "to recognize, to reward, to favor" and *aššu-* "good, dear" are documented.[37]

Sometimes the pairs are mixed: one component is taken from the field of friendship while the other belongs to the sphere of pledge and obligation as, for example, *riksu salīme* "bond (and) peace" in Akkadian and φιλότης καὶ ὅρκια "friendship and solemn covenants" in Homeric Greek.[38] When we turn to the Homeric epics, we find that φιλότης was an extremely complex and always positive concept that reflects a special bond of friendship between Homeric heroes.[39] This term was used to underscore friendly feelings and a reciprocal relationship; it could also imply a transition from a state of enmity to one of explicit and steadfast friendship. In *Iliad* 3.456 it is stated that the Trojans considered Paris the architect of their troubles, and that for this reason Troy had no liking of φιλότης for him.

As with Near Eastern treaty terminology, there is also an inclination in Greek towards the forming of pairs in this area. In a number of passages in the *Iliad* where ὅρκια occurs, φιλότης is connected with it (*Il.* 3.73, 94, 323); again and again stress is placed on peace and brotherhood as the basis of the treaty. The parallel between φιλότης and ὅρκια πιστά could be not completely accidental in the formulaic expression οἳ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ τάμωμεν "but we others, let us swear friendship and solemn covenants" (*Il.* 3.94).[40]

In conclusion, the fact that the terms for treaty were similar in all these languages, as well as the very need to express them in almost identical pairs, points to an underlying common tradition, which started in the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE. These idioms appear to express the state of friendship which makes the pact possible, but in fact they denote the treaty itself. This becomes especially clear in Homer, where, based on the model of φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια τέμνειν (*Il.* 3.73, 94, 323), φιλότης in some cases is also the only object of

37 See KBo 4.12. See also KBo 14.12 IV 39: "The lands of Hatti [and] Egyp[t] will continue [to be] friendly (*āššiyanteš*) with each other [for]ever!".

38 *Il.* 3.73, 94, 256.

39 See *LfgE* 4, 953–954.

40 Compare also ἡμῖν δ' αὖ φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ γενέσθαι "but to us may there come friendship and solemn oaths" (*Il.* 3.323).

a verb for "establishing" as φιλότητα βάλλω (*Il.* 4.16) or φιλότητα τίθημι (*Il.* 4.83), which makes it a clear synonym for covenant.

4.2 *Establishing and Violating the Treaty*

Terms for establishing a covenant in the Semitic milieu were expressed using "to put" (Akk. *šakānu*)[41] or "to give" (Akk. *nadānu*).[42] Both verbs τιθέναι and διδόναι are used in connection with covenant in Homeric sources. In the last book of the *Odyssey* a solemn covenant between Odysseus and Athene is described. The covenant is consecrated by the goddess herself, who places in the ὅρκια on the two sides into which the people of Ithaca have been divided after the gruesome slaughter of the suitors. The expression ὅρκια τιθέναι "to impose a solemn covenant" means a reconciliatory agreement between the two enemy camps. This locution, rather than the more customary ὅρκια τέμνειν, is appropriate here, since one would not expect a goddess to cut an animal in sacrifice or pronounce the oaths associated with the cutting process practiced by men:

Od. 24.545–548

> Ὣς φάτ᾽ Ἀθηναίη· ὃ δ᾽ ἐπείθετο, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ.
> ὅρκια δ᾽ αὖ κατόπισθε μετ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκε
> Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
> Μέντορι εἰδομένη ἠμὲν δέμας ἠδὲ καὶ αὐδήν.
>
> So spoke Athene, and he obeyed, and was glad at heart. And pledges for the days to come, sworn to by both sides, were settled by Pallas Athene, daughter of Zeus of the aegis, who had likened herself in appearance and voice to Mentor.

Another Homeric locution is ὅρκια διδόναι: in Book 19 of the *Odyssey* Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, tells Penelope that her husband is safe and will return to his native land (*Od.* 19.300–307). Penelope is doubtful and so Odysseus says: ἔμπης δέ τοι ὅρκια δώσω "Yet will I give you an oath" as an assurance, making a typical oath in name of Zeus, the highest and mightiest of the gods. In this instance, ὅρκια is equivalent to ὅρκος:

41 Akk. *adê šakānu* "to make an agreement".

42 Akk. *māmīta nadānu / riksa nadānu* "to establish a covenant, to institute a covenant".

Od. 19.302–305

ἔμπης δέ τοι ὅρκια δώσω.
ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος,
ἱστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω·
ἦ μέν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὡς ἀγορεύω.

> Yet will I give you an oath. Be Zeus my witness first, highest and best of gods, and the hearth of noble Odysseus to which I have now come, that all these things are being accomplished in the way I tell them.

The act of concluding a covenant is expressed in the same way in different languages with the locution "to enter the covenant": *ina* (*libbi*) *adê erēbu* in Akkadian, εἰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν in Greek and *in amicitiam venire* in Latin. Observance of the treaty is also expressed with similar locutions in Akkadian, Hittite and Greek. In a similar way to the Akkadian verbs *naṣāru* "to take care of, to obey (commands), to keep (an oath)"[43] and *hasāsu* "to take care of, to be mindful of",[44] the Greek locution ὅρκια φυλάσσειν "to guard, to keep" is used to express the observance of the obligation.[45] In Hittite there is an opposition between *pahš-* "to observe (agreements, laws, customs), keep (oaths), obey (commands), heed (advice)"[46] and *-ašta/-kan šarra-* "to transgress": *mān kēl=ma tuppiaš uddār pahhašti …* ^{d}UTU^{ŠI} *pahhašti … nu=tta kūš* NIŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ} … SILIM-*li pahšantaru* "but if you uphold the words of this tablet, and uphold My Majesty, may these oaths in goodness protect you!" (KBo 4.10 + KBo 50.60 rev. 8–10); *nu mān ke* AWATE^{MEŠ} *ŪL pahhašti nu=kan* NEŠ DINGIR^{LIM} *šarratti* "if you do not heed these words and transgress the oath …" (KBo 5.13 III 20–21); *nu mān kūš lingāuš pahhašduma šumāš=a* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-eš pahšandaru … mān=ašta kūš=a lingāuš šarradduma šumāš=a=kan linkiaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-eš hūmanteš … harninkandu* "If you keep these oaths, the gods will keep you … if you transgress these oaths, all the oath-gods will destroy you" (KBo 8.35 II 14–18).

The same applies to the terms for violating the covenant. Terms for violation of the covenant are Akk. *māmīta parāṣu* "to break, to transgress an oath" (*CAD* P 178b–179a) and Hitt. *-ašta/-kan lingain/lingauš šarra-* "to transgress the oath(s)": ^{m}*Madduwattaš=a=k*[*an* AN]*A* ABI ^{d}UTU[^{ŠI}] *lingain šarrattat* "Mad-

43 Akk. *adê naṣāru* "to observe the oaths".

44 Akk. *adê hasāsu* "to remember the oaths".

45 See φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά (*Il.* 3.280).

46 Hitt. *lingain/lingauš pahš-* "to keep the oath(s)" corresponds to Akk. *adê/māmīta naṣāru*.

duwatta broke the oath to My Majesty's father" (KUB 14.1 rev. 20); *n=ašta lingaen šarrat*[*ti*] "you break the oath" (KUB 36.108 obv. 10); *kinun=a=kan lingauš kuit šarriškir* "now because they kept breaking oaths" (KBo 4.4 II 9). Similar locutions are Hitt. *lingain arha peššiya-* "to repudiate, reject, disregard the oath", as in "If someone forces you to swear allegiance to a brother of His Majesty" *nu apūn MAMETUM arha peššiyatten* "repudiate that oath (and show allegiance only to His Majesty!)" (KUB 21.42 IV 19–21) or *ANA PANI NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *wašta-* "to break oaths ("sinning") in the presence of witnessing or enforcing deities", as in [... *kuit*] *hu*[*manteš*] *ANA NIŠ* DINGIR[^{MEŠ} *waštan*]*niškir* "they all broke the oaths before the gods" (KUB 14.1 obv. 50–51); *ANA PANI NIŠ* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *waštaši* "you break the oaths in presence of the gods" (KBo 5.13 II 23–24).

The general verb for violating a treaty in Greek is λύειν "to loosen" which well illustrates the understanding of the covenant as a "bond".[47] Homer, however, uses the verb δηλέομαι "to hurt, to damage, to spoil" in the locution ὅρκια δηλέομαι (*Il.* 3.107, 4.67, 4.72) which means "to violate a truce" and is close in meaning to the Latin *violare*. Others idioms for violating a covenant are: i) "to trespass": *māmīta etēqu* in Akkadian and ὅρκια παραβάινω "to overstep" in Greek, ii) "to be false to": Gr. ὅρκια ψεύδομαι "to belie, falsify" (*Il.* 7.351), as well as iii) "to trample under foot": Gr. ὅρκια καταπατέω "to tread on, to walk in" (*Il.* 4.157). Some expressions in Homer associated with ὅρκια implied the breach or dissolution of a relationship: the association with συγχέω "to confound, to make of no one effect" (*Il.* 4.269), and πημαίνω "to harm" (*Il.* 3.299) suggests injury, cancellation, or other harm to the ὅρκια, that is, to the agreement and any oaths relating to the agreement.

The binding force of the oath is expressed in Mesopotamia and in Greece by means of similar terms. A stereotypical form used for describing a valid agreement which originated in the Near Eastern covenantal practice is Akk. *riksu dannu* "strong, valid bond", i.e. "trustworthy bond", parallel to Akk. *māmītu dannatum*, *nīš ilim dannu* or *adê rabûti* "strong, valid oath(s)" and Hitt. *daššuš lingaiš*. Similar terms are found in the Greek sources: epithets of ὅρκος are μέγας "big" (*Od.* 5.178; *Od.* 10.299) and κρατερός "powerful" (*Il.* 19.108; *Il.* 19.127; *Od.* 12.298). The Homeric formula κρατερὸν ὅρκον ὄμνυμι "to swear a mighty oath" should not be dismissed as a stereotyped expression of little consequence.[48] It invoked dreadful powers and by consequence dreadful punishment in case of any breach. Moreover, when the locution μέγαν ὅρκον ὄμνυμι "to swear a big oath" is used, there is sometimes no agreement or formalization of an agree-

47 See σπονδὰς λύειν "to undo agreements"; see also Akk. *adê pašāru* "to release from an oath".
48 See *LfgE* 3: 777–778.

ment involved: one person has promised another person something or requested something from another without the ritual of sacrifices and the killing of sacrificial animals. Thus Hera, in her agreement with Hephesus, called upon the Titans to witness her oaths (*Il.* 14.279). In another case she swore by Heaven, Earth and the Styx, an oath considered the most dreadful of all for a god (*Il.* 15.37).

5 The Locution "to Cut a Covenant"

5.1 *Homeric Evidence*

The most common idiom in Homeric Greek for establishing a covenant is ὅρκια τέμνειν, lit. 'to cut a treaty, a covenant':[49] ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες (*Il.* 3.256) is a traditional formula for oath-taking, used in its most solemn form when a sacrificial victim or victims were slaughtered. The victims embody the oaths and can be called (ὅρκια) πιστά, that is, "trustworthy, sure" (*Il.* 2.69; 3.245). If we understand ὅρκια as 'sanctified sacrificial animals', the phrase makes literal sense: it includes the oath sacrifices in the public ceremony and the treaty itself. Therefore ὅρκια is a concept implying a relationship connecting parties with binding reciprocal obligations. Sometimes the formulation φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ τέμνειν (*Il.* 3.73; *Il.* 3.256) appears. Hector, for instance, proposes a truce to the Achaeans, saying οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ τάμωμεν "Let the rest of us swear oaths of faith and friendship with sacrifices" (*Il.* 3.94).

"To cut a covenant" was a frozen expression so the verb "cut" could be used in connection with covenant even where the phrase that actually contained it made no logical sense,[50] hence σπονδὰς τέμνειν "to cut libations" in Eurip-

49 See *LfgE* 4, 298–299. On the technical usage of ὅρκια in Homer see Priest 1964; Weinfeld 1973: 192; Cohen 1980: 49–68. Karavites (1992: 59–73) extends the inquiry to Herodotus: in four instances Herodotus used the Homeric formula ὅρκια / ὅρκιον τέμνειν to indicate the making of agreements (Hdt. 7.132.2; 4.201.2; 9.26.2; 4.70). There is no doubt that in Herodotus ὅρκιον and ὅρκια denote pacts solemnized by oaths. Although no sacrifice is mentioned in the formalization of these pacts, there should be no doubt that the ceremony of treaty-making included a sacrifice. The practice of cutting up animals in confirmation of a promise or agreement continued uninterruptedly into the Hellenistic period. Livy (40.6.1–3) describes it in association with a lustration of the Macedonian army of Philip v. On Gr. ὅρκος see Lazzeroni 1989.

50 See θάνατον ὅρκια τέμνειν + dative in *Il.* 4.155–157: φίλε κασίγνητε, θάνατόν νύ τοι ὅρκι' ἔταμνον, / οἷον προστήσας πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν Τρωσὶ μάχεσθαι, /ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες, κατὰ δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν "Dear brother, it was for your death, it appears, that I swore this solemn oath, stationing you alone before the Achaeans to do battle with the Trojans, since the Trojans

ides, *Helen* 1235 means "to make an agreement".[51] Also the expression σφάγια τέμνειν is the equivalent of ὅρκια τέμνειν; in Euripides' *Suppliants* Athene says to Theseus: "Be this the oath,—that never Argive men shall bear against this land array of war … And where to slay the victims (τέμνειν σφάγια) hear me tell: thou hast a brazen tripod in thine halls, … three throats of three sheep sever thou, and in the tripod's hollow grave the oath" (v. 1191–1202). Athene invites him to write the oaths in the hollow of a tripod-cauldron and to cut the throats of the victims into the cauldron, thus clearly identifying the oaths and the blood.

To sum up, the Homeric locution ὅρκια πιστὰ τέμνειν entailed simultaneous sacrifice and the taking of oaths. The method and the object of a sacrifice in the epics, however, could vary. As we have seen, on the occasion of the single combat between Paris and Menelaus (*Il.* 3), Agamemnon commanded that two lambs be brought, a white ram and a black ewe, one for the Sun and the other for the Earth, while a third lamb was to be sacrificed to Zeus. Otherwise, on the occasion of the oath of Agamemnon described in *Il.* 19, a boar was sacrificed.

5.2 *West-Semitic Evidence and Beyond*

Several facts suggest a certain degree of standardization of the form of oath-ceremonies (especially in treaties) used by the various peoples inhabiting the eastern Mediterranean basin. Both the rite itself and the expression used to describe it seem to be ancient, probably dating back to the second millennium, and it is generally agreed that such oaths were customs typical of the lands west of the Euphrates and of the western Semites in general (e.g. Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Israelites, Canaanites).[52] There is well known cross-cultural correspondence in the terminology used to describe the making of treaties. The Hebrew expression *krt bryt* "to cut (an) alliance" has often been compared by biblical scholars to Aramaic *gzr 'dy* "to cut the treaty-stipulations", Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν and Latin *foedus ferire*.[53] While the type of animal sacrificed and the method of killing it could vary (Israelites generally used goats or calves or heifers, whereas Aramaeans and Assyrians used sheep), the meaning remained the same. This custom was probably not indigenous to Babylonian, Assyrian or

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have thus stuck you, and trodden under foot the oaths of faith". The forms ὁρκιοτομεῖν "to swear solemnly at a sacrifice" and ὁρκιτόμος show a process of lexicalization; see *LSJ s.v.*

51 σπονδὰς τέμωμεν καὶ διαλλάχθητί μοι "Let us make a truce: be reconciled to me" (Eur., *Hel.* 1235).

52 Among the Israelites, a common way of establishing a covenant was to cut up the animal and walk between the dismembered parts. In the participant's mind, this cutting of the calf had the effect of subjecting them to a possible curse (Jer. 34.18). Here, as in the case of Greeks, oaths and agreements are solemnized by the ritual slaughter of animals.

53 See Bickerman 1976; McCarthy 1979; Bergquist 1993; Bremmer 2001.

Hittite treaty practices, where the participants were said to "bind" or "establish" (not "cut" an oath).[54]

The mid-2nd millennium archive (c. 1500/1400 BCE) in Syrian Qatna includes two tablets headed TAR *be-ri-ti*, listing personnel and the flour-rations for the personnel respectively. Some time ago, W.F. Albright (1951: 22) pointed out that in such a Levantine context, the Sumerogramm TAR (equivalent to any of the several Semitic verbs "to cut") combined with *birītu* "link, bond, fetter" could be the local equivalent of the later-attested Hebrew *karat berît* "to make (lit. cut) a covenant".

There is a covenant involving cutting the neck of a lamb in the Alalakh documents too. This seventeenth-century treaty between two North Syrian rulers (Abba-AN of Yamhad and Yarim-Lim of Alalakh), written in Akkadian, refers to cutting the neck of a lamb during the oath ceremony. The text concerns the fate of the ancient city of Alalakh: the gift of Alalakh, ratified by solemn oaths and the slaying of a sheep, is made to Yarim-Lim and his successors for ever on the condition that they never dispose of the territory nor transfer their allegiance to any king other than Abba-AN and his descendants:

39 ^{m}*Ab-ba*-AN
40 *a-na Ya-ri-im-li-im ni-iš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
41 *za-ki-ir ù ki-ša-ad* 1 SILA$_4$ *iṭ-bu-uh*
42 *šum-ma ša ad-di-nu-ku-um-mi e-le-eq-qú-*[*ú*]

> Abba-AN swore to Yarim-Lim the oath of the gods, and cut the neck of a lamb, (saying): "(May I be cursed) if I take back what I gave you."
>
> KITCHEN-LAWRENCE 2012, Part I: 232–233

That the act of cutting the neck of the animal is of a ritual nature may be learned from another covenantal description in Alalakh where we read: GÚ SILÁ *a-sa-ki* IGI PN UGULA UKU.UŠ *ṭa-bi-iḫ* "The neck of a sacrificial lamb was cut in the presence of PN the general" (AT* 54: 16–18).

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54 Another parallel between Greek and Near Eastern covenantal procedure is libation at the covenant. In Greek σπονδαί "drink-offerings" denote a "solemn treaty" or "truce". In the Homeric epic they are combined with the sacrificial blood of a lamb (*Il.* 4.159 and 2.340–341). On Greek ritual associated with oaths and curses, see Faraone 1993: 60–80. Libation of oil and water as a covenantal rite is attested in the Syro-Mesopotamian tradition; see Giorgieri 2002. Thus in Ebla in the third millennium a covenant between Ebla and the Amorites refers to "The overseers of Mardu, who went for the oil-offering and oath cutting (nam-ku$_5$) in the temple of Kura …"; see Archi 1985: 9, 12.

Similar forms of covenants made between rulers are known from Mari. One may note in passing that the patriarchal agreements and covenants incorporate typical types of ceremony, which show different sacrifice traditions. In a letter from Mari we find two traditions of covenantal ritual: the provincial tribes preferred a goat and a puppy for the ritual ceremony of covenant-making, whereas the king of Mari insisted on killing a donkey (see Finet 1993; Malamat 1995). The letter ARM II 37 was sent to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, by Ibâl-Adad, the king's representative in Ida-Maraṣ, situated on the Upper Habur river. For the purpose of concluding a treaty between nomadic populations, the people of Ida-Maraṣ prepared a puppy and a goat to be killed in the ritual sacrifice. However, according to the Mari authorities these animals were not suitable for sacrifice and Ibâl-Adad ordered a donkey foal to be offered instead:

ARM II 37

a-na be-lí-ya qi-bí-ma
um-ma I-ba-al-Ìl
ÌR-*ka-a-ma*
tup-pí I-ba-al-^{d}U *iš-tu Áš-la-ak-ka*^{KI}
ik-šu-da-am-ma a-na Áš-la-ak-ka^{KI}
al-li-ik-ma a-na ha-a-ri-im qa-ta-li-im
bi-ri-it HA.NA^{MEŠ} *ù I-da-ma-ra-az*
me-ra-na-am ù ha-az-za-am iš-šu-ni-im-ma
be-lí ap-la-ah-ma-a me-ra-na-am
ù ha-az-za-am ú-ul ad-di-in
[*ha-*]*a-ra-am mâr a-ta-ni-im*
[*a*]*-na-ku ú-ša-aq-ti-il*
sa-li-ma-am bi-ri-it HA.NA^{MEŠ}
ù I-da-ma-ra-az aš-ku-[*u*]*n*

> Say to my lord, thus speaks Ibal-Il, your servant. A tablet of Ibâl-Adad of Ašlakkâ has reached me and I went to Ašlakkâ. They have brought a puppy and a goat to establish peace (lit. to slaughter a donkey foal) between the Hanes and the people of Ida-Maraṣ. I had feared my lord. I had not given a puppy and a goat, but I had slaughtered a foal, the young of a she-ass, and I established peace between the Hanes and the people of Ida-Maraṣ (see Finet 1993; Malamat 1995).

Thus, the immolation of a donkey stressed the importance of the consecrated event. It was a solemn rite celebrating the conclusion of new alliances for the

nomads. The killing of the animal was regarded as a warning and the sacrificial event produced a union resulting in a relationship. Therefore, the sacrificial ceremony could also stand for the covenant itself by synecdoche (l. 6).

At Mari in the eighteenth century BCE the locution *hāram qatālum* 'to kill a donkey foal' was a technical term for making a covenant. This is shown by the following texts: *it-ti Qar-ni-li-im* (19) ^{ANŠE}*ha-a-ra-am aq-tu-ul ù ina ni-iš ilâni*^{MEŠ} (20) *a-na-ku a-na Qar-ni-li-im ki-im aq-bi* "I slaughtered a foal with Qarnilim and I declared under oath to Qarnilim thus …" (Dossin 1938: 108, l. 19); *ha-a-ra-am ša sa-li-mi-im qú-tu-ul-ma* "Slaughter the foal of peace!" (Dossin 1938: 109, l. 23). It is only in the covenantal ceremonies of the first millennium that the sacrificial element gradually disappears and gives way to the spoken act. Thus, the Assyrian treaty becomes binding and valid not by virtue of the treaty ritual (the killing of a sacrificial victim), but by the oath-imprecation (the *māmītu*) that accompanies the ceremony. The ritual itself—if it is performed—is only for symbolic and dramatic ends: to impress on the vassal the inevitable consequences of any infringement of the covenant. Thus in the eighth-century-BCE treaty between Assurnerari V of Assyria and Mati'-ilu of Arpad, a ram is presented as an example—not a sacrifice—of what will happen to the vassal if the treaty is violated. The text even states explicitly that the ram is brought forward in the ceremony not for sacrificial purposes, but to serve as a palpable example of the punishment awaiting any transgressor of the treaty:

> (§ 5′) This spring lamb has not been brought forth out of its fold for sacrifice, not for a banquet, not for purchase, not for (divination concerning) a sick man, nor to be slaughtered for […]; it has been brought to conclude the treaty of Assur-nerari, King of Assyria, with Mati'-ilu. If Mati'-ilu [sins] against th[is] sworn treaty, (then), just as this spring lamb has been bro[ught] from its fold, (and) will not return to its fold, (and) not behold its fold again, alas, may Mati'-ilu, together with his sons, [nobles], (and) the people of his land [be removed] from his country, he will not return to his country, (and) [behold] his country again. (§ 6′) This head is not the head of a spring lamb, it is the head of Mati'-ilu, it is the head of his sons, his nobles (and) the people of [his la]nd. If Mati'-ilu [should sin] against this treaty, just as the head of this spring lamb is c[ut] off, (and) its leg placed in its mouth, [so may] the head of Mati'-ilu be cut off, and [his] son[s and nobles] be th[rown] into a house(?).
>
> KITCHEN—LAWRENCE 2012, Part 1: 941

The aim to ensure the fidelity of the promise-makers is evident in the 'vassal-treaties' of Esarhaddon. This document makes it quite clear that the lamb is

slaughtered and dismembered for one purpose only—to enhance the solemnity of the oath by providing a series of actions which will be repeated on the vassals, their sons, their daughters and their people if the treaty is violated. The lamb is only a symbol of what will occur in the event of unfaithfulness:

> (§ 69) Just as [thi]s ewe has been cut open and the flesh of [her] young has been placed in her mouth, the flesh of your brothers, your sons and your daughters may you eat in your hunger. (§ 70) Just as young sheep and ewes and male and female spring lambs are split open, and their entrails roll down over their feet, so may your entrails (and) the entrails of your sons and daughters roll down over your feet.
>
> KITCHEN—LAWRENCE 2012, Part 1: 993, 995

5.3 *Anatolian Evidence*

In contrast to treaty procedure in Mari, Alalakh, Greece and ancient Israel, we do not find any sacrifices for the ratification of the covenant among the Hittites. Hittite treaties put great emphasis on curses, but they do not include mention of ritual sacrifices. This might be best explained by the supposition that the proclamation of the oath replaced the sacrificial ceremony. The treaty becomes valid not by virtue of the ritual but by the oath imprecation, the *māmītu*. Nevertheless, it is still possible to produce some interesting arguments to prove that sacrifices for the ratification of a covenant are not totally unknown in Hittite culture. There is an exceptional case in one of the Hittite treaties of the pre-imperial period, which refers the slaughter of a lamb before the taking of the oath. This might be seen as the vestige of a peripheral practice, which must have originated among the West Semites. In the treaty between Arnuwanda I and Huhazalma (from Arzawa)[55] a lamb is sacrificed before the oath is taken. The text explains: "When we killed a sheep, we put the following words under oath"; then an agreement regarding military strategy follows:

KBo 16.47 8′–18′

8′ [*m*]*a-a-an* ^{SÍG}*ma-iš-ta-an-na ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an wa-aš-ta-an-zi*
9′ [*nu-*]*uš* ^{D}UTU$^{\text{Š}I}$ *ke-e-ez-za za-ah-hi-ya-mi zi-ku-uš a-pé-ez-za za-ah-hi-ya*
10′ *nu-uš-kán ma-a-an ku-e-mi ma-a-nu-uš ar-nu-mi ma-a-an-mu-kán ar-ha-ma*
11′ *ku-iš-ki iš-pár-za-zi na-aš ku-e-da-ni* KUR-*ya pa-iz-zi na-an zi-ik*

55 *CTH* 28; see de Martino 1996: 63–72, 74 f.; Devecchi 2015: 125–126.

12′ *a-pé-ez-za za-ah-hi-ya-ah-hu-ut ú-ga-an* ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *ke-e-ez-za za-ah-hi-ya-mi*
13′ *ma-a-na-an Ú-UL-ma za-ah-hi-ya-ši nu-kán ka-a-aš-ma NI-IŠ* DINGIR^{LIM}
14′ *zi-ik šar-ra-at-ta* ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-ša li-in-ki-ya-az pár-ku-uš e-eš-tu*

15′ *an-da-ma-kán* UDU-*un ku-wa-a-pí ku-e-u-e-en nu li-in-ki-ya*
16′ [*ka*]*t-ta-an ki-iš-ša-an da-i-ú-en ku-it-ma-an-wa ha-an-ne-eš-šar*
17′ [*a*]*r-ha na-a-ú-i a-ri-ya-u-e-ni nu-wa* ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *tu-el* KUR-*i*
18′ [*Ú-UL*] *pár-ah-zi* ⌊*zi-ik-ma ŠA* ^{D}UTU^{ŠI}⌋ [KU]R-*i le-e pár-ah-ši*

> If they fail (to give) so much as a tiny bit of wool, I, My Majesty, will fight them from this side, and you shall fight them from that side. And if I strike them, if I relocate them, and if one (of them) survives and goes to some land, you fight him from your direction and I, My Majesty, will fight him from my direction. If you not fight him, you will be trespassing the oath, but Hattuša shall be free (lit. pure) from (violation of?) the oath. (§) When we killed a sheep, we put the following words under oath: before we make oracular inquiry concerning the legal dispute, My Majesty will [not] attack your country and you must not attack My Majesty's country.

An interesting parallel is to be found in a ritual text, the ritual of Zarpiya (*CTH* 575). It is the second of three scapegoat rituals contained on a single *Sammeltafel* (the other rituals are *CTH* 410.B and 394.A). The author of the text is from Kizzuwatna and as a result the text is laden with Luwian words and incantations, often rendering translation difficult.[56] The ritual is carried out to rid the country of an epidemic caused by Šanda and his terrible associates, the Innarawantes. The first half of the text involves an oath-taking on the part of the participants; the second half is a ritual. We are told that a sheep is sacrificed and a formula pronounced: "'Come and eat! We will swear (an oath)!' When he is finished speaking, he places the bronze ax down on the table and they slit (the throat of) the billy-goat".

In this ritual blood functions as part of the symbolism of sharing a meal in order to establish a covenant relationship with a deity: it is used to establish a mystical bond between the wine, which is drunk by the participants, and the victim, which is shared with the gods. The whole ceremony and the offering of the entrails to the god, which occur while the participants consume the rest of the meat, are described as follows:

56 See Starke 1985: 46–55; Giorgieri 2001; Hutter 2007; Görke 2015.

HT 1 I 26′–60′ = KUB 9.31 I 33-II 7

26′ *nu* 1 MÁŠ.GAL *u-un-ni-ya-an-zi na-an-kán* EN É*TIM*
27′ *PA-NI* GIŠBANŠUR *IŠ-TU* GEŠTI[N] *A-NA* DAMAR.UTU *ši-pa-an-ti*
28′ *nu a-ti-iš-ša* ZABAR *pa-ra-a e-ep-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*
29′ *e-ḫu* DAMAR.UTU *kat-ti-ti-ma-at-ta* D*In-na-ra-wa-an-ta-aš*
30′ *ú-wa-du e-eš-ḫa-nu-wa-an-ta ku-i-e-eš ú-e-eš-ta-ta*
31′ LÚ.MEŠ*lu-u-la-ḫi-ya-aš-ša-an ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-ya-an-ti-iš*

32′ *IŠ-TU* GÍR-*ya-aš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ya-an-te-eš*
33′ GIŠBANḪI.A-*aš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš ḫu-it-ti-ya-an-ta* GIŠGAG.Ú.TAG.GAḪI.A-*ya*
34′ *ḫar-kán-zi nu ú-wa-at-tén nu e-ez-za-at-tén nu li-ku-wa-an-ni*
35′ *ma-a-an me-mi-ya-u-wa-zi zi-ni-iz-zi nu-uš-ša-an PA-AŠ-ŠU* ZABAR
36′ *A-NA* GIŠBANŠUR *kat-ta da-a-i nu* MÁŠ.GAL *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta*

37′ *nu iš-ḫar da-a-i nu* GIA.DA.GUR *ku-iš A-NA* DUGKA.GAG *tar-na-an-za*
38′ *na-an e-eš-ḫa-an-ta iš-ki-ya-iz-zi* UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ
39′ *ḫu-u-i-šu ú-da-an-zi na-at A-NA* EN É*TIM*
40′ *A-NA* DINGIR*LIM pa-ra-a e-ep-zi nam-ma-kán wa-a-ki ḫi-im-ma-an*
41′ *i-ya-an-zi A-NA* GIA.DA.GUR-*ya-aš-ša-an pu-u-ri-in*
42′ *da-a-i nu pa-a-ši nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-a-i*

43′ *ka-a-ša* DAMAR.UTU D*In-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš-ša le-en-ga-u-en*

44′ *na-aš-ta IŠ-TU* UZUNÍG.GIG *ḫu-u-i-ša-wa-az wa-a-ku-e-en*
45′ 1-*za-ma-kán* GIA.DA.GUR-*az e-ku-e-en nu-mu-uš-ša-an nam-ma*
46′ DAMAR.UTU D*In-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš-ša* KÁ-*YA le-e*
47′ *ti-ya-*⌜*at*⌝*-te-ni nu* UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ *IŠ-TU* IZI *za-nu-wa-an-zi*
48′ MÁŠ.GA[L-*k*]*án ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-an pít-tal-wa-an mar-kán-zi*

49′ *nu-uš-ša-an ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* UZUÌ *a-ri nu* UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ
50′ UZU-*ya ḫu-u-ma-an A-NA* DINGIR*LIM pa-ra-a ú-da-an-zi*
51′ *kat-*⌜*ti*⌝*-iš-*⟨*ši*⟩*-ma-aš-ši* 2-*ŠU* 9 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *ŠA* ZÌ.DA ZÍZ ½ *UP-NI ú-da-an-zi*
52′ *nu* 9 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *pár-ši-ya še-er-aš-ša-an* UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ
53′ *zi-ik-kán-zi na-at-ša-an A-NA* GIŠBANŠUR EGIR-*pa da-a-i*
54′ *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i še-er kat-ta ne-pí-ša-aš* DUTU-*uš*
55′ *az-zi-ki* É-*aš at-ta-aš* DINGIRMEŠ *az-zi-kán-du*
56′ *LI-IM* DINGIRMEŠ *az-zi-ik-kán-du*

57′ *nu-za ke-e-da-ni le-en-ga-i ku-ut-ru-e-ni-eš e-eš-tén*
58′ *nu* EGIR-*an-da* GEŠTIN 9-*ŠU ši-pa-an-ti PA-NI* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR
59′ ^{D}*In-na-ra-u-wa-an-da-aš nu-uš-ša-an* ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU ^{UZU}GABA-*ya*
60′ [*d*]*a-a-i nu* 9-*at* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *ar-ḫa pa-ar-ši*

(§ 7) They bring in one billy-goat and the master of the estate libates it with wine before the table for Šanda. Then he holds out the bronze ax and says as follows: "Come Šanda! Let the Innarawant-deities come with you, (they) who are wearing bloodied (clothes), who have bound on (themselves) the sashes(?) of the mountain dwellers, (§ 8) who are girt(?) with daggers, who hold strung bows and arrows. Come and eat! We will swear (an oath)." When he is finished speaking, he places the bronze ax down on the table and they slit (the throat of) the billy-goat. (§ 9) He takes the blood and the straw that was left in the mug—he anoints that with the blood. Then they bring the raw liver and the heart and the master of the estate holds them out for the gods. Further he takes a bite (and) they imitate (him). He puts (his) lips on the straw and sips and says as follows: (§ 10) "O Šanda and Innarawant-deities, we have just taken the oath. (§ 11) We have bitten from the raw liver; from a single straw we have drunk. O Šanda and Innarawant-deities, do not approach my gate again." They cook the liver and heart on a fire and they butcher the entire goat "plain". (§ 12) Then, when the fat arrives, they bring out the liver and heart and the flesh—everything—to the god. With it they bring two times nine thick loaves (made) from wheat flour of one-half handful (of flour). He breaks nine loaves. Over these they place the liver and heart and he sets them back on the table and says as follows: "Eat, O Sun God of Heaven above and below. Let the gods of the father of the house eat! Let the thousand gods eat. (§ 13) And for this oath be witnesses." Next he libates the wine nine times before the table of the Innarawant-deities. He takes the shoulder and the breast (of the sacrifice) and breaks nine loaves of bread.

COLLINS 1997: 163

Both the treaty with Huhazalma and the Zarpiya ritual are of Luvian origin: it might therefore be assumed that the practice of killing an animal by an oath-ceremony was common in the Luvian but not in the Hittite culture. Greek and Luvian contacts are to be expected as the main zone of contact (the south-west Aegean coastline) was Luvian speaking.[57] However, contacts between Greek

57 See Yakubovich 2010: 140 ff.

and Hittite should also not be excluded. In fact, they are documented by the existence of a diplomatic correspondence between Ahhiya(wa) and Hatti in the Hittite language.[58]

These passages have been surprisingly neglected in the controversy over the significance of the West Semitic custom of killing an animal to sanctify a covenant. They are, after all, the clearest expression of the belief in the efficacy of this solemn rite, which at Mari and at Alalakh was virtually synonymous with the covenant itself, and also held sway in Anatolia.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to show how Homeric agreements are significantly similar to earlier Near Eastern treaties. The Homeric rituals and formulas associated with oaths seem to have had very ancient roots that antedate the composition of the Homeric epics; as a result the Greeks' practices were not merely a parallel and coincidental development, but rather had their origin in the practices of the Near East.

Although there is a good deal of variety in the covenantal practices discussed above, several facts suggest a certain degree of standardization of the form of oath ceremonies (especially in treaties) used by the various peoples inhabiting the eastern Mediterranean basin. There is a well-established cross-cultural correspondence in the terminology used to describe the making of treaties. Firstly, the Greek formula ὅρκια τέμνειν has been compared to similar Hebrew, Phoenician and Aramaic locutions: both the rite itself and expression used to describe it seem to be ancient, probably dating back to the second millennium, and it is generally agreed that such oaths are typical of the lands west of the Euphrates. While the type of animal sacrificed and the method of killing can vary (as mentioned above, Israelites generally used goats, calves or heifers, whereas Aramaeans and Assyrians used sheep and Syrian provincial tribes used donkeys), the meaning remains the same. Hittite treaties, on the contrary, generally contain no reference to sacrificial animals and give little hint of curses dramatized in connection with sacrifices. Their participants are said "to bind" or "to establish", rather than "to cut" an oath. This is not to say that such rites were never practiced by the Hittites, because they were (we have seen that this practice is attested at least twice in the Hittite documentation). Secondly,

58 See *CTH* 181 (Beckman et al. 2011: 101–122), *CTH* 183 (Beckman et al. 2011: 134–139), *CTH* 209.16 (Beckman et al. 2011: 150–152).

hendiadystic structures expressing a covenant (bond and oath) or friendship and peaceful relationships are typical of Near Eastern covenantal terminology and also occur in the Homeric epic: the forming of such a fixed hendiadystic appellation for treaty in different cultures could only have taken place in an area where there was intense political activity between states, which was very much the case in the ancient Near East in the 15th–13th centuries. Thirdly, the type of witnesses invoked is a common feature shared by many of the very early treaties: Agamemnon calls on Zeus, the Sun, the Rivers, the Earth and some anonymous chtonic deities to witness the oath described in the third book of the *Iliad*, a formulation that has parallels in many Hittite treaty-oaths, where the great sea, the mountains, the rivers, and other natural forces are invoked.

Comparative research in the field of Greek and Near Eastern culture often seems to be synonymous with 'looking for the origins of Greece'; this paper has attempted to avoid this tendency, opting to focus on comparable practices (and their linguistic expression) that can teach us something about each specific context. This has not often been done as far as Greece and the Near East are concerned, but is now proving a very promising approach. Much remains to be understood, but I would argue that one of the most promising directions for future research is the lexical and phraseological accordances between Homeric Greek and Near Eastern languages. If in some cases the materials themselves do not provide incontrovertible evidence of cultural transfer, the establishment of similarities is still of value as it serves to free both Greek and Near Eastern phenomena from isolation and allow possible comparisons to emerge.

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CHAPTER 3

Anatolian and Greek in Contact: The Initive Periphrasis Hom. βῆ δ' ἴμεν, Hitt. *dai-*/*tii̯a-* + supine *-uu̯an*, HLuv. *ta-* + Infinitive

José Luis García Ramón

1 The Initive Periphrasis: A Specific Coincidence between Homeric Greek and Hittite and Luvian.

The aim of the present contribution is to propose a unified interpretation of the initive periphrasis of the Homeric type βῆ δ' ἴ-μεν, βῆ δ' ἴ-μεναι 'started to go' and variants, of Hittite *dai-/tii̯a-* + X-(*u*)*u̯an-* ("supine") 'to begin to do, to be ready, to be willing' (Hoffner—Melchert 2008: 338), e.g. *karip-uu̯an dair* 'they began to devour', and Hieroglyphic Luvian. *ta-* + X-*una* (infinitive), cf. *izist-una taii̯a* 'will begin to honour'.

In spite of the fact that the representation of the periphrases differs in some respects from one language to other and are "heterogeneous correspondences", in the precise formulation of Strunk (1977), these periphrases share a common basic structure and function, and are attested exclusively in Homeric Greek and in two Anatolian languages, i.e. in two branches with substantially different verbal systems. That points to a specifically shared construction, the structure, extension and modalities of which need to be clarified.

In a first step the evidence for the periphrases will be taken into consideration in the languages where they occur and their verbal systems. In a further step, an attempt will be made to trace back the shared characteristics to a common pattern, namely an initive periphrasis [(s)he *began to* + supine/infinitive], as the grammaticalisation of a former *['(*s*)*he made a step into/put him/herself to*' + locative of an action noun]. The basic coincidences strongly suggest that the periphrasis, probably in the form as is attested in Homer, was shared by Ionic (i.e. Greek of Asia Minor) and by Hittite and Luvian at a given moment of their Proto-Anatolian prehistory. A further question is whether this reflects a common areal development or is due to the influence of Anatolian in Greek.

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2 Homeric βῆ δ' ἴμεν 'Started to Go' beside βῆ δὲ θέειν 'Started to Run', and βῆ δ' ἐλάαν 'Started/Began to Drive', ἔβαν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι 'Started/Began to Come Home'

The Homeric formula # βῆ δ' ἴμεν (43×), βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν (18×), βῆ δ' ἴμεναι (6×: only in the *Odyssey*),[1] βὰν δ' ἴμεναι (3×) 'started to go', is well attested, also with variants βῆ δ' ἰέναι (15×), βὰν δ' ἰέναι (8×), βῆ ῥ' ἰέναι (4×), βάν ῥ' ἰέναι (1×), βῆν ῥ' ἰέναι (2×) beside βῆ δὲ θέειν 'started/began to run' (9×); it also occurs in the scarcely attested variants βῆ δ' ἐλάαν 'started/began to drive' (1×; on μάστιξε(ν) δ' ἐλάαν 7× cf.§ 5), and ἔβαν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι 'started/began to come home' (1×). The fact that the periphrasis (referred to as βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) in what follows) occurs only in Homer points to a specific Ionic feature, not shared by any other dialects, which can surely not be traced back to Proto-Greek.

The initive character of the periphrasis has been correctly understood in the ancient grammatical tradition, cf. the Hesychian gloss βῆ ῥ' ἴμεναι· ὥρμησεν ἰέναι (π 341, ρ 604), or *Schol. in Hom.* … ἔστι δέ, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ θέειν.[2] The Homeric formula βάσκ' ἴθι may remain out of consideration in this contribution, as its structure is basically different from that of βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι).[3] A couple of texts speak for themselves:

[1] *Od.* 4.24 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων διὰ δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν
'… and he started to go through the hall to make the announcement to the shepherd of the people.'

[2] *Od.* 19.429–430 βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς θήρην, ἠμὲν κύνες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ / υἱέες Αὐτολύκου
'they started to go out to the hunt, the dogs and the sons of Autolycos'

The essentials on the form and semantics of βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) and its variants may be set forth as follows:

(1) In the periphrasis, the aor. βῆ reflects the original sense '(s)he made a step' of the PIE root aorist *$g^{u}éh_2$-*t* (: Ved. (*á*)*gāt* of momentative, telic *$g^{u}eh_2$-), which

1 Whether the form as it occurs is a late corruption (West 2017: XVIII) may remain open at this point.

2 Less sensitive is the interpretation in the first part of the Scholion (βῆ δὲ θέειν· ὥστε θέειν …), which seems to operate with a final-consecutive sense.

3 Hom. βάσκ' ἴθι, a serial verb construction, is isolated in Greek (it only occurs in the Epic language: Ionic), and has no exact match in Anatolian or in other languages. The fact that βάσκ' ἴθι occurs in Homer only suggests that it is synchronically inseparable from (and has been created on the model of) βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι), βῆ δ' ἰέναι.

preceeds the constitution of the suppletive paradigm βαίνο/ε- :: βη- in Greek, whence βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) 'stepped into go(ing)' ('made a first step (in)to …'). The infinitive in -μεν, historically a (locative) case-form of an agent noun, expresses the activity into which the subject has made a first step. The basic meaning of *$g^{u}eh_2$- is still recognizable in the forms of perf. (ἀμφι)βέβηκε ('has made a step and remains with his legs open'), with different readings ('protect', 'stand about'),[4] especially ptc. βεβηκώς 'having made one step (and staying in this position, i.e. with his legs open' [3]:

[3] *Il.* 1.37–38 (= 451–452) κλῦθί μευ ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας / Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην
(Chryses invokes Apollon) 'hear me, you of the silver bow, who protects Chryse and sacred Killa' (: 'you *who have made a step and are standing about* on both sides').

Cf. also Arch. fr. 114.4 W. ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποσσί '(a warrior) who stands well planted on both sides on his feet' (i.e. after *having made a step* aside, he firmly remain steady in this position).

(2) The infinitive of βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) /θέειν/ἐλάαν/νέεσθαι is actually the complement of βῆ, and indicates the (attained) GOAL of 'to make a step (in)to', i.e. the action the subject begins: it fills the locatival GOAL complement implied by the telic lexeme βη-, not that of a final-purposive free adjunct with lexemes which do not imply the reaching of a GOAL. The semantic functions /PURPOSE/ or /DIRECTION/ are frequent in phrases like [1] (βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων …) and [2] (βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς θήρην) respectively.

Among the infinitives involved in the periphrasis, ἴμεν, with its morph -μεν, is the only one which has the expected casual form, namely a locative (endingless *-*men-Ø*) of an action noun in *-*men-*,[5] beside which loc. *-*men-i* may be assumed, cf. e.g. Ved. *dhármaṇi* 'in the order/support' and *dhárman* 'id.', both locative forms.[6] The locative morph, being not recognisable as such in Homeric "synchrony", fits perfectly into the construction with the telic-momentative lex-

4 Ruipérez 1954: 54 and fn. 2; Kölligan 2007: 156 f. Cf. also *Il.* 17.509 … ἐπιτράπεθ' οἵ περ ἄριστοι /ἀμφ' αὐτῷ βεβάμεν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι στίχας ἀνδρῶν 'leave the corpse in charge of those who are the bravest to stand about it and to ward off the ranks of men …'. In other instances the perfect stem of βη- has the sense of βαίνο/ε-, i.e. that of the suppletive pair consisting of both lexemes, e.g. βεβήκει 'had gone' (*Od.* 18.186 +).

5 Whether the action noun is of the type *CéC-men-* (: Ved. *dā́man-* 'donation') or *cc-mén-* (: Ved. *vidmán-* 'knowledge') is irrelevant at this point.

6 Beside other cases, e.g. dat. *dhárman-e* 'for supporting', gen. *dhárman-aḥ* (García Ramón 1997a: 41 ff.).

eme 'step (in)to', which implies the reaching of the goal and favours the use of the non-marked, endingless locative. The same applies to Ved. *-man* (**-men-Ø*, like Gk. -μεν), in loc. *hávīman* 'at the call' of *hávīman-* 'call' as the complement of *yoj* /*yuj* 'yoke',[7] and, characteristically, to the Hittite "supine" in *-uu̯an* (loc. **-u̯en-Ø*), with an identical construction pattern (§ 7.2) to Hom. βῆ δ' ἴμεν.

(3) βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) reflects the first phase of grammaticalization of an original βῆ/βάν 'made a step, stepped (in)to X' (X: infinitive of a verb of durative motion, like ἴμεν, also ἐλάαν, θέειν, οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι). The periphrasis expresses the beginning of a continuous motion, but shows the original full meaning of βῆ/βάν when it governs the infinitives ἴμεν / θέειν / νέεσθαι '*made a step to* go / run / come home' respectively, which is pragmatically identical to '*started to* go / run / come home'—and is therefore not conclusive about the degree of grammaticalization.[8] However, 'made a step' does not apply to βῆ δ' ἐλάαν, where gramaticalization as initive '(s)he began/started to drive' (like with ἄρχο/ε- Hom.+) is evident. This means that grammaticalisation can also apply to the ambiguous instances with ἴμεν / θέειν / νέεσθαι. To sum up: The grammaticalisation of βῆ/βάν 'made a step to' + infinitive as an initive operator 'started to' + infinitive (without any lexical restriction) has not been fully achieved, but the epic language reflects its first phase, which features the initive operator with verbs of durative motion.

(4) The finite verb is only aor. βῆ/βάν, also once ἔβαν (*Il.* 23.229): there are no occurrences with impf. †βαῖνε δ' ἴμεν(αι), or pres. †βαίνει δ' ἴμεν(αι) or with other verbal stems.

(5) The infinitive is restricted to durative motion verbs, and formed only from root, not affixed, formations.

A major question (6) is the position of the periphrasis with βῆ within the tense-aspect system of the Homeric verb, i.e. in opposition to the aorist and to the imperfect of the verbs for whom it is attested. This may be elucidated in the light of minimal pairs and triplets (§ 4–5).

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7 RV VI 63.4cd *prá hótā … áyukta yó nā́satiyā hávīman* 'forth the Hotar …, who has yoked the Nāsatyas at his call'. Both locatives, *hávīman* and *hávīman-i* (also instr.pl. *-abhiḥ*) are attested in Rig Veda: the action noun *hávīman-* 'call' has not reached the status of infinitive, as its paradigm is still alive and the forms attested have the function its ending allows to expect.

8 So Létoublon 1985: 127 f. ("le contraste aspectuel entre βῆ … et l'infinitif présent qui en dépend … implique pour le verbe régissant une valeur lexicale encore sentie et non une valeur d'opérateur aspectuel"), 136 ("il fit un pas", "il se mit en marche pour aller"); *recte* Bologna 2008: 153 f. who points out that the restriction of the infinitive to verbs of motion "non tanto sembra escludere la funzione di (semi)ausiliare per il verbo finito quanto, al contrario, rappresenta una restrizione indice del condizionamento lessicale di un processo di grammaticalizzazione che elimina la ridondanza semantica".

3 Hom. βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν and ὦρτο … ἴμεν: A Partial Overlap

From a semantic point of view, the initive periphrasis βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) partly overlaps with quasi-synonymical expressions such as ὦρτο … ἴμεν (*Od.* 7. 14 καὶ τότ᾽ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὦρτο πόλινδ᾽ ἴμεν ‘then Odysseus roused himself to go to the city …’),[9] and especially with the periphrasis ἦρχε + infinitive, which is common in Classical Greek, but is sporadically attested already in the Epic language, as in:

[4] *Od.* 22.437 ἄρχετε νῦν νέκυας φορέειν καὶ ἄνωχθε γυναῖκας·
‘begin now to bear out the corpses, and tell the women to help’[10]

In fact ἄρχο/ε- has a defective paradigm, and ἤρχε can therefore take on the function of an aorist as well. In any case, the situation is different from that of βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι), given that in ἦρχε + infinitive there is no restriction: the finite verb occurs in all persons, tenses and moods, and the infinitive is formed from all type of verbs and stems.

Out of consideration at this point must remain the specialised reading ‘be the first to perform an action’, whence ‘lead’, of ἦρχε in Homer, which is synchronically a different lexeme, as one can recognise in the formula # βάν ῥ᾽ ἴμεν· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφι / ([5])[11]

[5] *Il.*14.134 βάν δ᾽ ἴμεν· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,
‘so they began to go; and lead them the lord of man Agammenon’

In some instances of ἦρχε it is impossible to decide between ‘he lead’ or ‘he begun / started to’, e.g. [6]

[6] *Il.* 1.571 τοῖσιν δ᾽ Ἥφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης ἦρχ᾽ ἀγορεύειν
‘among them Hephaestus, the famed craftsman, was first to speak’ or ‘began to speak’ (cf. Hom. ἦρχε μύθου, μύθων). The same applies to Hom. ἦρχ᾽ ἴμεν, ἦρχε νέεσθαι (§ 5)

9 Kölligan 2007: 157 ff. with reference to σκίδνατο ἴμεν (Hom.) and other synonymical expressions.

10 Cf. also *Il.* 7.324–325 (= 9.93) τοῖς ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν / Νέστωρ ‘for them the old man first of all began to weave the web of counsel, Nestor’.

11 The same applies when ἦρχε is in coordination with a preceding, ἴσαν ‘went’ or βάν ‘id.’ *Il.* 18.516 οἳ δ᾽ ἴσαν· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, 6.552 βὰν δ᾽ ἰθὺς Δαναῶν λελιημένοι· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν / Ἕκτωρ.

4 The Initive Periphrasis within the Tense-Aspect System of the Homeric Verb: βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν vs. Aor. ἦλθε, Impf. ἤϊε

Let us turn to the position of the periphrasis βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) and its variants in the oppositional system of the Homeric verb. We have seen that βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) 'started to go' (*'(s)he made the first step to go', actually the same state of affairs), βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν 'started to drive' express the beginning of a durative action: this perfectly match the [initive] realisation of the aorist stem of durative verbs like εἰ-/ἰ- 'to go', θέο/ε- 'to run' (both actually defective, and with suppletive aorist ἐλ(υ)θ-, δραμε-), νέο/ε- 'to come (back, home)' (:: aor. νοστησα-; on νασ-θη-, νασ-σα-, originally aorist forms of νέο/ε- synchronically integrated in the paradigm of ναίο/ε- cf. §5), as well as ἐλάαν 'to drive' (:: aor. ἐλασ(σ)α-).

The periphrasis βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) is inserted in a double opposition. On the one hand, it is in an inclusive opposition within the aorist stem, which being /– durative/ (punctual) may have an [initive] realisation with durative, non-telic lexemes (activities), beside its regular /complexive/ function (indifferent to the opposition +/– durative, in the terms stated by Martín S. Ruipérez 1954). Note that this implies that the periphrasis was not an absolute necessity of the Greek verbal system, where the aorist could perfectly express the initive reading. On the other hand, it stands in aspectual opposition to the imperfect (present stem /+durative/, i.e. ongoing action).

The twofold opposition of (a) the periphrasis of the type βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) with the past tense stems of (b) the aorist and (c) the imperfect of the five verbs with which it is attested can be represented in tabular form as follows:

(a) [initive]	/ (b) aorist /– durative/ : /punctual /[initive] /complexive/
βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν	/ ἦλθε / ἤλυθη
βῆ δὲ θέειν	/ °(ἔ)δραμε, δράμε
βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν	/ ἤ/ἔλασ(σ)ε
ἔβαν … νέεσθαι	/ (°)νάσθη, °νάσσατο; °νοστησα-

(a) [initive]	/ (c) imperfect /durative/
βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν	/ ἤιε (and βαῖνε)
βῆ δὲ θέειν	/ ἔθεε(ν), θέε
βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν	/ ἔ/ἤλαυνε, ἐλαα-
ἔβαν … νέεσθαι	/ νέετο*, νέοντο

This may be verified without difficulty in the case of some collocations that allow a contrastive approach in the light of very precise minimal triplets with

(a) βῆ δ' ἴμεν 'started to go'/ (b) ἦλθε, ἤλυθη 'went', also 'started to go' / (c) ἤιε 'went' (*for a while*!), namely with ἐς κλισίην, παρά τε κλισίας and the like [7a–7c]

[7a] *Il.* 13.167 βῆ δ' ἰέναι παρά τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
'and he started to go along the huts and ships …' he set out to go (= 8.220)

[7b] *Il.* 16.254 ἂψ κλισίην εἰσῆλθε, δέπας δ' ἀπέθηκ' ἐνὶ χηλῷ
'went back (or 'started to go') again into his tent, and let the cup away in the chest'

[7c] *Il.* 24. 596 ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐς κλισίην πάλιν ἤϊε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
'so spoke noble Achilles and went back inside the hut'[12]

The opposition system is also recognisable in constructions with ἐς θάλαμον,/ θάλαμόνδε [8a–c] and with προτὶ / ἐπὶ νῆα(ς) [9a–c]

[8a] *Il.* 14.166 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον, τόν οἱ φίλος υἱὸς ἔτευξεν
'so she started to go to her chamber that her dear son Hephaistos had fashioned for her'[13]

[8b] *Od.* 4.802 ἐς θάλαμον δ' εἰσῆλθε παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμάντα,
'so he went (or 'started to go') into the chamber by the thong of the bolt'[14]

[8c] *Od.* 7.7 αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον ἐὸν ἤϊε· δαῖε δέ οἱ πῦρ / γρηῢς …
'she herself went to her chamber. There a fire was kindled for her by her old servant'

[9a] *Il.* 10.336 βῆ δ' ἰέναι προτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ …
'so he set out/started to go toward the ships from the camp'

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12 Cf. also *Il.* 13.214 ὃ δ' ἰητροῖς ἐπιτείλας / ἤϊεν ἐς κλισίην '… but he (Idomeneus) had given charge to the healers, and went (was going) to his hut', *Od.* 16.177–178 ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὣς ἔρξασα πάλιν κίεν· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / ἤϊεν ἐς κλισίην 'when she had done all this, she departed, but Odysseus went (was going) into the hut'.

13 Cf. also *Od.* 6.15 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον πολυδαίδαλον, … 'started to go' (also 8.277, 22.179), *Od.* 22.108–109 βῆ δ' ἴμεναι θάλαμόνδε (*Od.* 21.8 βῆ δ' ἴμεναι θάλαμόνδε, also 16.413 βῆ δ' ἰέναι μέγαρόνδε σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν).

14 Cf. with synonym εὐνήν, *Od.* 4.338 βοσκομένη, ὁ δ' ἔπειτα ἑὴν εἰσήλυθεν εὐνήν (= 17.129) 'and then the lion comes to his lair', (*HAp*. 344). With βῆ as quasi-synonymous with ἦλθε, cf. *Od.* 22.161–162 βῆ δ' αὖτις θάλαμόνδε Μελάνθιος, … / οἴσων τεύχεα καλά.

[9b] *Il.* 1.12–13 … · ὃ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν / λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα (= 1.371)
'and he (Chryses) went (or 'started to go') to the swift ships of the Achaeans to free his daughter'[15]

[9c] *Od.* 4.426–427 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας, ὅθ' ἕστασαν ἐν ψαμάθοισιν, / ἤϊα· …
'but I went to my ships, where they stood on the sand'[16]

Other constructions do not allow for a contrastive approach based on minimal pairs, as there is no attestation of (b) with ἦλθε, ἤλυθε, or of (c) ἤιε. For (b) one may operate *faute de mieux* with βῆ, as it can be a quasi-synonym of ἦλθε, ἤλυθε. This is for instance the case with βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) with co-referential future participle expressing finality [10a–b]

[10a] *Od.* 4.24 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων διὰ δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν
'and he started to go through the hall to make the announcement to the shepherd of the people'

(= *Od.* 4.528), also *Od.* 4.679 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων διὰ δώματα Πηνελοπείῃ.

To this does surely not belong ἦρχ' ἴμεν 'was the first to go' (*Il.* 13.328–329 … Μηριόνης δὲ θοῷ ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ) / ἦρχ' ἴμεν, ὄφρ' ἀφίκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν '… and Meriones, equal to swift Ares, led the way, till they came to the place in the army'.

[10b] *Od.* 22.495–496 γρηῢς δ' αὖτ' ἀπέβη διὰ δώματα κάλ' Ὀδυσῆος / ἀγγελέουσα …
'then the old woman went back through the beautiful house of Odysseus to announce …'[17]

15 Also *Od.* 4.428 αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλυθον ἠδὲ θάλασσαν, and, with ἔβη as equivalent to ἦλθε, *Od.* 4.731 ὁππότ' ἐκεῖνος ἔβη κοίλην ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν 'when he went on to board the hollow black ship'.

16 Also *Od.* 4.571–572 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἅμ' ἀντιθέοισ' ἑτάροισιν /ἤϊα, πολλὰ δέ μοι κραδίη πόρφυρε κιόντι 'but I went to my ships with my godlike comrades, and my heart was pondering many things while I was walking'.

17 Cf. also *Od.* 22.161 βῆ δ' αὖτις θάλαμόνδε Μελάνθιος, …, / οἴσων τεύχεα καλά· … 'but Melanthios …, went (or 'started to go') again to the storeroom to bring beautiful armor'; *Il.* 11.101 αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ Ἰσόν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐξεναρίξων 'and made straight to slay Isus and Antiphos …', and, with the pluperfect βεβήκει, *Od.* 18.185–186 … γρηῢς δὲ διὲκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει / ἀγγελέουσα γυναιξὶ καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι 'and the old woman went out/away through the hall to tell the women and bid them come' (= 22.434).

Note the contrast with ὦρτο … ἀγγελέουσα in *Il.* 8.409 Ὣς ἔφατ', ὦρτο δὲ Ἶρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα 'so he spoke, and storm-footed Iris hurried to carry his message' (= 24.77, 159).

5 Homeric βῆ δ' ἐλάαν, βῆ δὲ θέειν, ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι vs. Imperfect and Aorist of ἐλα-, θέο/ε-, νέο/ε-.

The variants of the periphrasis offer the same picture, as the following instances for (a), (b), and (c), in alphabetical order # βῆ δ' ἐλάαν 'started to drive' [11a–c], # βῆ δὲ θέειν 'started to run' [12a–c], ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι # 'took their way to come home' [13a–c], clearly show:

[11a] *Il.* 13.27–28 … ἑοῦ δ' ἐπεβήσετο δίφρου / βῆ δ' ἐλάαν ἐπὶ κύματ'(α) …
'… and stepped into his chariot, and set out to drive over the waves …'

[11b] *Il.* 15.352 Ὣς εἰπὼν μάστιγι κατωμαδὸν ἤλασεν ἵππους[18]
'so having said, with a downward sweep of his arm he struck? (or 'started to strike') his horses with the whip'

[11c] *Il.* 23.500–501 μάστι δ' αἰὲν ἔλαυνε κατωμαδόν· οἳ δέ οἱ ἵπποι / ὑψόσ' ἀειρέσθην …
'… and (Tydeus' son) … with his whip dealt many a stroke down from the shoulder; and his horses stepped high …'

The *hapax* βῆ δ' ἐλάαν [11a] (with ἐλάαν as the locatival GOAL complement of telic βη-) is not synonymous with μάστιγι κατωμαδὸν ἤλασεν [11b] (cf. the common formula # μάστιξε(ν) δ' ἐλάαν / '(s)he touched the horses with the whip' [7×], with ἐλάαν as the final-purposive free adjunct of a phrase which is complete in itself) and μάστι δ' αἰὲν ἔλαυνε [11c], although the state of affairs is basically the same.

[12a] *Il.* 14.354–355 βῆ δὲ θέειν ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν νήδυμος Ὕπνος / ἀγγελίην ἐρέων γαιηόχῳ Ἐννοσιγαίῳ
'but Sweet Sleep set out to run to the ships of the Argives to transmit message to the Enfolder and Earth-Shaker'[19]

18 Also *Il.* 11.488, 17.614, 23.514, also *Od.* 15.215 (ἔλασε).

19 Cf. also the variants *Il.* 11.617 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρά τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, 11.805 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ νῆας ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλῆα, *Od.* 14.501 βῆ δὲ θέειν ἐπὶ νῆας· …; *Il.* 12.352 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.

The contrast with the durative ἔθεε (Hdt. 1.43) is evident: ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός 'and someone was running right to tell him what happened'.

[12b] *Il.* 14.413 στρόμβον δ' ὣς ἔσσευε βαλών, περὶ δ' ἔδραμε πάντῃ.
'… and set him whirling like a top with the blow; and he spun round and round'

[12c] *Il.* 1.483 ἣ δ' ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον (= *Od.* 2.429)
'and it (the ship) speed over the waves, accomplishing its way'[20]

As for the formula ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι [13a], the evidence for (b) aorist consists of "light suppletive" νοστησα- (no attestation of indicative *νόστησε!) and especially the old aorist proper °νασθη (2×), °νάσσατο (2×)[21] [13b], although Homer and Hesiod seem to treat these forms as belonging to ναίο/ε- 'dwell, inhabit'. There is no instance of (c) οἶκόνδε νέετο.[22]

[13a] *Il.* 23.229 οἳ δ' ἄνεμοι πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαν [οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι]/ Θρηΐκιον κατὰ πόντον·
'and the winds took their way back/ started to come home again, over the Thracian sea'[23]

This periphrasis is completely different from ἐξ ἦρχε νέεσθαι 'was the first to depart' in *Il.* 2.84–86 Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσας βουλῆς ἐξ ἦρχε νέεσθαι, / οἳ δ' ἐπανέστησαν πείθοντό τε ποιμένι λαῶν / σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες 'so he spoke and was the first to depart from the council, and the kings who bear their scepter rose up, and obeyed the shepherd of the people'.

[13b] *Il.* 14.119 ἀλλ' ὅ μὲν αὐτόθι μεῖνε, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς Ἄργεϊ νάσθη / πλαγχθείς· …
'however he remained there, and my father settled /started to dwell in Argos (and dwelt) after wandering'

20 Cf. also *Od.* 24.208 ἔνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔην, περὶ δὲ κλίσιον θέε πάντῃ, 'there was his house, and all about it ran the sheeds in which ate, and sat, and slept the servant bondsmen'.

21 Hom. °νασθη (remodeling of **as-t^{h}ē-*: **n̥s-t^{h}ē-*), °νάσσατο (remodeling of **as-sa-* **n̥s-s(a)-*) are felt synchronically as belonging to ναίο/ε- 'to dwell, inhabit' (**nas-i̯o/e-*), cf. García Ramón 2004: 38–41.

22 An *οἶκόνδε νέετο may be assumed on the strength of *Od.* 1.17 τῷ οἱ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι / εἰς Ἰθάκην … 'the year came in which the gods had ordained that he should return home to Ithaca', or *Od.* 6.110 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε πάλιν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι.

23 Also *Od.* 14.87 πλησάμενοι δέ τε νῆας ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι.

> *Il.* 2.629 Φυλεύς, / ὅς ποτε Δουλιχίονδ᾽ ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθείς·
> 'who had long ago came (and dwelt) to Doulichion angered with his father'[24]

Both verbs imply motion towards a place, expressed by the goal-locative Ἄργεϊ (with νάσθη :: νέομαι) and by the allative Δουλιχίονδε (with ἀπενάσσατο :: νέομαι), where the father (of Diomedes) and Phyleus respectively dwelt i.e. νάσθη (ἀπενάσσατο :: ναίο/ε-).

6 Summing Up: A Characterization of the Homeric Initive Periphrasis

In conclusion, the Homeric initive periphrasis βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν(αι) (also βῆ δ᾽ ἰέναι, plur. βάν ῥ᾽ ἴμεν), βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν, βῆ δὲ θέειν, and ἔβαν οἶκονδε νέεσθαι, which is isolated in Greek (only Epic Poetry, in Ionic area) and without any continuity after Homer, may be set forth as follows:

(1) It consists of (and is restricted to) the aor. βῆ (originally '(s)he made a step (in)to X, stepped (in)to X', PIE *$g^{u}éh_2$-*t*: Ved. *gā́t*, of *$g^{u}eh_2$-, a momentative-telic lexeme) and an infinitive (originally an endingless locative *-*men*-Ø, cf. also other infinitives).

(2) The infinitive is a locative complement of βῆ, expressing the GOAL reached by the action of 'begin' ('step (in)to'), not a free adjunct indicating PURPOSE or DIRECTION.

(3) The initive periphrasis '(s)he started/began to + Inf.', reflects a full grammaticalisation of 'made a step (in)to X', as shown by the *hapax* βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν, which can only be explained as an initive periphrasis with a de-semantized βῆ. This assumption rests indeed on a rare phrase βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν, but the fact is that, even if it reflects an echo of μάστιξε(ν) δ᾽ ἐλάαν, its structure is straightforward and βῆ can hardly be understood as 'he made a step (in)to'.[25] Contrarily βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεν, βῆ δὲ θέειν, and ἔβαν οἶκονδε νέεσθαι the semantics of ἴμεν, θέειν, οἶκονδε νέεσθαι would allow to assume that the original sense of βῆ 'made a step (in)to X' (X: action of *going*, *running*, *coming home*) was still alive/recognizable.

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24 *Od.* 15.254 Ἀμφιάρηος· / ὅς ῥ᾽ Ὑπερησίηνδ᾽ ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθείς, also with νοστησα- *Od.* 2.342-3 εἴ ποτ᾽ Ὀδυσσεὺς / οἴκαδε νοστήσειε, *Il.* 4.103 (= 4.121) οἴκαδε νοστήσας ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστυ Ζελείης, *Il.* 5.687 νοστήσας οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν et al.

25 *Pace* Stüber 2017: 93 n. 76 "… kann βῆ an allen Stellen bei Homer noch wörtliches 'machte einen Schritt' reflektieren, da esnur mit Verben vorkommen, die ihrerseits eine Bewegung ausdrücken". This does apply to all instances, but not to βῆ δ᾽ ἐλάαν.

On the strength of the fact that '(s)he made the first step to go' and '(s)he started to go' match pragmatically and express the same state of affairs (the beginning of a durative action), we can safely assume that the periphrasis βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) expresses the [initive] realisation of the aorist stem of durative verbs like ἰέναι, θέειν (both actually defective as to the aorist), νέεσθαι, as well as ἐλάαν.

(4) The finite verb is restricted to the indicative aorist βῆ/βάν.

(5) The infinitive is restricted to durative verbs of motion and to root, not affixed, formations.

(6) The periphrasis is inserted in the aorist stem of the verbal lexemes underlying the infinitives and fits in a twofold opposition: (i) with the Aor.-Stem ἐλ(υ)θ- (/-durative/), as [initive] realisation (βῆ δ'ἴμεν 'started to go') with non-telic verbs vs [complexive] 'he went' (ἦλ(υ)θε, δράμε, ἔλασσε, νάσθη); (ii) with the durative imperfect ἤιε 'he was going, he went [for a while]' (ἔθεε, ἔλαυνε, νέετο) in the framework of present-stem, /+ durative/, /ongoing action/, "imperfektiver Aspekt".

It must be stressed that the initive realisation of a durative motion verb may be perfectly expressed by means of the aorist stem, e.g. ἐβασίλευσε 'became started to be king' or complexive 'was king'. In other words, the periphrasis βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) would be unnecessary in an aspect-language which has an aspectual opposition aorist stem :: present stem. A crucial question remains whether βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) is a Greek creation, an inherited feature, or a *development* in common with Anatolian.

7 Hittite *dai-*/*tiia-* + X-(*u*)*uan* 'to Begin to X'

The Hittite periphrasis *dai-*/*tiia-* + X-(*u*)*uan* 'to begin to X' (widely attested)[26] has a quasi-perfect match in Hieroglyphic Luvian *ta-* + X-*una* 'id.' (one attestation), with the only difference of Hitt. -(*u*)*uan* being a supine, limited to this construction, and HLuv. -*una* an infinitive properly, which occurs also in other functions.

The Hittite initive periphrasis consistis of a finite verb *dai-*$^{\underline{ḫḫ}i}$/*tiia-*^{mi} 'to begin, start to' (originally 'to put himself to', 'to step (in)to' respectively, both

26 For a straightforward presentation of the essentials of the periphrasis cf. Hoffner—Melchert 2008: 186, 317,338, 335: "to begin / to be ready / to be willing to do something", also 2002: 383 and Friedrich 1960: 137 § 259 c; "etwa 'anfangen etwas zu tun, sich darauf machen, anheben …'", "beginnen (sich daran machen), etwas zu tun", "im Begriff sein (bereit sein), etwas zu tun". For extensive presentations cf. Bechtel 1936, Kammenhuber 1955.

with locative) and -(*u*)u̯*an*, formally an endingless locative (**-u̯an-Ø*). It occurs in both present and preterite, and the -(*u*)u̯*an* supine has no lexical or morphological restrictions. The periphrasis is well attested since the beginning of the written tradition (Old Hittite), and especially in Neo-Hittite mythological narrations and military annals. The construction with the supine of *-ške*-stems (*-škeuu̯an*) is extremely productive and has clearly prevailed at the expense of other formations in Late Hittite. A couple of texts are illustrative by themselves:

[14] KBo 3.1 i 21–23 … *nu* É^{MEŠ} *-ŠU-NU*
ka-ri-pu-u-u̯a-an da-a-ir iš-ḫa-ša-aš-ma-aš-ša-an ta-aš-ta-še-eš-ki-u-u̯a-an da-a-ir
nu e-eš-ḫar-šum-mi-it e-eš-šu-u̯a-an ti-i-e-ir
'… they began to devour (*karipuu̯an dair*) their houses, began to conspire (*taštašeškiuu̯an dair*) against their lords and to make blood (*eššuu̯an tier*: kill them)'—Proclamation of Telipinu: OH/NS

[15] KBo 8.42 rev. 2–3 (OH) [*da*]*-iš-te-ni na-at-ta* x[/ *i-iš-šu-u̯an da-iš-te-en* […] / *pi-i̯a-an-ni-u̯a-an da-iš-t*[*e-en* …
'you have begun to do (*iššuu̯an dāišten*), you have started to give' (*piii̯anni-u̯an*)

[16] KBo 12.44 ii 27–28 *ma-a-an* ^{GIŠ}SAR.GEŠTIN *ku-iš Ú-UL mi-i-e-eš-ki-iz-zi* (28) [*na-an k*]*i-iš-ša-an / a-ni-i̯a-mi na-aš mi-iš-ki-u-u̯a-an da-a-i*
'a vineyard, which doesn't flourish, I treat [it] as follows and it starts to mellow (*miškiuu̯an dāi*)'

[17] KUB 1.16 + rev. ii 24–25 *e-eš-ḫar* (-)] *i-iš-šu-u̯a-an da-a-i*
'he begins (will begin) to make blood' (*eššuu̯an dāi*)

The essentials of the Hittite construction *dai-* / *tii̯a-* + X-*uu̯an* may be set forth as follows:

(1) The finite verb *dai-*/*tii̯a-* 'to begin, start' (cf. the co-occurrence of 3pl. *dair* and *tii̯er* in [14])[27] integrates two verbs which have otherwise their own paradigms, namely *dai-ḫḫi* 'to put' (which may be traced back to **d^{h}eh$_1$-i-*, the Hittite reflex of PIE **d^{h}eh$_1$-*) and *tii̯a-mi* 'to step, stand up' (**(s)th$_2$-i̯o/e-*, IE **(s)teh$_2$-*, like HLuv. *ta-* 'to step, enter'). Both lexemes are telic-

27 The 3.pl. *ti(i̯)anzi* could be a transitional form for both *dai-* and *tii̯a-*. Old Hittite has predominantly *dai-*, most of the forms with *tii̯a-* are plural (so in the Apology of Hattusili: preterite *-škiu̯an dāiš* beside *-škiu̯an tii̯er*), cf. Hoffner—Melchert 2008: 338.

momentative, and govern locative[28] and allative for GOAL (e.g. *kiššari dai* 'puts in the hand' and *kiššara dai* 'id.', *dagān tiy̯ezzi* 'steps to the earth', also with verbal abstracts, e.g. *kāri tiy̯a-* 'to get into gracious attitude', *arga tiy̯a-* 'to get in fight'.[29]

(2) Hitt. *-(u)u̯an* reflects an endingsless locative **-u̯en-Ø* (PAnat. **'-u̯an #* from **'-u̯en #*, better than from **-u̯én #*)[30] of a verbal abstract in **-(u)u̯ar/n-*, which has a full paradigm including a genitive in *-(u)u̯aš* (**-(u)u̯a[n]s*) with purposive function (with a head noun). The locatival *-uu̯an*, as the regular complement of both *dai-* and *tiy̯a-*, expresses the activity into which the subject has made a first step, and cannot be understood as an expression of purpose.[31] The infinitive (in *-uu̯anzi* or in *-anna*)[32] with *-za* occurs sporadically instead of the supine in *-uu̯an*, e.g. KBo 26.65 iv 19–20 (Ullikummi III) *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš A-NA* ^{d}*ul-lu-kum-mi* … GU_4ḪI.A *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ú-u̯a-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi ti-i-e-er* 'and all gods began to bellow towards Ullikummi', KBo 32.14 rev. 29 (MH) *na-an a-da-a-an-na da-iš* 'and (the dog) began to eat it (*scil.* the little bread)'.[33]

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28 The construction pattern of both verbs is actually inherited, cf. RV X 98.2d *dádhāmi te dyumátīṃ vā́cam āsán* 'I place heaven-bright speech in your mouth (loc. *āsán*)', 1.162.21d *úpāsthād vā́jī dhurí rā́sabhasya* 'The prizewinning (horse) has taken his place at the chariot-pole (loc. *dhurí*) of the (Aśvins') donkey'.

29 As to *dai-* cf. DUMU É.GAL-*iš* ^{D}*Ha-an-t*[*a-š*]*e-pa-an* LUGAL-*i ki-iš-ša-ri-i da-a-i* 'The court-nobleman places a Hantašepa deity in the hand of the king' (StBoT 8 I 27′–28′), ^{GIŠ}MAR-*an ki-iš-šar-ra-ta da-a-iš* 'He put the spade in your hand' (KBo 26.105 iv 8). As to *tiy̯a-* cf. LUGAL-*uš* x[…] *ta-aš-ša-an ḫal-ma-šu-it-ti ti-e-iz-zi* 'The king […] steps to the throne' (KUB 43.30 ii 12′–17′), *na-aš da-ga-a-an t*[*i-i-*]*e-iz-zi* 'and he steps to the earth (loc. *da-ga-a-an*)' (KBo 17.75 I 5), DINGIR-*LUM-mu* EN-*YA ki-e-da-ni me-mi-ni ka-a-ri ti-i̯a* 'god my lord be gracious to me in this matter' (KUB 21.27 iv 35–36), *ma-a-an* ^{D}IM-*aš* ^{MUŠ}*il-lu-i̯a-an-ka-aš-ša INA … ar-ga ti-*[*i-*]*e-ir* 'when the weather-god and the dragon got in fight …' (KBo 3.7 i 10).

30 PAnat. **'-u̯an #* (**'-u̯en #*) should have spread from **-ské-u̯en*, (**-i̯é-u̯en*) at the cost of *$^{+}$-u̯en* (from **-u̯én #*) which would be the regular form in the supine of other verbs (Yoshida 1997: 192, and p.c.).

31 García Ramón 1997: 63; 2007: 282. The scepticism of Zeilfelder 2001: 405 ff. ("Führt man die Infinitive auf … *-wan* auf ursprüngliche Lokative zurück, so ist ihre finale Bedeutung schwer zu verstehen" 406) is hardly understandable: the periphrasis is not a final one. Her assumptions that EZEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *eššuu̯an tiy̯anzi* ("sie treten zum Feiern der Feste", as she correctly translates) "sich ebenso lokal wie final verstehen lässt" and that the periphrasis with *-uu̯an* "… bilden offenbar die semantische Brücke zwischen finaler und lokativer Bedeutung" (405) and were "formal lokativisch und okkasionell auch final" (407), ignores the obvious difference between a locative actant/complement of a verb and a final circumstant/free extension to the whole clause and makes any discussion impossible.

32 That *-anna*, one of the morphs of the infinitive in Hittite has an allative ending (**-ā-tn-ă̆*), i.e. one of the regular construction of *dāi-/tiy̯a-* is irrelevant at this point.

33 Supine and infinitive constructions do not coexist in one and the same text (Hoffner—Melchert 2008: 338).

(3) The periphrasis reflects a full grammaticalisation, with *dāi-*/*tiia-* as the initive operator 'begin to, start to', and has no restriction as to tense or as to semantics and formations of the verb underlying the supine (see below). It expresses the beginning of a durative action or of a state, expressed by the verb from which the supine is formed, regardless of whether this is a durative or stative lexeme, or it reflects a given *Aktionsart* (inchoative, or iterative, if the lexeme is in itself momentative, or others), or it is an aspectual "imperfective" stem as it has been assumed for *-šša/i-*, for *-anna/i-* and especially for *-ške-* since H. Craig Melchert's studies.[34]

(4) The finite verb is predominantly attested in the preterite (3sg. *dāiš*, 3pl. *dair*/*tiier* 'began /started to' [14], also in other persons, e.g. 2pl. *daišten* [15]), but also occurs in the present (3sg. *dāi* [16], [17], 3pl. *tiianzi*). In both tenses, the initive periphrasis displays the same functions as the non-periphrastic form. The periphrasis in the present has, beside the regular initive function [16], a reading 'he will begin to do' (*iššuuan dāi* [17]), which is parallel to that of the present *pro futuro*: in this case it may be lexicalized as 'is ready to' or 'sets out to'.

(5) The supine is formed from verbs without any semantic restriction, and from all type of stems, both non-affixed (e.g. *karipuuan* [14], practically only in OH and MH texts), and affixed. In particular, it is found with verbs in *-anna/i-* (*-anniuan*: *piianiuuan* [16]), in *-šša/-i* (: *eššuuan*[35] [14] and [17], *iššuuan* [15]), which are not very frequent, and especially with *-ške-* verbs (*-škeuuan*: *taštašeškiuuan* [14], *miškiuuan* [16]), also in conglomerates (e.g. *ualḫanniškeuan* 'to attack'), and occasionally with other stems. Supine from verbs of motion, which were the only verbs attested in the Homeric periphrasis with βῆ/βάν, are of course also attested in Hittite, e.g. *iianniuan* (*iianna/i-* 'to march'), KUB 14.1 obv. i 74 *i-i-an-ni-ua-an* [*da-a-i*]*r* 'they started to march'.

(6) The position of the initive periphrasis within the verbal system of Hittite may be clarified separately for the preterite and for the present tense as

34 Melchert 1998, Hoffner—Melchert 2004, 2008: 317 ff. Whether *-ške -šša-* and *-anna/i-* are markers of imperfective aspect or of *Aktionsart* (so Dressler 1968: 159 ff.; cf. also Oettinger's 1992 interpretation of *-anna/i-* as intensive, or Daues's 2012 interpretation of *-šša/i-* as marker of low degree of object affectedness in *ḫalzišša-* 'to call', *īšša-* 'to do'), or of both at the same time, may remain open for our purposes. The periphrasis with *-škiuan* is predominantly attested in Neo-Hittite in a contextual-pragmatic backgrounding function (Daues 2007).

35 Actually **i-ih$_1$-s-* with reduplication of the desiderative type Ved. *cikáts-a-ti* (Jasanoff 2003: 137).

against the non periphrastic preterite and present respectively: pret. *dāiš / tiia̯er* + X-(*u*)*u̯an* stands as /past initive/ in opposition to the preterite (i.e. the unmarked past tense); pres. *dāi / tiia̯nzi* + X-*uu̯an* stands as /present initive/ in opposition to the present (i.e. the unmarked present tense). This will be evident in the light of minimal pairs and/or triplets attested with one and the same verb (§ 9).

8 Hittite Initive Periphrasis with the Infinitive: With *zikke/a-mi, tiške/a- mi* and with *ēp(p)-/app-mi*

The initive periphrasis *dai-/tiia̯-* + *-uu̯an* coexists with two other periphrases, both with the infinitive instead of the supine, which are sporadically attested, namely (1) with *zikke/a-*^{mi}, *tiške/a-* ^{mi} and (2) with *ēp(p)/app-*^{mi}.

(1) The construction of *zikke-*^{mi} and *tiške-*^{mi} (*$d^{h}h_1$-sḱo/e-* and *th_2-sḱo/e-*, the *-ške*-stems of *dai-* and *tiia̯-* respectively) with the infinitive and the particle *-za* allows us to observe a complementary distribution of *-šk-*: this morpheme is integrated into the finite verb, and never occurs in the infinitive (i.e. no †*-iškuu̯anzi*, or †*-iškuu̯anna*). The construction, which is attested both in the preterite and in the present (also *pro futuro*), may be synonymous with the supine construction [18], but occasionally the iterative semantics of *-šk-* (*Aktionsart* and/or iterative realisation of "imperfective") of the finite verb, i.e. '(s)he / they repeatedly start(ed) to',[36] whence 'is/are or was/were ready to', 'engage(d) to'.[37] Some instances with *zikkezzi* [18], 3pl. *zikkir* [19], and 3sg. *tiškizzi* [20]:

[18] KBo 10.7 + HSM 3645 iii 14–16 *an-ze-el-za-kán* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*an* ÉRIN.MEŠ ⟨LÚ.⟩KÚR *u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi zi-ik-ke-ez-zi*
'enemy troops will begin to attack (*u̯alḫu̯anzi zikkezzi*) our troops'

[19] KBo 4.4 rev. iii 62–63 (Mursilis, Ann. 10th year) [NH]
nu-mu-za nam-ma UD.KAM$^{HI.A}$ *za-aḫ-ḫi-ia̯-u-u̯a-an-zi Ú-UL* [*ku-u̯a-at-ka*$_4$] *ḫa-an-da-al-li-i-e-ir nu-mu-za-kán* GE$_6^{KAM}$-*za u̯a-al-ḫu*[*-u-u̯a-an-zi*] / *zi-ik-ki-ir*
'they therefore did not dare (*ḫandaliia̯er*) to fight with me by day, and they engaged to attack (*u̯alḫu̯anzi zikker*) me by night'.

36 *Recte* Bechtel 1936: 71f. ("with *z(i)kk-* … the emphasis is in the preparation").
37 Data from Bechtel 1936: 71f., Kammenhuber 1955: 55ff., Hoffner—Melchert 2008: 335.

[20] KBo 13.4 iii 27 ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-an-za-kán za-am-mu-ra-u-u̯a-an-zi ku-iš-ki ti-iš-ki-iz-zi*
"if any one sets out to sack(?) the city of Hattuša"

(2) The construction with *ēpp-/app-*^{mi} (*IṢBAT*) (originally 'to take, seize, pick' cf. Lat. *apiscor*, *co-ēpī*) with infinitive and *-za* with the sense 'begin to' is attested, both in the preterite (*epta*, 3pl. *ēpper* [21]) and in the present (*epzi* [22], *appanzi*), in NH ritual and cult texts in concurrence with the supine periphrasis. It occurs in e.g.

[21] KUB 1.1 + 1304/u (Ḫattusili ii 77–78) *nu-mu-za al-u̯a-an-za-ah-hu-u̯a-an-zi* [*nam-ma QADU* DAM=*ŠU* DUMU=*ŠU e-ep-ir*
'they—(he) together with his wife and son—began again to bewitch me'

[22] KUB 27.59 I 24–25 *nu-za* EZEN$_4$ *nam-ma i-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi e-ep-zi*
'and he begins to celebrate the festival again'

9 The Initive Supine Periphrasis (Preterite, Present) within the Hittite Verbal System

Let us turn to (6), the position of the supine periphrasis (preterite, present) in the framework of the Hittite verbal system. The periphrasis, both present and preterite, stands in opposition with the non-periphrastic tense forms, preterite and present respectively. The following instances, with *pai-ḫḫi* 'to give' [23], with *ešḫar išš-ḫḫi* 'to kill' (*'make blood') [24] and with *u̯alḫ-ḫḫi* 'to beat, attack' [25], allow us to note its contrastive value.

As for *pai-*, see *peškeu̯an dair* 'they started to give' in a context of preterites [23.1] as against *peškiuu̯an tiu̯aueni* 'we (shall) start to give', as the expression of the beginning of a series of future actions, and *piau̯eni* 'we (shall) give' [23.2]:

[23.1] KBo 3.4 Ro. i 40–42 [NH/NH]
40 [*nu-za ŠA* K]UR ^{URU}*Kaš-ga* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *NA-RA-RÙ tar-aḫ-ḫu-un na-an-kán ku-e-nu-un*
41 [*nu-za ŠA* KUR ^{UR}]^{U}*Dur-mi-it-ta* ^{URU}*Ga-aš-ga-aš da-an* EGIR-*pa* ARAD-*aḫ-ta-at*
42 [*nu-mu* ÉRIN^{MEŠ}] *pé-eš-ke-u-an da-a-ir* ...
'and I defeated (*tarḫun*) and killed (*kuenun*) the auxiliary troops of the Land of Kaška and the land of Durmitta, and the city of the Kaškaeans was conquered (ARAD-*aḫtat*) again/a second time [and they] started to supply (*peškeu̯an dair*) me with troops'

[23.2] KBo 4.4 rev. iv 34–36

34 … *BE-LÍ-NI* [ÌR-*a*]*n-ni da-a nu-u̯a A-NA BE-LÍ⟨-NI⟩* ERÍN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR .RA$^{HI.A}$

35 *pí-eš-ki-u-u̯a-an ti-i̯a-u-e-ni* [NAM.R]A ^{URU}*Ha-at-ti-i̯a-u̯a-an-na-aš-kán ku-iš*

36 *an-da nu-u̯a-ra-an pa-ra-a pí-i-i̯*[*a-u-*]*e-ni* …

'… o Lord take (*dā*) us, as subordinates, and from now on we (shall) start to give (*peškiuu̯an tiu̯aueni*) to (our) Lord troops and chariot soldiers periodically. We shall even give (*piu̯au̯eni*) the Hattian crews who are with us'.

As for *ešḫar īšš-* 'to make blood', see *ešḫar eššuu̯an tier* 'they began to kill' [24.1] (= [14]) beside a preterite (*maršeššir*) and other preterite periphrases (*karipuu̯an dair*, *taštašeškiuu̯an dair*), as against preterite *ešḫar iēr* 'killed' [24.2] and present periphrase *ešḫar eššuu̯an dāi* [24.3]

[24.1] = [14] KBo 3.1 i 21–23: Proclamation of Telipinu: OH/NS

ma-a-an ap-pí-iz-zi-i̯a-an-ma ÌR^{MEŠ} DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL *mar-še-eš-še-ir nu* É^{MEŠ}-*ŠU-NU*

ka-ri-pu-u-u̯a-an da-a-ir iš-ha-ša-aš-ma-aš-ša-an ta-aš-ta-še-eš-ki-u-u̯a-an da-a-ir

nu e-eš-ḫar-šum-mi-it e-eš-šu-u̯a-an ti-i-e-ir

'but when the knights of the princes became traitors (*maršeššir*, 3.pl. verb in *-šš-*), they began to devore (*karipuu̯an dair*) their houses, to conspire (*taštašeškiuu̯an dair*) against their lords and to make blood (*eššuu̯an tier*: kill them)'[38]

[24.2] KBo 3.1++ obv. I 31′–33′ [OH/NS]

… [*nu*] ^{m}[*Z*]*i-dan-ta*[*-aš*] *Ạ-NA* ^{m}*Ha-an-ti-li* [*kat-ta-*]*an*

[(*ša-ra*)]-*ạ ú-li-eš-ta nu* HUL-*lu ut-t*[*ar i-e-i*]*r nu-kán* ^{m}*Mur-ši-li-in ku-e*[(*n-nir*)]

[(*nu*)] *ẹ-eš-ḫar i-e-ir*

'Zidanta s' accorda (*uliešta*) avec Hantili et ils [accomplir]ent (*ie*]*r*) une mauvaise action: ils tuè[(rent)] (*kue*[(*nir*) Muršili. Ils commirent un assassinat (*ešhar iēr*)' (Dardano 2002: 350).

[24.3] = [16] KUB 1.16 + rev. ii 24–25 *e-eš-ḫar* (-)] *iš-šu-u̯a-an da-a-i*

'he will make blood' (present *pro futuro*)

38 On the phraseological variations of this phraseme cf. Dardano 2002: 350 ff.

A sample of forms and constructions with *ḫalḫ-* 'to beat, attack' [25] is very telling: on the one hand, the periphrasis *ḫalḫeškauḫan dāiš / tier* 'started to commit attacks (periodically)' [25.1] (starting point of a durative-iterative or iterative-distributive activity) is in opposition to the simple preterite *ḫalḫanniškir* 'they committed (periodically) attacks' [25.2] (simply a past tense, possibly iterative, cf. *-anni-šk(e)-*). On the other hand, the concurrent periphrasis *ḫalḫḫanzi zikke/a-* 'to engage to attack' [25.4], may be considered as the lexicalisation of a former iterative (*'they started to attack repeatedly'):

[25.1] KUB 1.1 rev. 5–10+ [NH]
5 ... [(*nu-kán*)] ^{LÚ}KUR ^{ÍD}*Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-da-an*
za-a-i[*š* (*nu* KUR ^{URU}*K*)*a-n*(*i-eš ḫa-a*)]*l-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke-u-ḫa-an da-a-iš*
...
[(^{URU}*Ha-*°) ^{URU}]*Ku-ru*[(*uš-t*)]*a-ma-aš* ^{URU}*Ga-zi-ú-ra-aš-s-a*
9 [(*pé-di ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫe-er*] *nu* URU D[(U_6^{HI}]]A ^{URU}*Ha-at-ti*
[(*ḫa-al-hi-iš-ke-u-ḫa-an ti*)]*e-er* ...
'... Then the enemy crossed (*zāi*[*š*]) the Marassanda river and began to afflict (*ḫalḫeškauḫan dāiš*) the land Kanes, ... The places H., K. and G. [became enemies] (*kururiḫaḫḫer*]) immediately and began to afflict (*ḫalḫeškauḫan tier*) the deserts of Hatti'

[25.2] KUB 14.1 rev. ii 86 [MH/MH]
KÚR ^{URU}*A-la-ši-ia-ḫa* [--- *At-tar-áš-ši-i*]*a-aš* LÙ [^{URU} *Pi-ig-ga-ia-ia ḫa-a*]*l-ḫa-an-ni-iš-kir*
'When Attarsiya and the man of Pigaiya were attacking (periodically) (*ḫalḫanniškir*) the land Alasiḫawa'

[25.3] KBo 16.50 Vs. 9–10 (oath of Ašḫapala, MH/MS)
an-da-ma-az-kán ma-a-an LÚ.KÚR-*aš ku-wa-a-pí u-wa-al-ḫu-u-ḫa-an-zi da-a-i*
'..., when the enemy starts / begins to attack'

[24.4a] = [18] KBo 10.7 + HSM 3645 iii 14–16 *an-ze-el-za-kán* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*an* ÉRIN.MEŠ ⟨LÚ.⟩KÚR *ḫa-al-ḫu-u-ḫa-an-zi zi-ik-ke-ez-zi*
'enemy troops will begin to attack (*ḫalḫḫanzi zikkezzi*) our troops'

[25.4b] = [19] KBo 4.4 rev. iii 62–63 (Mursilis, Ann. 10th year) [NH]
nu-mu-za nam-ma UD.KAM$^{HI.A}$ *za-aḫ-ḫi-ia-u-ḫa-an-zi Ú-UL* [*ku-ḫa-at-ka*$_4$]

ḫa-an-da-al-li-i-e-ir nu-mu-za-kán GE_6^{KAM}*-za u̯a-al-ḫu*[*-u-u̯a-an-zi*] / *zi-ik-ki-ir*
'they therefore didn't dare (*ḫandaliier*) to fight with me by day, and they engaged to attack (*u̯alḫu̯anzi zikker*) me by night'.

10 Summing Up: A Characterization of the Hittite Initive Periphrasis

In conclusion, the essentials of the Hittite initive periphrasis of interest for comparison with Homeric Greek may be summarised as follows:

(1) The periphrasis consists of *dai-*/*tii̯a-* 'to begin, start', a telic-momentative lexeme, integrating two verbs that govern the locative, and the supine in *-(u)u̯an* (locative **-u̯an-Ø* of a *nomen actionis* in *-uu̯ar/n-*).
(2) The supine has the function of complement (GOAL), i.e. the action into which the subject gets.
(3) The grammaticalisation of *dai-*/*tii̯a-* + X-*uu̯an* presupposes the integration of *dai-* 'put (in)to X' (PIE **dʰeh₁-*) and *tii̯a-* 'make a step, stand up (in)to X' (**(s)th₂-i̯o/e-*, PIE **(s)teh₂-*) into one paradigm, at least in this construction. Sporadically an infinitive may take the place of the supine, just like in Homer, where -μεν has already been grammaticalized as an infinitive and coexists with other infinitives.
(4) No tense restriction: the periphrasis is mostly attested in the preterite, but it is also found in the present.
(5) The supine is attested with all types of durative verbs (not only motion verbs, as in Greek), affixed or not, although in Late Hittite *-škiu̯an* is overwhelmingly productive: *-ške/a-* may be "iterative" (as commonly assumed) or an aspectual morph ("imperfective", ongoing action), like *-šša/i-* (*ešša-ḫḫi* : *ii̯a-mi* 'to make, do') and *-anna/i-* (*ii̯anna/i-ḫḫi* : *ii̯a-tta* 'to march').
(6) The periphrasis fits in a twofold opposition within the Hittite verbal system: the tense forms of the periphrasis are opposed as marked (initive) to those of the preterite (unmarked past, like the Greek "complexive" aorist) and of the present respectively.

11 Hieroglyphic Luvian *ta-mi* + Infinitive in *-una*

The evidence for the initive periphrasis with *ta-* + infinitive in *-una* in Hieroglyphic Luvian is limited to only one instance, which has been identified and described by Anna Morpurgo Davies:

[26] KARATEPE § XLVIII Hu., 261–272
wa/i-na | *i-zi-i-sa-tu-na ta-ia* ("FLUMEN" CRUS-*ia* in Ho.) *há-pa+ra/i-sá* |OMNIS-*MI-i-sá*
"and every river-land (will) begin /began (3sg. *ta*, with particle *-i̯a*) to honour (inf. *izist-una*)[39] him (*sc*. the god)" (Morpurgo Davies 1987: 215 ff.; Hawkins 2000: 64 ad loc.).

Giving a detailed typification is impossible, since the whole evidence for the periphrasis is reduced to only one instance. Anyway, some statements may be made:

(1) The periphrasis characteristically consists of 3sg. *ta-* (*ta-* 'to step, to make a step, enter': CRUS) 'to (come to) stand', iterat. *taza-*, causat. CRUS/*tanuwa-* 'to (cause) to stand'), as the reflex of PIE *(*s*)*teh*$_2$- (cf. Hitt. *ti̯a-*), with the by-form *ta̯i̯a*,[40] and the infinitive in *-una* (the regular form of infinitive in Luvian,[41] originally an allative (*-*un-eh*$_2$)[42]

(2) the allative case of the infinitive is, like the locative, a regular complement of *ta-*, as it is of Hitt. *ti̯a-*, cf. in Hieroglyphic Luvian IZGIN, 3 § 3: *u̯a/i-mu*||-*´* (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-*ni* CRUS-*ta* "When I sat myself on my paternal throne, Tarhunzas stood with me", as shown by A. Morpurgo Davies 1987: 216–218, with reference to Hittite constructions with locative like *zaḫḫi̯a ti̯a-* 'enter in/ get into fight(ing)' and to dative-locatives of abstracts as the complements of *ta-* e.g. HLuv. *kati ta-* 'to come to stand for harm' (*ka-ti-i* CRUS-*i*, *ka-ti-i ta-i* in SULTANHAN), *tarapunalahiri ta-* 'to come to stand for ploughing?' (*ta-ra/i-pu*(*-na*[?])*-la-hi-ri* CRUS-*ta* in KARKAMIŠ).[43]

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39 Infinitive of denominative *izista-* 'to honour' (3sg. *izistai*) (Starke 1990: 534). The obscure form *i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i* (KARKAMIŠ A6.5 ii, iv) is most probably an instrumental-ablative /*izistari*/ 'with/for honour' (Hawkins – Morpurgo Davies 1979: 79 f.).

40 "a by-form or bygraph of *tai*"; CLuv. *ta-a-i* (Morpurgo Davies 1987: 215).

41 Morpurgo Davies (Handout 1995). HLuv.*-mina* (e.g. DARE-*mina* 'to be given', *iziyamina* 'to be done'), with allative ending of an action nouns in *-man-* (*-*men-*) is limited to the predicative patient-oriented construction with deontic function (i.e. a gerundive-like one), and cannot therefore be considered as an infinitive proper (Melchert 2004). On the other hand HLuv. *ha-tu-ra+a* /*hatur-a* / 'to write' (also with allative ending) has agent-oriented, deontic function. The spelling *-mi-na* probably conceals /-m(m)na/ (with ⟨*mi*⟩ for /m/): the form, surely an Anatolian innovation, is connected with infinitival Gk. Lesb. -μεναι (like CLuv. *-una* and Cypr. /-wenai/), but its morphosyntactic status is different (García Ramón 2017).

42 The closest cognate is PGk. *-*u̯enai̯* (cf. Cypr. /*do-wenai* / 'to give': **dh*$_3$*-u̯en-ai*), with /-ai/ probably from */-eh$_2$-i/ as the result of a conflation of allat. *-*eh*$_2$- (Anatolian) and dat. *-*ei̯* or of a recharacteristaion of *-*eh*$_2$- as *-*eh*$_2$*+i*.

43 The same contruction is attested in Cuneiform Luvian, e.g. KUB 9.31 ii 25 *pa-a-tar a-ap-*

In spite of the scanty evidence, we can safely assume that the situation of HLuv. *ta* + infinitive was basically the same as in Hitt. *dai-*/*tiia-* + supine in other respects, i.e in (3) the grammaticalisation of the periphrasis, in (4) the tense of the finite verb (both preterite and present), in (5) the verbal stems and in (6) the position of the periphrasis within the framework of the Luvian verbal system.

12 Specifically Anatolian, Absent in Homeric Greek: Full Grammaticalization, No Restriction to the Preterite of the Main Verb, Supine/Infinitive Not Restricted to Root Verbs of Motion

The evidence of Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian, each with its own peculiarities, makes it possible to hypothesise for the Anatolian languages a situation substantially similar to each other and, in part, to that attested by Homer. Let us set it forth briefly:

(1) Existence of a periphrasis 'begin/start to' (Hitt. *tiia-* beside *dai-*, HLuv. *ta-* + supine (locative *-(u)uan*) or infinitive (HLuv. *-una*).

(2) Hittite supine (an inherited locative) as the complement of *tiia-* (beside *dai-*), infinitive (which may also be used in Hittite), as the complement of HLuv. *ta-*. The construction with the infinitive (which is exceptionally attested in Hittite) fits into the fact that there is no instance in Luvian of a "supine" of the type as locatival Hitt. *-uuan*: this suggests that the infinitive must have replaced the supine in the framework of the grammaticalisation process.

(3) lexicalisation of the original meaning 'to make a step, enter (in)to' (*tiie-* beside *dai-*, HLuv. *ta-*): this is certain for Hittite, and more than probable for Hieroglyphic Luvian.

(4) finite verb both in the preterite and in the present.

(5) no lexical or morphological restriction of the verbs from which the supine and the infinitive are formed.

(6) Creation of an initive preterite beside / vs. the unmarked preterite tense-stem, and an initive present beside / vs. the unmarked present.

Specifically Anatolian peculiarities, which are instead absent in Homeric Greek, are surely (3) the degree of grammaticalization, (4) the absence of

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za za-as-ta-an-za as-tu-um-ma-an-ta-an-za-ta at-tu-wa-la-hi-ti ni-is da-a-ad-du-wa-ar "do not come again/back to stand for badness to these gates" and in Hittite HT 1, obv. I, 46′–7′ *nu-mu-uš-sa-an nam-ma* ^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}*in-na-ra-u-uua-an-te-eš-ša* KÁ-*IA li-e ti-ia-at-te-ni* 'and for me further, Marduk and gods Innarawantes, do not step into my gate' (Morpurgo Davies 1987: 217 f.).

restriction to the preterite and (5) the absence of restriction to root verbs of motion. These points deserve closer examination.

13 The Basis Periphrasis: ['(S)he Began to' (* 'Made a Step Into')] + [Supine / Infinitive$_{\text{MOTION, DURATIVE}}$].

A look at the whole evidence strongly suggests that the remarkable coincidences between Homeric Greek and Hittite and Luvian point to a shared feature, most probably an innovation, given that it is not shared by other branches: the initive periphrasis has basically the same morphosyntax and semantics, and one can assume that its prehistory in both IE branches where the constructions are attested is the same, at least in some crucial respects. This is especially remarkable in the case of Homeric Greek and Anatolian, which have very different verbal systems. On the other hand, some differences between the structure of the periphrasis in Greek and in Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian seem to imply separate developments. The first question is therefore to define the features of the periphrasis such as it was shared by Homeric Greek and Anatolian, and the modalities of its origin and its spread.

The characteristics shared by the initive periphrasis in Homer (βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι) and variants), as well as in Hittite (*dāi-ḫḫi*/*tiia-mi* + *-uuan*) and Hieroglyphic Luvian (*ta-* + infinitive) may be summarised as follows:

(1) In both branches, the periphrasis consists of a finite verb meaning 'to begin, start', which originally meant 'to make a step (in)to' (Hom. βᾱ- beside Hitt. *tiia-mi* [in suppletion with Hitt. *dāi-ḫḫi* *'to put (in)to'] and HLuv. *ta-*: all synonyms) plus the locative of a verbal noun (Hom. *-μεν*: **-men-Ø*, grammaticalised as infinitive; Hitt. *-uuan* : **-uen-Ø*, supine) or an infinitive (Gk. -μεναι, -έναι, -έειν …; Hitt. *-anna*, *-uuanzi* occasionally, and HLuv. *-una*).

(2) The supine or infinitive is the complement (GOAL reached) of the finite verb 'to make a step (in)to', which governs the locative (or allative) case, i.e. the action into which the subject *steps*, and not a FINAL free extension.

(3) The grammaticalisation of *'made a step (in)to' to 'began, started to' indicates the beginning of a durative action expressed by the supine or infinitive, such as it is attested in Homer and in Hittite (and may be assumed for Hieroglyphic Luvian), is restricted to verbs of motion, the only type of lexemes which occur in the periphrasis with Hom. βῆ/βάν: the difference between 'began' and *'made a step (in)to' is not clear-cut with ἴμεναι, θέειν, νέεσθαι, but the de-semantisation is evident in βῆ δ' ἐλάαν 'started to drive'.

(4) The finite verb is attested in the past tense: Hom. aorist βῆ, βάν, Hitt. preterite *daiš*/*tii̯er* (HLuv. *tai̯a* inconclusive).
(5) Supine and infinitive are formed from the root.

The coincidences between the periphrasis in Homeric Greek and in Anatolian are limited to those in the terms indicated above (1) to (5), i.e.

[‘(s)he began to’ (‘made a step into’)] + [supine / infinitive$_{\text{MOTION, DURATIVE}}$]

I assume, first, that this was the structure of the periphrasis both branches actually shared, precisely that reflected in Homeric Greek (and may be assumed as well in a first phase for Hittite and Luvian), and, secondly, that the full grammaticalization of the periphrasis and its complex structure in the Anatolian languages, as is attested already in the first documents, is a specific, later (“einzelsprachlich”) development: in Hittite there is no restriction to the preterite, the supines or infinitives are formed from all type of verbal stems, and there is no semantic restriction. The same may be safely assumed for the periphrasis with *ta-* in Hieroglyphic Luvian, in spite of there being a single attestation (*izistuna ta-ai* ‘begins/began to honour’): one may well presuppose the existence of a similar periphrasis with the present tense (even if it is only attested in the preterite), and any semantic restriction is hardly conceivable, given that the periphrasis is attested with a non-motional verb such as *izist-* ‘to honour’. The alternative possibility, i.e. that the periphrasis such as is attested in Hittite is the original one and has been simplified in Homeric Greek, is hardly convincing: why the periphrasis is limited to the aorist βῆ/βάν and to verbs of motion would remain unclear.

On the assumption that the periphrasis shared by Homeric Greek and by Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian had the structure proposed above, some questions concerning its origin and spread remain open. It must be stressed at this point that the position of the periphrasis within the verbal systems of Homeric Greek and of Hittite is very different. The periphrasis is attested only in Homeric poetry, i.e. in a poetic language created in a Greek area of Anatolia (i.e. is fully isolated from Proto-Greek and from mainstream Greek) which became the language of a Panhellenic poetry, and does not live on outside the Epic (not even in Herodotus). Moreover, its position in the paradigm is marginal and asymmetric, and fills a function which the aorist stem could have expressed by itself. Contrarily, the Hittite periphrasis is thoroughly developed and extremely productive, and fills a position in the verbal system of Hittite which could not be expressed by the preterite or present alone.

14 A syntactic borrowing (calque, "Lehnübersetzung") from Anatolian (Hitt. tiia-mi, HLuv. da- 'id.') into Ionic Greek, restricted to the construction with verbs of motion (Hom. βῆ '(s)he made a step'), which was grammaticalized as 'began, started'.

The existence of the initive periphrasis, in the terms proposed above, in Homeric Greek and in Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian, shows that it is an exclusively shared innovation that may be explained in terms of contact-induced linguistic change (and traced back to a prehistoric phase). Two interpretations are possible:

(i) It is an exclusive innovation of IE inherited patterns, to be traced back to a Greek-Anatolian linguistic area, as it has been assumed for other commonly shared features.[44] This would imply a chronology after the settlement of the first Greeks in Ionia, i.e. a fairly recent one. This possibility cannot be confirmed or discarded.

(ii) It is as an extension, namely as a syntactic borrowing (*"Lehnübersetzung"*) from one of the areas into the other. It is hardly conceivable that the periphrasis was created in Greek (to live ephemerally, only in the Epic) and had spread into Anatolian, precisely in the area where it has widely developed. It is rather the opposite possibility that turns out to be more plausible, namely an Anatolism which spread into Ionic Greek, more precisely a syntactic calque (*"Lehnübersetzung"*, restricted to the construction with verbs of motion, at a time when Hom. βῆ '(s)he made a step' (**g*^{u}*éh*$_2$*-t*), as a calque of Hitt. *tiia-*^{mi}, HLuv. *da-* 'id.', has started the process of grammaticalisation, whence 'began, started', as is evident in βῆ δ' ἐλάαν.

The Homeric periphrasis fulfils in fact all conditions for a calque or a borrowing from Anatolian (as set forth by Hajnal 2014: 110 ff.). First, it makes a perfect match with that of Hittite and Luvian as to the shared characteristics (1)(2) and partly (3)(4)(5), i.e. at a given moment, before its full development as attested in Hittite. Secondly, it does not fit into the general patterns of Greek: although it may a priori be explained *e Graeco ipso*, this raises some difficult questions, among others, why is the periphrasis limited to aorist, and to verbs of motion—regardless of whether the periphrasis is *necessary* or not. Thirdly, given that the periphrasis is limited to Homeric Epic, i.e. to Ionian of Anatolia exclusively, it can have no other origin than an Anatolian language, at a given moment, when **g*^{u}*eh*$_2$*-t* still meant 'he made a step', and surely previous to the full grammaticalisation.

44 Watkins 2001a, 2001b.

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CHAPTER 4

A Possible New Greco-Carian Contact Phenomenon

H. Craig Melchert

1 High Rounded Vowels in Carian[1]

1.1 *The Status of /u/ in Carian*

There is no current evidence for a synchronic length contrast in Carian vowels. Per Adiego (2007: 237 and 257) the Carian letters conventionally numbered 5 and 28 (see ibid. 21) represent not high back rounded [u], which is represented rather by letter 19, but rather high front rounded [y]. He likewise argues (ibid. 235) that letter 32 is a dedicated letter for the glide [w]. In an unpublished internal series review for the Handbook of Oriental Studies, I rejected both claims and subsequently have refused to alter the previous transliterations of these letters.

I stand by my arguments against *w* for letter 32, but use *w* here to illustrate the fallacy: letter 32 is more common in a syllabic environment (between consonants or consonant and word boundary) than next to a vowel, while it is actually less common next to a vowel than sign 19.

Adiego (2007: 257) presents [y] as resulting from a *conditioned* fronting of [u], but while this may be attractive for some examples, it is quite impossible for *ýbt* (sic!) 'dedicated, donated' < **uboto* (= Lycian *ubete*) with following prehistoric back vowels, very unlikely for *týn* (a form of 'to place, dedicate' cognate with Luvian *tuwa-*), and unprovable in the suffix *-eym* in the personal name *para-eym*. Furthermore, his entire argument is based on the dubious premise (2007: 235) that the multiple ways to spell [u] in Egypto-Carian require special explanation. Since the Egypto-Carian alphabet may easily represent a conflation of the competing local alphabets of Caria, the argument is far from compelling.

Nevertheless, two points made by Adiego remain eminently valid. First, letters 19 and 32 alternate (NB including in a syllabic value), while letters 5 and 28 also alternate, but almost never do the first and second pair alternate. The only exception is the suffix -(*d*)*u/ybr-* in personal names: it is spelled mostly -(*d*)*yb*(*y*)*r-* (*ardybyr-, dtýbr-, dýbr-, kśatýbr-, smδýbr-*), but also *kudtubr-* and

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šoδubr-. The consistent contrast between the respective pairs suggests that some feature does unite each pair versus the other.

Second, Carian renderings of Greek names and Greek renderings of Carian names mostly support the contrast (see the glossary in Adiego 2007 for the data):

Carian *u/w* = Greek ο/ου

Greek > Carian

Οὐλιάδης = ***u****liade*

Carian > Greek

*m**w**sat* = Μουσατης (Lydia); cf. also Μ**ο(υ)**σητα (Pisidia)
*m**u**te-* = Μουτας (Cilicia)
*pa**u**-* = Παος (mono- or disyllabic?)
*ptn**u**pi-* = Πετενουπις (name of Egyptian origin)
*p**u**nwśol-* = Greek Πονυσσλλος
*šen**u**rt-* = Σανορτος
*uks-m**u**/wks-m**u**-* = Ουαξα-μοας and Ουαξα-μως (Isauria, Cilicia)
u**r*(*o*)*m*~w**rm-* ~ **Ο**ρας (Lycia); **Ο**υρα-μουτας (Cilicia)

Carian *y/ý* = Greek υ

Greek > Carian

Λυσικλῆς = *l**y**sikla-*
Λυσικράτης = *l**y**sikrata-*

Carian > Greek

*ard**y**byr* = Αρδυβερος
*l**ý**kse/i* = Λυξης
*para-e**y**m-* ~ Αρτ-ημυμος
*par-**ý**dk-* = Παραυδιγος
*ša-**y**riq-* = Σα-υριγος (cf. also *id-yrik-* and *par-yrik-* and appellative *yrik-*)
***y**larmi-* = **Υ**λλαριμ- (Hyllarima)

There are in Greek renderings of Carian names a few exceptions:

-u/wśoλ- = -υσσωλλος (consistently) (due to the following palatal *ś*?)
wli/íat- = **O**λιατος *and* **Y**λιατος (due to the quality of the *l* before yod?)
quq- = Γυγος (also in *d-quq-* = Ιδα-γυγος and *šr-quq-*)

1.2 [*u(:)*] *versus* [*o(:)*] *in Palaic and Luwian*

The entire issue of the Carian high rounded vowels has been renewed by the demonstration that not only Hittite (see Rieken 2005 and especially Kloekhorst 2008: 35–60 with references to prior scholars), but also Palaic and Luwian had phonetic (and limited phonemic) contrast of [u(:)] spelled with the cuneiform sign ⟨ú⟩ versus [o(:)] spelled with ⟨u⟩ (Melchert 2010 and Rieken 2016). The precise conditioning and etymological sources of the contrast are in part still under debate, but there is near universal agreement that a prehistoric **u* lowered to [o] next to the sound spelled with *ḫ* in cuneiform, which was either a velar fricative [x] or a uvular [χ] (for the latter value see now Weiss 2016).[2]

1.3 *Distribution of* u/w *and* y/ý *in Carian*

A review of the admittedly limited Carian lexicon with likely etymologies suggests a correlation between the [u(:)] versus [o(:)] contrast in Luwian and the putative contrast of [y] and [u] in Carian:

We find Carian *u/w* matching Cuneiform Luwian [o(:)] spelled with ⟨u⟩ (the ultimate etymologies are partly left open here). The *mu-* of the Carian personal names *uks-mu/wks-mu-* and *kbd-mu* matches CLuwian *mu-u-wa-* 'might' (Adiego 2007: 427). It also likely appears in the names *mute-* (cf. Luwian *Muwatti-*) and *mw-sat-*, an altered variant of Luwian *Muwa-ziti-* (Adiego 2007: 386 and Melchert 2013: 39). The element *pun-* in the Carian personal name *pun-wśoλ* is cognate with CLuwian *pu-u-na-* 'totality, all' (Adiego 2007: 337–338). Two examples show Carian ⟨u⟩ next to ⟨q⟩, which is the Carian equivalent at least in back environments of Cuneiform Luwian *ḫ*: *quq-* (also in *dquq-* and *šr-quq*) equals CLuwian *ḫu-u-ḫa-* 'grandfather' < **h₂éuh₂o-* (Adiego 2007: 334–335), while Carian *trquδ-* (attested in the dative *trquδe*) matches CLuwian *Tarḫunt-* 'Storm-god' < **tr̥h₂wn̥t-* (Adiego 2007: 423). The Carian names *u/wrm-* and *urom-* are derivatives of the adjective seen in CLuwian *u-ra-* 'great' (Adiego 2007: 338).[3]

2 It is important to bear in mind that with vanishingly rare exceptions the new synchronic [o(:)] vowel of Hittite, Palaic, and Luwian does not reflect inherited Proto-Indo-European **o*.

3 I would add Carian *w* and *ue*, which are likely forms of a deictic pronoun referring to the tomb (or stele) equivalent to Latin *iste*, cognate with Lydian *oš* (Melchert 2009: 154) < **aw-o-* (for which see Dunkel 2014: 2.101&105).

Carian also consistently spells the result of syncopated initial-syllable *wa-* as *u/w*: the personal name *wli/íat-* may be analyzed as equal to CLuwian *walli-yatta/i-* *'exaltation, praise' (attested in the adjective *walliyattašša/i-*). Carian *u/wks-* in the name *uks-mu/wks-mu-* reflects a **waks-* seen in Ουαξα-μοας and Ουαξα-μως (Adiego 2007: 427). The same element also likely appears in the name *uksi-*.

Carian *wli-* in the name *šr-wli-* continues **wal*(*l*)*i-* seen in Ουαλις (Isauria). Despite the doubts of Adiego (2007: 344, note 16), the name element *u/wśoλ-* likely contains the base **was*(*s*)- 'good' in the sense 'dear' and is equivalent to a virtual "Luwian" **wassiyalla-* with the suffixes *-iya-* and *-alla-*: one may compare attested Iron Age Luwian /wassiyazza-/ (BONUS-*si-ya-za-*) 'be dear to', as attested in AKSARAY § 5: *wa/i-ta á-mi-ya-ti* |(IUSTITIA)*tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i tara/i-ma-za* DEUS-*ni-za* |*za-ti* BONUS-*si-ya-za-ha* "Because of my righteousness I was dear to Tarhunzas and all the gods here." The personal name would then be a "Wunschname" understood as 'dear (to the gods)', effectively 'blessed'. More arguable is Carian *śuγλi-*, which perhaps is an ethnicon to the place name Σουαγγελα.

While the consistency of this pattern in Carian supports the claim that *u/w* and *y/ý* represent different vowel phonemes, the extant data for Luwian is too sparse and inconsistent to claim a correlation. One may compare CLuwian *u-na-at-ti-* beside *wa-na-at-ti-* 'woman' (where a zero grade is unlikely), but it is hard to distinguish objectively first-syllable syncope from ablaut: NB beside *walant*(*i*)- 'dead' and (*u*)*walantalliya-* 'of a mortal' both *ú-la-an-ti-* (likely /wlan-ti-/; cf. Lycian *lãta-* 'dead') and *u-la-an-ta-al-li-ya-* (3×) vs. *ú-la-an-ta-al-li-ya-* (1×).

Etymologically clear examples for a correlation of Carian *y/ý* and Luwian [u(:)] spelled with ⟨ú⟩ are unfortunately rather scarce. The one solid case is *ýbt* 'dedicated' < **úboto*, cognate with CLuwian *ú-pa-* 'furnish' and *ú-pa-ti-*(*t*)- 'land-grant' (Melchert 2004 contra Yakubovich 2005). I believe that we should add Carian *týn* 'I/they placed', to a verbal stem *tý-* cognate with CLuwian *du-ú-wa-* 'place' and Lycian *tuwe-* 'erect'.[4] Since this is a new analysis of the word *týn*, a short justifying excursus is called for.

The full context of Carian text C.Ha 1 (inscribed on a bronze phiale) reads *smδýbrs* | *psnλo* | *mδ orkn týn* | *snn*. Adiego (2007: 283–284) argues against *týn* as

4 In view of the special Lycian sense 'to place upright/in a standing position, to erect' and the existence of evidence elsewhere for a preform **steh*$_2$*u-* (Pokorny 1959: 1008–1009), I find attractive the suggestion that this stem reflects a virtual **(s)th*$_2$*w-* via **(s)tw-* (Ilya Yakubovich, personal communication), but for present purposes the ultimate etymology is a secondary issue.

a verb and the "hyperbaton" of *snn orkn* 'this vessel', but the position of *snn* after *orkn* already proves dislocation of some kind, regardless of the analysis of *týn*. Furthermore, Adiego (2007: 324) himself has argued cogently against my (and others') idea that *mδ(a)* and *mδane* represent a finite verb. His own attempt to find the finite verb in *psnλo* is quite implausible. Other forms in *-o* appear to be nominal datives, an interpretation that is also suitable here, whether as the recipient or as an epithet of the beneficiary: 'I/they placed *this* vessel for P. on behalf of S.' or more likely 'I/they placed *this* vessel for S., the *p.*'. I underscore that despite still unclear details *mδa(ne)* appears to be correlated with *marked* word order.

1.4 *The Spelling of* u*-diphthongs*

As shown by Kloekhorst (2008: 42–43; see also 759) in Hittite native *u*-diphthongs are spelled overwhelmingly with ⟨Ca-(a)-ú⟩, but likely loanwords with ⟨Ca-(a)-u⟩, such as the ritual object $^{(GIŠ)}$*za-a-u* (for which see Tischler 2016: 679–680) and *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* 'sweat' in the horse-training text of Kikkuli, where a Hurrian source is plausible (Tischler 2006: 1066 with references). The differentiated spellings thus likely reflect [a(:)w] versus [a(:)o], with the latter mono- or disyllabic. His further assumption of a conditioned lowering of [aw] to [ao] in New Hittite is arguable. We find support for the spelling of native *u*-diphthongs with ⟨Ca-(a)-ú⟩ also in Cuneiform Luwian: *i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-aš-ši-* 'of anointing' < **īkkūnawar/ *īkkūnaun-*, *gul-za-a-ú-na* 'to draw', *kur-ša-ú-na-an-ti-in-zi* 'islands', *pa-tal-ḫa-ú-na* 'to fetter' (versus just 1× *la-la-u-na* 'to take'). The pattern is the same in secondary diphthongs by contraction: *ḫi-iz-za-ú-un-ni* 'we fetch' (*-unni* contracted from **-wanni* in turn from **-wéni* by "Čop's Law") and *la-ú-na-i-* 'wash' beside uncontracted *la-ḫu-ni-*.

In Carian personal names (to the extent they are identifiable), native names show as expected *-Vy-* (*artay-*, Αρτ-ηυμος, *paraeym-*, *pareý-*, *parpeym-*), while those adapted from Egyptian show *-Vu/w-* (*irow-*, *iturow-*, *niqau-*, *piew-*, *šamow*, *τamou*). Naturally some cannot be confidently assigned (*beíeym-*, *meýqak-*, *kblow-*, *loubaw-*, *parśolou-*). The few analyzable appellatives suggest a *possible* contrast: the likely ethnicon *mday/ýn-* with syncope from **-wén(i)-* (see also with further reduction *kbdyn-* 'Caunian') shows *y/ý* versus *kδou-* and *esakδow-* arguably 'ruler' < **$h_2$entowo-* (cognate with Lycian denominative *xñtawa-* 'to rule') and the personal name *qdarŕou-* < virtual **$h_2$uh$_1$trolowo-* (matching Luvian *ḫutarlā-* 'servant', also attested as a personal name). One notices the following prehistoric **-e-* versus **-o-*: thus perhaps [aɥ] vs. [aw] conditioned by the following vowel. However, given the current state of Carian etymology, one must take rather more seriously the contrast between native and foreign names.

1.5 *Summary for Carian*

The inevitably limited number of probative examples in Carian suggests an *unconditioned* fronting of original syllabic *[u(:)] to [y]. It is impossible to determine whether *[o(:)] (NB this means the new Anatolian mid back rounded vowel, *not* PIE **o/ō*!) remained [o̜] or was raised to [u]. One should bear in mind that the Greek renderings of personal names given above (including many with ου for *u/w*) are not contemporary with the Carian attestations (and mostly not even from Caria). However, we also saw some renderings with υ, including *quq* where no conditioning for a raising was present. Such a "chain" shift [o̜] > [u] in connection with [u] > [y] is typologically probable (see Allen 1987: 76–78 and also Thompson 2014: 506).

2 High Rounded Vowels in Greek

On this well-studied topic I may be brief. The standard view is that fronting of **u(:)* in Eastern Ionic was probably as early as the 6th century BCE (based on the spelling of *u*-diphthongs as αο and εο): e.g., Allen 1987: 66, Lejeune 1972: 237, van Beek 2014: 505, citing Bartoněk 1966: 110 ff. (*non uidi*). Fronting in Attic was perhaps somewhat later. Méndez Dosuna (1993: 115–121) argued that the fronting is Proto-Attic-Ionic and that the apparent lack of the change in Euboean is due to a retrograde change of [y] > [u]. In a paper presented at Oxford in June 2016 (Méndez Dosuna forthcoming), he has argued that change is even earlier, effectively Proto-Greek.[5] The raising [o̜:] > [u:] was *probably* also "quite early" on structural grounds (Allen 1987: 76–78), in or before the 5th century BCE (Threatte 1980: 238–260). The ordering of the change vis-à-vis the fronting [u(:)] > [y(:)] is not absolutely certain, and one may entertain a "pull chain" or "push chain" (Thompson 2014: 506).

3 Conclusion

The oldest Carian inscriptions (from Egypt) date from no earlier than the 7th century BCE, mostly likely from the mid-6th century onwards (see Adiego 2007: 30–31). A connection between the Carian and Greek changes is possible with either the standard dating of that in Greek or with that of Méndez Dosuna to Proto-Attic-Ionic. An even earlier date is conceivable, though Proto-Greek may

5 I am grateful to Professor Méndez Dosuna for sharing with me the text of the paper in advance of publication.

be too early, since one must allow ample time for the Ionians to have reached western Asia Minor and interacted with the (pre-)Carians.

The real difficulty in trying to relate the Carian and Greek changes is not one of chronology, but rather the relatively common typological status of such vowel shifts. If we could be more certain that the Carian as well as the Greek change included *both* the fronting of [u] to [y] and the raising of [o] to [u], the chances that the events are related would be significantly higher. One fact that speaks at least mildly for a connection (with the influence going either direction) is the apparent absence of such a shift in the roughly contemporary and neighboring Anatolian Indo-European languages Lycian and Lydian. There are reasons to think that the vowel transliterated as *u* in Lycian actually is not phonetically [u], much less [y], but a lower back rounded vowel [ʊ] or even [o]: see Molina Valero 2007: 110–113. Likewise, Lydian ⟨u⟩ is often equivalent to Greek omicron, as in *kulu-* for Κολόη (see Gérard 2005: 34). Since in both languages the *u* vowel does reflect prehistoric high back *[u] in non-lowering contexts (Lycian *uhe-* 'year' < **utso-*, Lydian *amu* 'I, me' < **emú*), it would seem that the inherited high back rounded vowel may actually have undergone lowering in these languages. I leave it to readers to draw their own judgments regarding how much weight should be attached to these findings.

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CHAPTER 5

Language Contact between Lydian and Greek or the Origin of Lydian *k*

Norbert Oettinger

The Lydians invented money.
But, alas, not enough of it.
Anonymus AD 2017

1 Contact between Lydians and Greeks

The intention of the following paper is to discuss some Lydian words that somehow concern the relationship between Lydians and Greeks. They all group around a phonological problem, the origin of the Lydian velar *k*.[1] It is argued that word initial laryngeal two and three resulted in Lydian *k*-.

The comparatively few things Greek writers and Lydian inscriptions handed down to us give no adequate impression of the relevance of Lydia for the origin of Greek culture. We may not forget that it was the Ionians among whom this culture arose, a tribe who lived in the very neighborhood of the Lydians and under Lydian rule. According to Herodotus, most habits of Ionians and Lydians were common. Considering the fact that there was no geographical barrier between Ionia and the Lydian mainland, the contacts between the two probably were much closer than between Ionia and mountainous countries like Caria or Lycia. In addition, the Lydian capital Sardes was attractive, especially for artists of all kinds. Homer was probably a subject of Lydia, Hipponax

1 My transcription of Lydian deviates from that of Gusmani 1964 in *p*, *š*, *w* instead of *b*, *s*, *v*. I am obliged to Craig Melchert, Frank Starke, Thomas Steer and Michael Weiss for valuable suggestions and to Jan Bremmer for hints at literature I might not have seen otherwise. I take the opportunity to thank Diether Schürr for making available to me an unpublished manuscript of his (Schürr in preparation). David Heath insightfully corrected my English. Any remaining infelicities naturally are my own responsibility.

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had a good command of the Lydian language and Thales joined the campaign of Croesus against the Persians as an engineer.

One can be sure that numerous cultural and linguistic interferences existed between Lydian and Greek. We can be fairly sure that where there are indications that interferences existed, they actually did. In Lydian interferences of this kind can be found even among the few theonyms known to us. Lydian *Lewś* (*Lefś*) 'Zeus' is a loan from Greek and probably replaced the inherited name of the stormgod whose variants are preserved in Cuneiform-Luwian *Tarhunt-* and Old Hittite *Tarhunna-*. This is an important interference because the stormgod was the most important deity of the Greek as well as the Anatolian pantheon. The Lyd. goddess *Lamẽtru-* is borrowed from Gr. Δημήτηρ. Only the nasalized vowel and the *auslaut* of here name are Lydian additions.[2]

The Greek name Βάκχος, equivalent of Διόνυσος, went the opposite direction. It probably stems from Lydian *Pakiwa-* that can be postulated from the adjective *pakilli-* 'belonging to Pakiwa-' and the PN *Pakiwali-*. The Greek provenience of Dionysos himself is shown by the Mycenian dative sg. *di-wo-nu-so* and other forms. On the other hand, according to some Greek sources this god came from outside of Greece. Euripides in his *Bacchae* calls him Lydian.[3] So the two names of the god continue his twofold origin, one of them being Lydian. Functionally, this god of the wine was very popular among the rural majority of the population.

Coming to myths and other traditional tales, two likely examples of Lydian influence can be mentioned. Herodotos claims Gyges' usurping the throne of the Mermnads led to a curse which five generations later produced its fatal effect in Croisus (Herodotus 1.13,2; 1.91,1). In addition, we can mention the curse which, according to myths, lasted for also five generations in the house of Tantalus and provided material for several tragedies. The fact of Tantalus being a Lydian hero is confirmed by his name whose structure is typically Anatolian.[4] So the two most important examples of curses enduring over generations within Greek literature are connected with Lydia. Both tragic themes probably existed in Lydian tales first and were taken over and transformed by Greeks. Therefore the idea of curses effective over generations may have arisen in Lydia.

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2 The nasalized vowel is due to influence of the preceding nasal *m*; see Oettinger 1994: 318 with numerous parallels from Anatolian languages.

3 See Payne—Wintjes 2016: 105.

4 Structurally Hittite and Luwian names such as nominative singular *Dan-danku-s* und *Pimpira-s* are comparable with *Tan-talo-s*.

2 Generally Accepted Views about Lydian *k*

The Greek words of Lydian origin and the glosses called Lydian by Hesychius still deserve further investigation. Together with a few Lydian words as well as Lydian and Greek divine names, they can help us to improve our knowledge of early Lydian-Greek contacts. With some of these words phonological problems are connected, among them the origin of the consonant *k* in Lydian.

The Lydian sound *k* is, as would be expected, the continuation of the PIE velars such as the nominative singular *kaveś* 'priest' < PIE **kou̯h₁ēi̯+ s* and *kãna-* 'wife' < PIE **gʷon-eh₂-* 'woman' (**gʷo* > **go*).[5] As far as the continuations of PIE h_2 and h_3 are concerned, the consensus until now was that h_2 in all positions has disappeared completely[6] (There was no known example of h_3). Melchert then restricted this view claiming that h_2 in Lydian had only disappeared word-initially and after consonants but had become *k* between vowels (2004: 142–150).[7] His examples were the nouns ending in *°oka-* together with their verbal derivatives such as *kaprdokid* 'steals'. This is based on **kab(e)rd-* 'mouse' (Hittite *kapart-*, *kapirt-* 'mouse'), from which in Proto-Lydian an abstract noun **kab(e)rd-ah₂-* 'acting like a mouse, theft' was derived. This was then extended to **kab(e)rd-ah₂-a-*; cf. on this thematisation Hittite *maniyahha-* 'portion, apportioned part', **alwanzahha-* 'witchcraft' and *maninkuwahha-* 'neighbourhood'. The development from *-ah₂a-* to *-oka-* led to Lydian **kaprdoka-* 'theft', formed like *šaroka-* 'protection' (< **sar-ah₂-a-*) and other words.[8] From this was derived the denominative verb **kaprdok-e-ti* > *kaprdokid* 'steals'[9] (cf. German *mausen* = *stehlen*) borrowed by the poet Hipponax. In the aorist infinitive form σκαπερδεῦσαι 'steal' (presumably with the Lydian pre-verb **s-*) it entered Greek.

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5 For PA **gʷon-* 'woman' see Melchert *apud* Sasseville 2014/15: 109 n. 12.

6 See, amongst others Neumann 1961: 69 (on λαίλας), Puhvel 1991: 126 (indirectly on Lyd. *afariś*, whose meaning is, however, not clear), Melchert 1994: 361 as well as Gérard 2005: 45 and Kloekhorst 2008: 323 (each indirectly on Lydian *eśa-*). I myself supported this view at the time (Oettinger 2002).

7 Lydian *-k* 'and' is no example of this rule. It stems from PIE **-kʷe*, see Sideltsev—Yakubovich 2016: 118.

8 Melchert 2004: 143.

9 Cf. Melchert 2004a: 149 n. 26. Should Kroonen 2016 be correct with his assumption that Hittite *kapart-*, *kapirt-* 'mouse' is not derived from PIE **kom* + **bʰer-t-* 'collector' but from the Semitic ("Proto-Semitic **ʿkbr-t-* 'mouse, jerboa'") when the scapegoat ritual was adopted, this would demonstrate that such scapegoat rituals had spread to the west or north-west and had reached the Lydians, too.

3 A First Problem

In word-initial position there has been consensus that no trace of any laryngeal exists in Lydian. Of course, the Greek title κανδαύλης 'ruler' of Lydian origin, if related to Cuneiform-Luwian *handawad*(*i*)- 'leader, ruler', is at first sight a counter-argument[10] that caused Carruba to regard the word as borrowed from Luwian into Lydian. He attributed the change from *d* to *l* in κανδαύλης to Greek transmission (Carruba 2003: 154). Following Carruba, Shane Hawkins discussing the word at length came to the following conclusion: "The true etymological explanation of κανδαύλης goes back to the Luwian and Lycian word for 'King'." (Hawkins 2013: 181).[11] Let us have a look at two further words.

4 *Kuka-* and *Gyges*

It is well known that the Lydians invented money. The legend of one type of their coins is to be read as *KUKALIM*. The last part of this form, *-im*, was identified by Eichner (1974: 32) and Melchert (1991: 138 n. 14) as first person sg. of the reflexive pronoun that, like Hier.-Luw. *-mi*, could be used as a stylistic element in nominal sentences. So KUKALIM probably means 'I (am) of Kukaś'. The legend of a different type of coinage is to be read as WALWET, which is probably an abbreviation of the name of king **Walweta-*, Greek *Alyattes*. The name is derived from the Lydian word for the lion whose Luwian counterpart was *walwa/i-* 'lion'. One of the KUKALIM coins is reverse punch-linked with a WALWET coin. The edge of the punch shows signs of deterioration, so that we can be sure that both coins were minted at the same time. It follows that this time was the reign of Alyattes who ruled, according to Dale, from the year 635 onwards. By the legend KUKALIM Alyattes declared himself as belonging to the dynasty of *Kuka-* (Gyges), the first of the Mermnad line (Dale 2015: 157).[12]

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10 There have been made different attempts of explanation. The title κανδαύλης has been explained from a postulated Lyd. **kān-* 'dog' and a second part related to OCS *daviti* 'press' (Solmsen 1911: 287) or to Lyd. *tawśa-* 'strong' and Vedic *tavīti* 'is strong' (Oettinger 1995: 39 ff.). Yet this was probably but a folk etymology created by Hipponax himself or a Lydian predecessor of this Greek poet; cf. Hawkins 2013: 181.

11 Hawkins 2013: 175 thinks that the Lydians borrowed the word from the Lycians. Yet considering the geographical and cultural position of Lycia in comparison to Lydia in the 6th century, this hypothesis is not likely.

12 In my opinion the lions head (or even two) that can be seen on many Lydian and early Milesian coins was originally the symbol of Alyattes whose name was derived from the word for the lion.

The Greek form Γύγης (with Γ) of the name *Kuka-* came about because in Lydian the opposition between voiced and unvoiced stops was neutralized in word-initial position, hence pronounciation could vary between *k-* and *g-* (Melchert at Wallace 2006: 39). Then the word-internal velar was assimilated. The etymology of the PN *Kuka-* ist PIE *$*h_2auh_2o$-*, continued by Latin *avus* and Hitt. *huhha-* 'grandfather', with lenition also in Luw. *hūha-*, Lyc. *xuga-*.[13]

Kinship terms are often used as proper names in Anatolia. Dale (2015: 155 n. 18) proposed that *Kuka-* is a name borrowed from Luwian, but one wonders why this widespread Anatolian name should not be inherited in Lydian, too. It seems more economic to establish a rule *h_2-* > *k-* for Lydian itself.

5 Greek κάπηλος

Now we come to Greek κάπηλος 'merchant'. Furnée (1972: 257) attributed the word to a Pre-Greek substratum and compared it with Hitt. *hāppar* 'transaction'. The last opinion expressed is from Beekes (2010: 638) who wrote on κάπηλος the following: "As there is no etymology, the word could be Pre-Greek (the suffix does occur in Pre-Greek; see Furnée 115)." Beekes failed to comment on this "suffix". The words ending in -ηλος enumerated by Furnée are completely heterogeneous, containing meanings like 'reckless', 'a kind of bread', 'neck' and 'bee'. All of them differ from κάπηλος that is an agent noun. It follows that the common suffix -ηλος is but a fiction. Instead of further speculating on Pre-Greek,[14] let us look at the oldest text containing the word. It is Herodotus 1.94 who tells us about the Lydians:

> Πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.
>
> As the first humans we know of the Lydians made coins of gold and silver for public use, they were the first merchants (*kapeloi*), too.[15]

13 Adiego 2007: 260 wrote about Carian *Quq*: «If the word *quq* comes from PA **HuHo-* 'grandfather', (> Lycian *xuga-*), the lenition process seen in Lycian (*xuga* = /kuγa/) is absent, at least graphically, in Carian. But the Greek form Γυγος points to a voiced articulation (the initial Γ- remains unclear).» The initial Γ- can be explained by comparing the Lydian form. The Assyrian form Guggu possibly came about by Greek mediation.

14 The implicit intention of Beekes in his book is to find as many Pre-Greek words as possible. He does not define the term "Pre-Greek" except its being not Indo-European. This is why he ascribes κάπηλος to this language and so implicitly refuses the etymology of Furnée.

15 Aristoteles explains the Greek word νόμισμον 'coin' as a thing not being found in nature but determined by the state (eth Nic. 5,8,11, 33a).

The first statement is clear whereas the second needs some comment. Of course, merchants existed long before the Lydian empire.[16] But when the Lydians invented money necessarily a new type of merchant came about. Contrary to the ἔμπορος 'merchant' that occurs already in Homer, the κάπηλος was a trader with small equipment who no longer carried with him many articles for the purpose of exchange. In this way the statement of Herodotus makes sense: Lydians were the first mobile merchants, and the Greeks borrowed the word together with the new state of affairs. It follows that the word κάπηλος is a loan from Lydian, the Lydian form probably being **kapala-*.[17] This borrowing sheds new light upon the early economic development in Greece and Lydia but it is beyond my aim to treat this matter here. The root etymology of Furnée was correct but not his attribution of the word to Pre-Greek in the sense he meant.

While explaining the word formation of Lyd. **kapala-* 'merchant' we can compare the Hitt. suffix *-āla-* (from **-ó-leh$_2$*), forming agent nouns like ^{LÚ}*auriala-* 'frontier guard' from *auri-* 'look-out'. Contrary to **kapala-*, Lydian **kandawla-* 'leader, ruler' and **laila-* 'warrior, commander-in-chief' (vel sim.) show syncope. If Lyd. *Kuka-* stems from **h$_2$auh$_2$o-* and Lyd. **kapala-* from the root **h$_3$op-* (< **h$_3$ep-*), then **kandawla-* stemming from the basis **h$_2$ant-* can be genuinely Lydian as well. The root **h$_3$ep-* 'bargain' is well documented in other Anatolian languages, too: Hitt. *hāppar* 'transaction', *happinant-* 'rich' with derivatives, *happiriya-* 'bargain', *hāppiriya-* 'town', Lyc. *epirije-* 'sell' and probably also *epri-* 'hand over'.[18] Turning to the suffix, certain types of agent nouns have no *i*-mutation in Luwian, Lycian and Lydian, showing that they were originally not thematic but *eh$_2$*-stems. From this follows that the Cuneiform Luwian suffix *-alla-* goes back to **-é-leh$_2$*, which is also probable for Lycian and Lydian *-ala-*. Hittite *-āla-* with preserved second *a* comes from **-ó-leh$_2$*.[19] Lydian *tarpla-* 'possessor' from **torp-é-leh$_2$* (vel sim.), **kandawla-* from (virtual) **h$_2$anteh$_2$-u̯o-leh$_2$*[20] and **laila-* from **lah$_2$-é-leh$_2$* (see below) are syncopated. It follows that

16 For various articles on traders see Howe 2015 and Vargyas 1985. The most important Hittite text is KBo 12.42 III 1–16 where traders speak about themselves.

17 Lat. *caupō* 'publican' shows, compared with **kapala-*, an unexpected vowel *u* before *p*. This reminds on the relation between Lat. *caput* and German *Haupt* 'head', but the latter is due to metathesis. The relation between Gr. ἀλώπηξ 'fox' and Vedic *lopāśá-* 'a kind of jackal'. cannot be compared because here the vowel ώ seems to be the product of compensatory lengthening. I connect H.-Luw. *kiputa-* 'horn' with Lat. *caput* 'head' via *vrddhi* derivation.

18 Cf. Melchert 1994b: 72, 98; Melchert 2004: 15; Neumann 2007: 60 ff., and Kloekhorst 2008: 295 ff., who keeps the Lycian words separately.

19 Cf. Sasseville 2014/15 with reference to Melchert (p. 118).

20 **Kandawla-* (κανδαύλης) 'ruler' is an inherited Lydian word; see below. Luwian *handawa-d(i)-* stems from **hántawoto-* and further from virtual **h$_2$enteh$_2$-u̯o-to-*. The contrary as-

**kapala-* which is not syncopated may contain an originally long vowel caused by contraction: **h₃op-eh₂-é-leh₂* > **kapōla-* > **kapala-* (κάπηλος).[21] The derivation of **h₃op-eh₂-é-leh₂* 'merchant' from a putative **h₃op-eh₂* 'transaction' is like Hitt. *asusāla-* (a functionary) from *asūsa-* (a piece of jewelry). For the second vowel of κάπηλος compare Greek Κυβήβη from Lyd. *Kuwaw-* (*Kufaf-*). All these words can be best explained by a sound change from h_2 and, in word-initial position, also h_3 to Lydian *k*.[22]

6 Lydian λαίλας

Now potential counter-evidence against this sound-law has to be examined. Hesychius lists: λαίλας· ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν 'By the Lydians the king is called *lailas*.'[23] Günter Neumann (1961:69) derived it from the equivalent of Hitt. *lahhiyala-* 'warrior' that belongs to *lahha-* (or *lahh-*) 'military campaign'.[24] Also the king can be called *lahhiyala-*. The writing λαίλας, not *λάκιλας, shows that here the laryngeal had disappeared without trace. Referring to this, it is remarkable that in the older Anatolian languages we often find word-initial *huwa-* but never *hiya-*.[25] In my opinion both phenomena are connected with the disappearance of h_2 and h_3 before tautosyllabic $i̯$ in Proto-Indo-European. Let us start the investigation with Wackernagel (1896:81) who wrote: "Idg. ist *ə* geschwunden: a) Regelmäßig vor Vokalen und *y*." This rule was further examined by Pinault (1982), according to whom PIE laryngeals disappear after consonant before the combination of $i̯$ + vowel.

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sumption implying a change from *d* to Greek *λ* in κανδαύλης is less likely. The Lydian preform **h₂(e)nteh₂-u̯o-leh₂* is derived from the same basis **h₂(e)nteh₂-u̯o-*. The suffix **-u̯o-* is socially distinctive in Anatolian (Rieken—Sasseville 2014, especially 308 ff.).

21 The PIE root **h₃ep-* 'bargain' is continued by Lat. *opus* 'work', too.

22 A further sample of h_2 > Lyd. *k* is the name of the place Τροκεττα situated below mount Tmolos, if Schürr (in preparation), who derives it from the name of the Anatolian storm-god, is right; cf. C.-Luw. *Tarhunt-*. Schürr himself supposes that the Lydian name is borrowed from Luwian.

23 For the glosses λαίλας, τεγοῦν, κανδαύλης and ἀρφύτνον see Gusmani 1964: 271–277 (*sub voce*).

24 Güterbock—Hoffner 1980: 9 translate *lahhiyala-* by 'traveler(?)', followed by Katz 2004: 208 ff. Here is no space for discussing all the material but I am not entirely convinced that Hittite *lahha-* and its derivatives ever mean 'traveling' without any military connotation. In addition, a semantic shift from 'warrior' to 'traveler' would be surprising *per se*, because it goes from the more special to the more general. Compare the development from OIr. *cingim* 'I step' to *cing*, gen. *cinged* 'warrior' that shows the expected opposite direction.

25 With the exeption of C.-Luw. ^{GIŠ}*hiyaluwant-* 'possessing *hīlu*-trees'.

Recently Andrew Byrd (2015: 209–249) examined the rule in detail and motivated it phonetically: Contrary to the voiceless glottalic fricative h_1, the pharyngeal fricatives h_2 and h_3 could hardly be palatalized. That is why they disappeared in syllable-initial position before tautosyllabic $\underset{\wedge}{i}$.[26] Byrd assumes that the syllable border in e. g. PIE **sokʷh₂i̯o-* 'follower' was **sokʷ.h₂i̯o-*, in other words, it was situated between the plosive *kʷ* and the laryngeal. An alternative syllabification ** sokʷh₂.i̯o-.o-*, though being expected from the standpoint of morphology, would have offended the principle of sonority.[27] In my opinion, there is an additional assumption necessary for Anatolian. Let us start with PIE: First there was the default of h_2 and h_3 before the combination of $\underset{\wedge}{i}$ + vowel. This can be ascribed to Pinault's law.

Second, there is a rule we have to postulate for the period of Proto-Anatolian only: The accented vowel attracted the syllable border of a following group **h₂i̯*, e.g. PIE **(s)táh₂.i̯eti* 'steals' develops to PA **(s)tá.h₂i̯eti*. By means of this shift the group **h₂* became tautosyllabic and, consequently, the laryngeal disappeared. This led to Late Proto-Anatolian **táieti* which resulted in Hitt. *tā́i̯ezzi* through secondary lengthening of accented vowels in open syllables. In the Extra-Anatolian languages the syllable border of **(s)táh₂.i̯eti* remained unchanged so that the laryngeal was preserved. It disappeared later, accompanied by the usual compensatory lengthening.

To PA **(s)táh₂i̯eti* 'steals' belongs a further gloss of Hesychius: τεγοῦν Λυδοὶ τὸν λῃστήν "The Lydians call the robber *tegou*." The written form *tegou* probably stands for Lydian **tayú-* which is etymologically identical with Vedic *tāyú-* 'thief'. The laryngeal may have disappeared by analogy with **táieti*. Along the same lines Pre-Proto-Anatolian nom. sg. **láh₂.i̯oleh₂* 'warrior' developed to PA **lá.h₂i̯oleh₂* and further to **lái̯ala + s* and, with syncope, to Lyd. **lailaś* (λαίλας) 'leader, king'.[28] Why does this word appear in Hittite as *lahhiyala-* and not as

26 It follows that in PIE words that do preserve laryngeal before the combination of $\underset{\wedge}{i}$ + vowel the laryngeal is always h_1. An example is the relative pronoun **h₁i̯o-*.

27 See the review of Byrd 2015 by Steer 2016: 108 ff.

28 For **laila-* (λαίλας) an alternative explanation is possible, too. Interestingly it was just the same Hittite king Tuthaliya I to be called *lahhiyala-* and to lead a military campaign against Assuwa, the area where at that early time (second half of the 15th century) the Lydians probably settled. He reports: 'When I, Tuthaliya, came home from Assuwa, the people of Hattusa told me: "Majesty, our lord, you are a *lahhiyala* (leader in war), as judge you are not able to pass sentence."' (KUB 13.9+40.62 I 6–8); cf. Starke 1997:455. As it may not be casual that the name of king Mursili II who led an important campaign to West Anatolia survived as Greek Μύρσιλος just in that area, it could well be that also the Lydian word **laila-* was directly borrowed from Hittite soldiers coming with Tuthaliya I to the west. In this case the PA sound law $h_2\underset{\wedge}{i} > \underset{\wedge}{i}$ would have been effective in Proto-Lydian still in the 15. century.

**layala-*? In this language too the graphic combination *-hiya-* does not occur normally, but only in derivatives from root verbs ending in *-h* with suffix *-ye-*/*-ya-*. Here *h* is restored by analogy after root verbs and other stem formations, e.g. Hitt. *zahhiye-* (MÈ-*ye-*) 'fight' and *lahhiye-* (*lahhiyai-*) 'take the field' with its derivation *lahhiyala-* in analogy after *lahh*(*a*)- 'campaign'.[29] It follows that **laila-* (λαίλας) is not a counter-argument against the general rule h_2 > Lyd. *k*.

6.1 *The Nature of* *h_2 *and* *h_3

Weiss 2016 proposes a uvular reconstruction for PIE **h_2*, and by implication also **h_3*, a reconstruction that has already been suggested by Martin Kümmel (2007: 336). Weiss uses evidence drawn from the intersection of the Semitic and Indo-European languages in compare to Anatolian. His plausible conclusion is: "… the Anatolian reflexes of **h_2* and **h_3* were not pharyngeals. They might have been velar fricatives but the choice of *q* rather than *k* to represent a result of hardening in Neo-Assyrian, Old Aramaic, and Phoenician points to guttural involvement for at least Iron-Age Luvian. If the Anatolian reflexes were uvulars, then odds are that the second and third PIE laryngeals were themselves uvulars, because directionality favors the development from uvulars to pharyngeal (Aramaic, Hebrew [eventually], Dathina) over the opposite development, which typically occurs only when there is a loss of contrast with a preexisting class of uvulars. We can have our cake and eat it too if we suppose that Nuclear Proto-Indo-European underwent a uvular-to-pharyngeal shift." (Weiss 2016: 337). This result is compatible with my hypothesis about the development in Lydian.

7 Lydian *eśa-* and *weśfa-*

Looking for further counter-arguments one could mention Lyd. *eśa-* that is used parallel to *kãna-* 'wife' and therefore probably means some kind of relationship. Since the individuals in the inscription are named, pragmatically *esa-* hardly would mean 'descendant' (Melchert, p.c.). The connection with C.-Luw. *hamsa-* and Hitt. *hassa-* descendant- (< PA **Hónso-*) is also difficult because of the unexpected vowel *e*. Therefore the etymology remains uncertain.[30] The

29 The Palaic verbal forms ending in 3.sg.prs. *-Ca-a-ti* and *-Ca-a-ga-ti* (for discussion see Melchert 1994: 212 ff.) are possibly restored continuants of **-Cáh$_2$i̯eti*. Compare Hitt. (*)*lahhiyezzi* versus *tāyezzi* above.

30 Melchert 2004a: 148 n. 21 did not deny the possibility that Lyd. *eśa-* developed from **ēśa-* (< **Hónso-*) but put two question marks.

next candidate is Lyd. *weśfa-*. Its meaning is not assured but is possibly 'living'; the same is true for the etymologically related word *wśtaa-*. If the meaning is correct, *weśfa-* could stem from an older **h$_2$u̯es-u̯-o-*[31] and belong to Hitt. *huiswa-nt-* 'living'. The development leading to *wśtaa-* could have been: **h$_2$westó-* > **h$_2$westó-* > **hwstó-* > **wstá-*. If the syncope happened in an early period, a phonological development from **hws* to **ws* would not be unexpected. Lyd. *weśfa-* could then have lost its first consonant after *wśtaa-*. So neither *eśa-* nor *weśfa-* nor *wśtaa-* are counter-arguments against the assumed rule.

8 The Goddess Ἵπτα

A goddess Ἵπτα (originally Ἴπτα) appears in Greek inscriptions from Lydia, worshipped together with Zeus Sabazios.[32] This goddess is known as the nurse of Dionysos from the early Orphic Hymns.[33] Originally she stems from Hitt. **Hebuda-*, akkadographically *Hepat*. Her Semitic name was *Hebat*(*u*).[34] Later on she was incorporated into the Hittite pantheon, where she became the consort of the storm-god Tešup, this couple surely being the 'ancestors' of the couple *Ipta/Hipte* and Zeus (Sabazios). As Sabazios is not a genuine Lydian god, the same may be true for Hipta.[35] This divine couple came probably from Phrygia to Lydia. Therefore the name *Hipta* cannot be adduced as an argument against the assumed development of older Anatolian *h* to Lydian *k*. Nor does the aforementioned name of the Lydian god *Pakiwa-*, which was adopted as Βάκχος in Greek, constitute a counter-argument. In attempting to reconstruct it, one could, for example, assume a form **poh$_2$-i-wo-* 'guardian', but Βάκχος is a god of wine and not a shepherd god. The same would be true for a conceivable **b^{h}oh$_2$-i-wo-* 'radiant one' or 'orator'.[36] From a purely semantic perspective the root **pék-* 'enjoy' (Rix 2001: 467) could be adduced, however this is only attested in the neighboring languages Germanic and Baltic, which share many other "endemic" lexical elements and common innovations. Hence it is doubtful whether this **pék-* was part of the PIE original word stock. So thus far we

31 Cf. Gérard 2005: 41 with n. 167.

32 Cf. Heubeck 1959: 22, 63; de Hoz 1999: 40.19–21.

33 See Morand 2001: 174–181.

34 For the prehistory of *Hebat*(*u*) see Archi 1994.

35 Schürr (in preparation) suggests that *Ipta* (*Hipte*) may be borrowed from Luwian. Lycian has *Xba-* shown by *pddẽxba-* 'local Hebat'.

36 The **poh$_3$-i-wo-* 'drinker' approach would not be possible since intervocalic *h$_3$* would certainly not have given us *k*.

have no plausible Indo-European etymology for Lydian *Pakiwa-* nor any connection with the name of a god in any other Anatolian language. In my opinion *Pakiwa-* shares these qualities with three other gods, with the siblings Apollo and Artemis and their mother Leto.

9 The Result of *h_2 and *h_3 in Lydian

Among all the unsatisfactory interpretations of the name Artemis the best one is that which connects it with Gr. ἀρτεμής, which for this purpose is taken to mean 'unsullied' in the sense of 'virginal'.[37] Yet in the oldest instances of its use (Homer, Sappho) ἀρτεμής means 'safe and sound', i.e. having returned uninjured from a journey or a war. The idea that Artemis was so named as she was *virgo intacta* may derive from a later concept[38] and not apply for the second millennium BC of Greek Antiquity. As is Athene, another example, Artemis may be only virginal as her only other conceivable role would have been as a mother; as such she would not have been able to hunt using a bow and arrow any more than Athene would have been able to bear weapons. Hence the connection with ἀρτεμής is not very plausible. Coming to Apollo, he is usually considered Greek from the very beginning and his original function is assumed to have been 'lord of the assembly' (Doric ἀπέλλαι) or "lord of the contest". But it remains the fact that in the Iliad he is an archer, just like his sister Artemis. A further argument against a Greek origin for this god is the overwhelming religious position of Apollo, Artemis and Leto in Western Anatolia.[39] Families of deities should be considered together. Neither the Greek nor the Anatolian

37 This is the etymology of Peters 2002: 371, who also has a hardly plausible reading of the name of her mother Leto as The Hidden One.

38 E.g. that of Ovidius Naso.

39 Considering the eminent position of Apollo, Artemis and Leto in Western Anatolia, Lyd. *Qλdãn-* is probably the equivalent of Apollon, for it is him who appears often by the side of *Artimuś* (Artemis). Heubeck (1959: 21–24) guessed *Qλdãn-* to be the moon god because *Artemis Anaitis* is often combined with *Men* or (*Zeus*) *Sabazios* in Greek inscriptions of Lydia. But in my opinion these combinations may be younger and syncretistic, for *Anaitis* is Persian and the cults of *Men* and *Sabazios* may be due to Phrygian influence. See above for *Hipta*. The inscriptions written in Lydian may belong to a more conservative population group than those in Greek. Schürr (2011: 71ff. and in preparation) wants to identify *Qλdãn-* with the moon god because a seal showing halfmoon, winged sun of Persian type, two lions and the Lydian inscription *Qλdãnlim* has been found. But this does not prove the equation because the inscription may contain a personal name (of the possessor) that happened to be derived from the devine name *Qλdãn-*. For the etymology of *Qλdãn-* cf. Oettinger 2015: 137 n. 29 with lit.

(Indo-European) etymologies proposed for these three deities are convincing. A few years ago, I made the proposal that the names of Apollo, Artemis and Leto may be loans from a language of Western Asia Minor whose character was not Indo-European. In this language Apollon may have been called **Apeliōn* which name was borrowed during the second millennium by the inhabitants of Wilusa where it appears as *Appaliunas* and by the Mycenean Greeks. In Anatolia itself the name was later on replaced in different ways. The reason probably was the intensity of worship this god received in his homeland.[40] We thus have to face the possibility that Lydian had taken over the names of important gods from an unknown Western Anatolian language. It is possible that the name *Pakiwa-* stems from this language, too.

Hesychius lists also: ἀρφύτνον· ὁ δίσκος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν 'By the Lydians the disk is called *arphýtnon*.' This word has been etymologically connected with Hitt. *harp-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to change allegiance', which is possible in a semantic respect because the oldest meaning of the PIE root **h₃erbʰ-* probably was 'to turn'.[41] As Lat. *orbis* 'circle' can be derived from this root, a derivation of ἀρφύτνον 'disk' from **h₃(o)rbʰ-* is possible as well (Weiss 2006: 261). The only argument against this etymology is now that there is no trace of the word-initial laryngeal. On the other hand, ἀρφύτνον is the only real counter-argument against the supposed development of h_2 (and word-initial h_3) to *k* in Lydian, whereas the arguments in favor of the theory are comparatively numerous. Therefore ἀρφύτνον stands alone and its etymology is probably better abandoned.[42]

In a phonetic respect, the change from the voiceless pharyngeal ("laryngeal") h_2 to *k* is trivial. The pharyngeal h_3 was still preserved in Proto-Luwian, as shown by C.-Luw. *happinatta-* 'wealth',[43] whereas it disappeared in Lycian (*epirije-* 'sell', root **h₃ep-*). Lydian word-initial h_3- probably developed first to *g-* and, following a later general tendency of the Anatolian languages, to *k-*.

This assumption of the development of h_2 and h_3 in Lydian[44] has three advantages. First, it explains several words in a more economical way than previously. Second, it brings Lydian nearer to the general contemporary situation of West Anatolia where the shift from h_2 to *k* is common. Third, it augments the number of likely interferences and cultural relations between Lydians and Greeks.

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40 See Oettinger 2015.

41 For the meaning 'to change allegiance' see Melchert 2010.

42 Michael Weiss wrote to me per e-mail: "Of course, one could just dismiss the etymology" (February 7, 2017).

43 Cf. Melchert 1994a: 235: "prob. *happinatta-* 'wealth' < **hopen +*".

44 In all positions except the special developments discussed in §§ 6 and 7. I abandon my earlier view (Oettinger 2002).

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CHAPTER 6

In Search of the Holy Cube Roots: Kubaba—Kubeleya—Κύβεβος—Kufaws and the Problem of Ethnocultural Contact in Early Iron Age Anatolia

Rostislav Oreshko

1 Introduction: Peoples and Gods of the Early Iron Age Anatolia

1.1 *Old-Anatolian Traditions*

The religious landscape of Early Iron Age Anatolia (ca. 1000–400 BC) is for the most part shrouded in mist, so that only general outlines of its more prominent features can be discerned.[1] This is due first of all to the dearth of relevant sources written in the epichoric languages of the region: extant texts, if they mention divinities at all, give for the most part no clues about their nature, attributes or associated cult. Later Greek inscriptions coming from the region make up for this deficiency only insignificantly. The picture is relatively clearer only in the eastern part of the area, the territory of the so-called 'Neo-Hittite'—*de facto* late Luwian—states where the Hieroglyphic-Luwian writing was in use. Luwian inscriptions mention divine names quite often, sometimes also making references to different cult activities associated with them. Even if such mentions still mostly lack specific details, it is clear that the late Luwian religious tradition demonstrated no fundamental differences from that of the Hittites as attested in more numerous and detailed cuneiform texts dated several centuries earlier, although there certainly existed innumerable variations in local cults.[2]

1 The paper represents a separate part of a longer study dedicated to the Lydian religion which has resulted from my talk 'Gods of the Lydians, Greco-Lydian Contact and the Problem of Lydian Ethno-Linguistic Identity' at the conference which gave rise to the present volume. The original paper proved to be too long to be included in the volume in full and will be published elsewhere (cf. Oreshko forthcoming A). I express my thanks to Jan Bremmer who sent me his manuscript 'Kubaba, Kybele and Mater Magna: the long march of Anatolian goddesses to Rome', which, despite the differences in approach, provided me several additional references and helped to sharpen up argument in some places. I also express my warmest thanks to Stephen Durnford and to Hilary Painter who helped me improve the style of the text. Any remaining flaws are of course solely my own responsibility.

2 For an overview of Luwian religion see Hutter 2003. For a general overview of the Anatolian religious traditions of the Late Bronze Age see Taracha 2009 and Haas 1994.

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In a nutshell, the main god of the Luwians was, as in many other Indo-European traditions, the Storm-God, *Tarhuntas* (*Tarhunzas*), who appears to be both a *powerful* and a *popular* god, which is probably the most characteristic feature of all 'old-Anatolian' (Luwic, Hittite and Palaic) pantheons. Three other most important male divinities were the Sun-God *Tiwaz* (*Tiwad-*), the Moon-God *Armas* and the Tutelary Deity—represented usually in the form of a stag—*K*(*u*)*runt*(*iy*)*as*, known in Syria also under the name *Karhuhas* (originally apparently an independent deity). Somewhat less prominent positions were taken by *Šandas*, a War-and-Pestilence god, and *Iyas*, in all probability identical with the Mesopotamian *Enki-Ea*, the god of fresh waters, wisdom and crafts. The most important female deity of the Iron Age Luwians was *Kubaba*, a deity of Hurrian, more specifically North-Syrian origin (see in detail below), although the Late Bronze Age Hurrian goddess *Hebat* (late Luwian *Hibatus*) also still enjoyed popularity in some regions (as did her son Mountain-God *Šarrumas*).

However, when one crosses the western border of the Luwian area, the picture suddenly becomes much more blurred. To the south-west of it stretch the mountainous regions of Cilicia Trachea, Isauria, Pisidia, Lycia and Caria which were populated by peoples linguistically more or less closely related to the Luwians. To the west and north-west were situated the vast territories of the Phrygians and related peoples, who are commonly believed to have migrated to Anatolia from the Balkans only after the fall of the Hittite Empire around 1185 BC. Already for Southern Anatolia the evidence is barely sufficient to demonstrate even a general affinity of the religious traditions with the Luwian one, although one has good reason to expect it in view of the close linguistic ties between all Luwic peoples, expressed, *inter alia*, in the shared generic word for 'god' (Luw. *māssan*(*a/i*)-, Lyc. *mahana-*, Lyc. B *masa-*, Car. *mso-*/**msn-*). Direct evidence for Cilicia Trachea, Isauria and Pisidia is virtually non-existent, but some indirect evidence is provided by personal names, which show, for instance, that these regions shared with the eastern Luwian zone at least the cults of the Storm-God, the Moon-God and possibly of the Tutelary Deity.[3]

Lycian evidence is more substantial, but divine names are found in Lycian texts less frequently than in Luwian inscriptions and the texts provide even fewer clues about the nature of the deities mentioned.[4] However, it is clear

3 For theophoric personal names of Southern Anatolia see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 124–139, cf. Melchert 2013 for Luwic personal names in general. For observations on the religion in pre-Hellenistic Pisidia see Talloen et al. 2004 and for later periods Talloen 2015.

4 For an overview of Lycian gods see Neumann 1979, cf. also Bryce 1986: 172–202 (which is, however, in some respects outdated and often imprecise in details); for the situation in Roman Lycia cf. Frei 1990.

that the Lycian religious tradition was far from being identical with the Luwian one. The Storm-God (*Trqqñt-*, nom. *Trqqas* in Lycian A and *Trqqiz* in Lycian B) is well attested in Lycia, and onomastic evidence suggests that the Moon-God *Armas* enjoyed certain popularity,[5] but there are no hints whatsoever that either *K*(*u*)*runt*(*iy*)*as* or *Tiwaz* were known in Lycia. There are no evident correspondences in female deities either: the cult of the goddess *Malija*, identified with Greek Athene and known also from a few Hittite cuneiform texts, was known, besides Lycia, only in other parts of southern and western Anatolia (Pamphylia and Lydia),[6] but not in the eastern Luwian zone; the identity of the Lycian 'Mother'—who usually appears specified by the words 'of this precinct' (*ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi*)—is quite obscure.[7] The names of all other Lycian deities of likely Anatolian origin, such as *Heledi, Trbbãmara, Pddẽxba, Tesñmi* or *Xaxakba*, demonstrate no obvious correspondences outside Lycia (the only possible exception is *Natr*(*i*)-, cf. below, fn. 11).[8] Besides that, there is evidence that Lycia shared the cult of several deities, such as *Padrita/Pedrita* ~ Aphrodite or *Ertemi* ~ Artemis, with the Aegean.

About the religion of the Carians we have again very little concrete evidence.[9] Only the Storm-God *Trq*(*u*)*δ* is directly attested in a few Carian inscriptions (C.Hy 1, C.Ia 3 and possibly C.Ki 1), which confirms that the cult of this deity played as important a role in Caria as it did elsewhere in the Luwic zone.[10]

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5 For a recent detailed study of the Lycian (and other South-Anatolian) names containing the theophoric element *Arm-/Erm-* see Balzat 2014.

6 For identification of *Malja* in the Pisidian corpus see Schürr 1997: 138 and Pérez Orozco 2003: 106, cf. Rizza 2019; for Lycian *Malija* see recently Serangeli 2015 with further refs.; for *Μαλιš* in the Lydian inscription from Pergamon (LW 40) see Payne—Sasseville 2016.

7 Given the prominence of *Matar*, the Phrygian Mountain Mother, in the whole of Central Anatolia, as well as in Pisidia (see below), the identity of Lycian *ẽni* with this goddess represents a reasonable possibility. For a different view (~ Greek Leto) see recently Schürr 2020.

8 Contra Neumann (2007: s.v. *pddẽxba*), it is improbable that *Pddẽxba* means 'local Hebat'. It is very unlikely that the *Hurrian* goddess could somehow find her way into Lycia, and from a linguistic point of view such an interpretation of the compound is very dubious. Rather, the second part of the name *-xba-* represents a contracted form of the Lycian word for 'river' attested in the verb *xba*(*i*)- 'irrigate' and corresponding to Luw. *ḫāba/i-* 'river'. The deity is thus probably a river divinity.

9 For a recent overview of the evidence on the Carian pantheon and associated questions see Debord 2009, summarizing and somewhat updating the classical work on the Carian cults by Laumonier 1958; cf. Adiego 2007: 331–332 for the indigenous Carian evidence on three principal deities (but cf. below).

10 Cf. recently Adiego 2020: 22. It is noteworthy that Τουβασσις which recently came to light in a Greek inscription from Pidasa (see Kızıl et al. 2015, cf. Simon 2016) represents probably not the name of a separate deity, but merely an epithet of the Carian Zeus. Simon 2016

Onomastic evidence seems to suggest that the Moon-God *Armas* was popular in Caria too, but the only possible Carian attestation of the name, *armo* in C.Hy 1 has now proved to mean simply 'month' (see Adiego 2020: 18–19, 22, 26). The third important Carian deity is *Natr-* whom the evidence of the Letoon Trilingual (PN *Natr-bbijẽmi* = Ἀπολλό-δοτος) allows to be identified with Apollo. The deity is also attested as *Natr*(*i*)- in the Lycian B part of the Xanthos Trilingual (TL 44d: 33 and 48), which may imply that his cult was spread in Lycia too.[11] Lastly, the Letoon Trilingual provides evidence on two further Carian divinities, *ArKKazuma* and the 'Kaunian King' (*xñtawati: Xbidẽñni*), whose identities are obscure. Both Lycian and Carian pantheons were thus quite distinct from that of the Luwians, retaining, however, the general structural characteristics of what can be called the common Luwic pantheon.

1.2 *Phrygian Tradition*

However fragmentary the evidence on the western Luwic religion may seem, the picture of the Phrygian pantheon appears to be even sketchier than that.

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convincingly connected the Carian word with the common verb *tub*(*a*)*i-* 'strike, attack', adducing as a parallel HLuw. derivative *tubassa/i-* (TOPADA § 18) which likely means either 'battle' or something else warlike. This semantic association with war/battle is very reminiscent of the functions of the Anatolian Storm-God, and it is possible that the name of this deity was in fact present in the inscription. There are no special reasons to think that the end of line 15 was empty, and one may suggest a restoration Τουβασσιο[ς/υ Διός] which, as far as one can see, perfectly fits into the available space (cf. fig. 4 in Kızıl et al. 2015: 375 and observations on p. 389). It is further tempting to see in Ζεύς Τουβασσις (or Τουβασσιος) a hybrid (Greek-Carian) name corresponding to the common Ζεύς Στράτιος 'Warlike Zeus' or 'Zeus of the Army' who had a major cult center at Labraunda (cf. Hdt. 5.119 and Str. 14.2.23) located just 30 km to the east of Pidasa. It is noteworthy that the interpretation of abl.-instr. *tubassadi* in TOPADA § 18 as 'with (my) army' or 'with (my) troops' fits somewhat better into the context, since for 'in battle' one would rather expect dat.-loc.sg. (**tubassi*).

11 The status of *Natr*(*i*)- in Lycia is not quite clear. In the Letoon Trilingual *Natrbbijẽmi* is the name of one of the two archons installed by the Carian dynast Pixodaros in Lycia, thus possibly a Carian name. One of the two attestations of the name in the Lycian B part of the Xanthos Trilingual (TL 44d: 47–48), *Turaxssa*[*l*]*i: Natri*, likely refers to 'Apollo of Mount Thorax', a mountain located close to Mykale in Ionia which is mentioned also as *Turaxssi* in the Lycian A part (44a: 54). The other (TL 44d: 33) seems to provide no identifiable geographic clues, and in principle it is not excluded that the passage deals with Lycian *Natri* [Schürr's (2016: 172 and 187) interpretation of *trujeli*, which appears in the following line (44d: 34) and further in l. 59, as 'Trojan' is just a guess, and, even if it does mean 'Trojan', its connection with *Natri-* in l. 33 is not obvious and rather unlikely: an appearance of a 'Trojan Apollo'—a Homeric figure *par excellence*—in Lycia around 400 BC would be rather odd]. Moreover, it is possible that the deity is also found in a further Lycian inscription: as suggested elsewhere (Oreshko forthcoming B, fn. 61), the name of *Natri-* can be restored at the end of line 1 (*Ṇ*[*atri-ti*]) in the bilingual (Lycian-Greek) dedication to Apollo TL 25. This still does not prove the Lycian 'citizenship' of *Natri-*, but makes it somewhat likelier.

Old-Phrygian inscriptions present clear evidence for the cult of only one deity, *Matar* whose epithet *kubeleya* (*kubileya*) attested in a few Phrygian inscriptions was the source of Greek Κυβέλη.[12] As far as one can judge from the available evidence, the defining characteristic of the Phrygian goddess was her connection with *mountains* and *wild animals*. As Μήτηρ ὀρεία, the Mountain Mother, she is the mistress of the wild mountainous landscapes and the protectress and nurturer of the wild animals inhabiting them. An essential feature of her cult was its *orgiastic* character, which was strongly associated with music produced by pipes and cymbals and with ecstatic dancing. The Phrygian Great Mother played an extremely important role in Early Iron Age Central Anatolia, and her cult spread apparently beyond the core Phrygian area into the regions populated by other peoples (as it later did into the eastern and central Mediterranean), for instance, into Luwic Pisidia.[13]

However, the impression that the early Phrygians were devotees of only one deity is clearly only an aberration created in part by the inadequate representation of different genres in the Old-Phrygian corpus and in part by the difficulties of reading and interpreting the texts. Both later inscriptions in Phrygian (the so-called 'New Phrygian' inscriptions) and those, much more abundant, composed in Greek provide some further clues about Phrygian religion.[14] There can be little doubt that the Storm-God, whose Phrygian name was probably **Tiụs*, was a rather prominent figure in the Phrygian pantheon too, as the deity is regularly mentioned in the New-Phrygian inscriptions, and the cult of Zeus is widely attested by Greek inscriptions from Phrygia.[15] Another important deity was the Moon-God, attested once under his Phrygian name *Mas* in a New-Phrygian inscription (Nr. 48), but much more frequently found under

12 For epigraphical evidence on the goddess (in Anatolia) see Vermaseren 1987 and for a collection of visual material see Naumann 1983. A fundamental study of the goddess' functions is Roller 1999, cf. Lane 1996.

13 For the cult of the Phrygian Mother in Pisidia cf. Talloen at al. 2006.

14 For Phrygian cults in the Roman period see Drew-Bear—Naour 1990.

15 For Phrygian evidence on the cult of **Tiụs* see Lubotsky 2004 and Oreshko 2019: 221–222. For an attempt to identify the deity in cultic monuments of the Old-Phrygian period cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2004. However, the idea of Berndt-Ersöz to see in *Ata* a nickname of Zeus meaning 'father' is not very convincing: there are no contexts which could suggest that the frequently attested *Ata*(*s*) is something other than a personal name corresponding to Ἀτ(τ)ας and Ἀτ(τ)ης well attested in later Greek inscriptions from Phrygia and beyond, just as *Ate*(*s*) corresponds to Ἀτ(τ)ις (cf. also Obrador-Cursach 2017: 315–316). It is noteworthy that the reading of the initial part of W-10 as *atai*, which plays a role in Berndt-Ersöz's argumentation, is probably false: there seems to be no A before the first T, and the beginning of the inscription should be read rather as *taṭ edaeṣ* 'This dedicated …'.

his Greek name Μήν.[16] It is noteworthy that Phrygia shared the cult of this deity with Lydia (cf. below on *Qalijãns*). Another deity attested in several New-Phrygian inscriptions, but possibly found already in an Old-Phrygian text (T-02b) is *Bas* (acc.sg. *Batan*).[17] The identity and even sex of the deity remain unclear.[18] Lastly, the Phrygian text of the Vezirhan stele (B-05) dated probably to ca. 400 BC mentions a goddess **Artimis* (gen. *Artimitos*).[19] Judging from the image in the upper part of the stele, which represents a goddess of the πότνια θηρῶν type, this Phrygian **Artimis* stood much closer to *Artimus*, the main goddess of the neighboring Lydia (for whom see below), than to Greek Ἄρτεμις. Although the state of evidence about the Phrygian religion leaves much to be desired, it is clear that it represented an entirely independent and original tradition in many respects contrasted with the old-Anatolian one. This follows first of all from the presence of a *female* deity at the head of the pantheon and the general orgiastic character of her cult, for which one finds no parallels whatever in the Hittite or Luwic tradition, and is further enhanced by the clear Aegean-Balkan links of two further deities, **Artimis* and *Mas*. In fact, even the name of the Storm-God **Tiu̯s*, which has direct linguistic counterparts first of all in Greek (Ζεύς) and Italic (*Jovis*/*Jū-piter*), suggests that the Phrygian Storm-God might be not quite identical with his Anatolian colleague *Tarhuntas*. Although some influence of the substratum Anatolian tradition on the Phrygian one would be possible on general grounds, at present there is hardly any tangible evidence to prove it.[20] The situation in the areas to the north of Phrygia proper, Paphlagonia and Bithynia, are not entirely clear, but both some onomastic correspondences between Phrygia and these regions and finds of Phrygian texts (as the Vezirhan stele mentioned above) in the territories geographically belonging to Bithynia imply with some probability

16 For the cult of the Moon-God see Lane 1990 and Labarre 2009 with further refs.

17 For a recent discussion of the evidence on the deity see Obrador-Cursach 2017, cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: s.v. βας.

18 The etymological connection of the name *Bas* with Greek φῶς 'light' and its interpretation as an epithet of the Storm-God **Tiu̯s* proposed by Obrador-Cursach (2017) do not seem to me entirely convincing. Although the extant evidence is insufficient to say something definitive about *Bas* beyond his/her possible connection with *bekos* 'bread', which leaves many possibilities open—with 'Earth' being still the most obvious one—the assumption that *Bas* and *Tiu̯s*, both attested in contemporary New-Phrygian inscriptions, were simply the same deity seems implausible.

19 For the text see Brixhe 2004: 42–67.

20 Thus contra Hutter 2006 and Strobel 2010 who claim a general 'Anatolian' character of the Phrygian religion. All the evidence adduced by the authors may speak at best for a general *typological* similarity of some features rather than a *genetic* affinity.

that these areas stood in a cultural and ethnolinguistic sense close to Phrygia sharing with it also essential characteristics of their religious tradition(s) (cf. below).

1.3 *Lydian Tradition*

If the principal difficulty with defining the Phrygian religious tradition is the dearth of direct evidence, the main problem with the Lydian religion lies in a different plane. Unlike the Phrygians, the Lydians are commonly defined on the basis of linguistic evidence as an *Anatolian* people and thus the direct relatives of the Hittites, Palaians and the Luwic peoples. Accordingly, the Lydian religious tradition is often considered to be *by definition* genetically related to the old-Anatolian one. This preconception regarding ethnolinguistic identity of the Lydians made one either completely overlook many highly peculiar *non*-Anatolian features of the Lydian religion which can be glimpsed in the disparate but still quite suggestive evidence of the Lydian inscriptions or explain them *grosso modo* as relatively late *borrowings* from the Greek tradition.[21] However, the common definition of Lydian as an Anatolian language rather drastically oversimplifies the intriguing complexity of Lydian linguistic realities: along with some features which can indeed be defined as 'Anatolian'—on which one naturally used to focus the principal comparative effort—the language arguably demonstrates many highly original traits which find no correspondences in other Anatolian languages and cannot be derived from a putative proto-Anatolian ancestor.[22] Taking into account the *whole* picture, Lydian appears to be a *mixed* language, combining Anatolian and non-Anatolian features; a rather significant amount of the latter may even suggest that Lydian is in its origin a non-Anatolian language with some Anatolian substratum influence (rather than an Anatolian one with a superstratum admixture). On the other hand, the idea of *borrowing* deities from Greece in its turn oversimplifies the sociolinguistic realities of Greek-Lydian cultural contact, effectively ignoring the questions of *when*, *how* and, most importantly, *why* a specific deity should be taken over from the Greeks. In fact, looking at the Lydian religion without prejudice, one can observe a situation rather similar to that observed in the language: the Lydian pantheon appears to include both native Lydian (non-Anatolian) divinities and Anatolian gods; the latter, however, always take secondary positions. Referring the reader to a more detailed treatment elsewhere (cf. Oreshko forthcoming A), one may sketch out the picture as follows.

21 Cf. Greenewalt 2010, Payne—Wintjes 2016: 96–108, Högemann—Oettinger 2018: 74–77.

22 The problem of the linguistic status of Lydian will be addressed in detail in a special publication, summarizing the evidence previously presented in several talks.

Similarly to the situation in Phrygia, at the head of the Lydian pantheon stood a female deity, called here *Artimus*. Both the name of the goddess and some of her features, such as a general association with *wild nature*, are similar to those of Greek Artemis. However, *Artimus* cannot be a Greek import, since both her position in the pantheon and her nature fundamentally differ from those of the Greek goddess, more closely corresponding rather to those of Phrygian *Matar Kubeleya*. In all probability, Greek Ἄρτεμις and Lydian *Artimus* (as well as Phrygian **Artimis*) are *independent* reflexes of an old goddess of an Aegean-Balkan origin. The main male god of the Lydian pantheon and the probable consort of *Artimus* is *Qalijãns*,[23] who can now be securely identified as a Moon-God (and not as Apollo, as sometimes assumed earlier). *Lews* (or *Lefs*) corresponds in all probability to Greek Ζεύς and Phrygian **Tiu̯s*, but the phonetic form and the general sociolinguistic situation in Lydia again give no special reasons to think that it is a Greek borrowing—rather, Lydian *Lews* is a native reflex of PIE **deiu̯ós* (which gave also Lat. *deus*). It is noteworthy that the position of *Lews* in the Lydian pantheon was, as far as one can see, far less prominent than that of *Tarhuntas* in the old-Anatolian pantheons. Likewise, there are no compelling reasons to see in Lydian *Lamẽtrus* simply the result of a relatively late introduction of the cult of Greek Δημήτηρ in Lydia: as in other cases, the two names may be rather taken as evidence that Lydian and Greek religions have the same common roots in the ancient Aegean-Balkan tradition. Another intriguing figure of the Lydian pantheon is *Pakiš* whose name corresponds to Greek Βάκχος. Again, there is every reason to see in *Pakiš* and Βάκχος *independent* reflexes of a common Aegean-Balkan orgiastic cult of the *'Frenzy God'*, with which the cult of Cybele in Phrygia has some striking similarities. This host of non-Anatolian gods of the Lydian pantheon is contrasted with a few deities who arguably have Anatolian roots. These are *Sãntas*, the minor demon-like figures *Mariwjas* accompanying *Sãntas*, and *Malìš* corresponding to Greek Athene (cf. above). Except *Sãntas*, who is found in several texts, these deities are found only once in the Lydian corpus and it is very difficult to reach a judgment about their real role and significance in the Lydian cult. In fact, it is not excluded that even in these three cases we are dealing not with real borrowing of deities with their cults, but only with transfer of their *names*. For instance, there is some doubt that *Sãntas* conceals exactly the same god as Luwian *Šandas*; rather, it may be a figure closer to Greek *Herakles* (with whom *Šandas* was identified elsewhere in Anatolia), whose cult in Lydia is suggested by a number

23 In Oreshko 2019 I argued that the Lydian letter traditionally transliterated as ⟨d⟩ should have rendered a palatal glide *i̯* and be transliterated accordingly as ⟨j⟩. This transliteration will be followed in the present paper.

of clues, as, e.g., the tradition about *Herakles* and *Omphale*. Whatever the true situation, given the clear non-Anatolian character of the principal Lydian gods, the simplest assumption would be that these *Luwic* names—with or without the divinities associated with them—were adopted into the Lydian tradition from one of the neighboring Luwic peoples, most probably the Carians.

Lastly, one can identify in the Lydian pantheon a further female divinity called *Kufaws* or *Kuwaws* who is attested in two Lydian inscriptions and mentioned by Herodotus (5.102.1) as Κυβήβη. Although her name closely corresponds to that of *Kubaba*, the goddess of the Iron Age Luwians, which might suggest that we are dealing with a case similar to *Sãntas*, *Mariwjas* and *Malíš*, the assumption that the cult of *Kubaba* represents a *borrowed* cult in Lydia proves to contain at a closer glance a serious inconsistency. *Kubaba* is not a *pan*-Luwic deity, but a goddess of the *late Luwian* states adopted from the Hurrian milieu of Northern Syria at a quite late date and thus it is not clear *how* and *why* her cult could be transferred to Lydia, somehow 'skipping' the territory of Phrygia. In fact, the goddess appears to represent a special and rather intriguing case, a component of a much larger complex of issues, which is the principal focus of the present inquiry.

2 The 'Cube Goddesses' of Anatolia

2.1 *The Polymorphous 'Cube-Names'*

A close correspondence of the names of *Kufaws* and *Kubaba* is not the only example of the (quasi-)homonymy among the goddesses attested in different parts of Anatolia. Another famous case is the similarity of the name of North-Syrian-Luwian *Kubaba* and Phrygian (*Matar*) *Kubeleya* > Κυβέλη (Κύβελη, Κύβελις), on which the claim about the *identity* of the two goddesses was earlier based (and still found even in some recent works).[24] Seen 'from outside', the similarity between the names of two goddesses attested in the neighboring regions of Anatolia at roughly the same time seems to be striking indeed. However, as argued by Roller (1999: 44–53) and more recently once again by Hutter (2006: 82, 84, cf. also Strobel 2010: 32), the evidence which we have on both goddesses gives no reason to speak about perceptible similarities in their nature or attributes, and some parallels in the iconography of Cybele and *Kubaba*—in general, not too striking—*may* at best speak for some influence from the Luwian ('Neo-Hittite') artistic style in Phrygia. Importantly, there is

24 Cf. Haas 1994: 408–409, Wittke 2004: 238, Munn 2008 or Greenewalt 2010.

every reason to recognize in *kubeleya* a *native* Phrygian word (Brixhe 1979), and thus the onomastic similarity between the names of *Kubaba* and Κυβέλη should be explained as coincidental (for further observations on *kubeleya* see below). Next, a fragmentary Hieroglyphic-Luwian inscription found several years ago in the region of ancient Metropolis in Ionia (KARAKUYU-TORBALI) produced evidence for a goddess referred to as '(Divine) Great Queen' (DEUS … MAGNUS.DOMINA) whose name, as far as one can see, begins with syllable *Ku-*.[25] Given the probable early dating of the inscription (13th–12th c. BC), one of the possible restorations of the goddess' name would be *Kubanda-*, which is attested as an onomastic element of several Late Bronze Age names in cuneiform transmission with likely west-Anatolian associations. If the identification of *Kubanda-* as a west-Anatolian goddess is right—which is impossible to verify at present—one obtains one more Anatolian goddess with a name beginning with the element *kuba-*. However, an alternative and probably somewhat simpler possibility would be to see in the name of this 'Great Queen', attested basically within the limits of the ethnolinguistic territory of the historical Lydians, a direct linguistic predecessor of Lydian *Kufaws* (i.e. **KubawVs* or **KubabVs* or the like). This would mean that the cult of the Lydian *Kufaws* was present in western Anatolia already in Late Bronze Age, which would make the hypothesis of a borrowing from the Luwian area even less probable: at that time *Kubaba* was merely an ordinary local divinity of Karkemish (cf. below). Lastly—as if the number of the polymorphous '*cube*-names' were not enough—recent excavations at ancient Amisos in Paphlagonia (mod. Samsun) have brought to light a sanctuary dedicated to a goddess Κυβηβος, as suggested by the graffiti found there.[26] The name seems to correspond nearly exactly to *Kubaba*. The question is, however, *how* the cult of the goddess of the eastern Luwian zone could reach the Greek colony on the northern coast of Asia Minor which is separated from it by a wide swath of the non-Luwian territory which from an ethnolinguistic or cultural point of view was, as far as one can see, completely different. The new finds from Amisos featuring Κυβηβος thus even further exacerbate the problem already implicitly present in the case of *Kufaws-Kubaba*, as pointed out above, and raise an important question about whether a phonetic correspondence between names, however striking it may seem, is enough to claim such a serious thing as adoption of the cult of a deity, which involves building temples, organizing ritual activities and carving out a place in the local pantheon and theological system. Can this similarity be as misleading as it is in the case of

25 For the readings see Oreshko 2013: 373–386 and 409–413.

26 See Şirin—Kolağasıoğlu 2016, cf. below for further details. I express my thanks to Ian Rutherford who attracted my attention to this important evidence.

Kubaba-Cybele? Or could it still reflect some more profound cultural links between different regions of Anatolia which hitherto have gone unnoticed? The observations put forward below aim first of all to survey the available evidence on all the '*Cube Goddesses*' using an ethnolinguistic approach and to suggest possible alternative ways of looking at things, rather than to propose a definite solution of the issue, which seems at present hardly attainable.

2.2 Kubaba

The principal evidence concerning *Kubaba* is well known and was a subject of several special studies.[27] As far as scattered Late Bronze Age evidence lets us judge, *Kubaba* has her roots in the *Hurrian* religious milieu of Northern Syria and Kizzuwadna. Her Hurrian roots can be glimpsed even in some late Luwian inscriptions which combine her name with the title *ala-* ((FEMINA)*á-lá/í-*), the Hurrian word for 'Mistress'.[28] Basing first of all on the late Luwian evidence, one traditionally identifies her as the city-goddess of Karkemish on the Euphrates. However, Hutter (2017: 114–115) pointed out that the evidence of Hittite texts associated with Kizzuwadnean cultic milieu, and texts from Alalakh suggests that the cult of *Kubaba* was originally spread wider than usually thought: besides Karkemish, she was known also in Mukish/Alalakh, Ugarit and probably even Kizzuwadna (Plain Cilicia).[29] This is quite possible, as the association of a deity exclusively with one city is a rare phenomenon. And yet, the early cuneiform evidence does not disprove the idea that Karkemish was her *principal* cult center already in the earliest times, as the texts do not indicate a connection of the deity with any other particular city. Nor does the evidence actually suggest that her cult spread from Alalakh (or Amuq Plain) to Karkemish: the relatively earlier attestation of *Kubaba* in theophoric personal names in the texts from Alalakh VII (17th–16th centuries BC) is probably due

27 A classical, but now in part outdated, treatment of *Kubaba* and her connection with Cybele is Laroche 1960. For discussion of HLuw. evidence see Hawkins 1981, cf. Hawkins 1980–1983; for the most recent discussion see Hutter 2017. For the iconography of the goddess see Bittel 1981–1983, cf. Marchetti—Peker 2018, esp. 90–94.

28 Cf. BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10 and BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 1, 8, 20; ANCOZ 1, § 2; ANCOZ 5, l. 1 and ANCOZ 7, § 4.

29 It is noteworthy that there are no mentions of Kubaba in Urartian inscriptions, which implies that the goddess did not belong to the common Hurro-Urartian pantheon. The presence of Kubaba's cult in north-western Iran allegedly brought there via Urartian intermediary in the early 1st millennium claimed by Posani (2014: 553–557) appears highly dubious. Contra Posani, the available onomastic evidence does not suggest any special popularity of *Kubaba*-names in the north-eastern provinces of the Assyrian Empire. On the other hand, there is absolutely no certainty that the name ^{1}*Kù*$^{!}$-KÁ-*sa-tar* mentioned in SAA 5, 203: 10 belongs to a 'Median prince', as the scarce context reveals nothing about ethnic identity of the person.

only to chance. The consort of the goddess was the Stag-God *Karhuhas*, the principal male deity of Karkemish, as the two deities are found side by side in the majority of texts.[30] A few cases when *Kubaba* is associated with other male deities, such as the Sun-God or the Storm-God, reflect rather an appeal for help addressed to the principal male and the principal female deities of the Luwian pantheon.[31] It should be stressed that the claim that *Kubaba* is associated with *Šandas*, which goes back to an article by Bossert (1932) and is still sporadically found in some works (e.g., Haas 1994: 408), is absolutely unfounded. There is only one passage in which the two deities appear together, BEIRUT, § 3, and this is nothing more than a coincidental juxtaposition in a list, since *Kubaba* is here obviously connected with the preceding *Karhuhas* and not the following *Šandas*.

As for the nature of *Kubaba*, there are very few reliable indications. Iconographically, her only attested attributes are a *pomegranate* (or possibly a *spindle*) and a *mirror*. These may hint at her association with *femininity*, but hardly lead any further. Contra to earlier assumptions (cf. Posani 2014: 555), there is no firm evidence for identifying Kubaba with *Ištar*, the Mesopotamian War-and-Love Goddess, as a passage of one of the Succession Treaties of Esarhaddon which gave rise to this idea should be restored differently.[32] The idea of Laroche (1960: 123) following Bossert that *Kubaba*'s mirror associates her with the Goddesses of Destiny and with the Netherworld is intriguing, but is impossible to substantiate at present. A somewhat more reliable clue about her nature is offered by the standard writing of her name with an ideogram/logogram for a bird ((DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa*-). It is likely that the presence of AVIS in the name of *Kubaba* hints at her bird-like nature, just as ideogram CERVUS_2 used in the name of *Karhuhas* points to his stag-like nature.[33] The identity of the bird is, however, not quite clear. Some clearer forms of the sign depict her with a curved beak and distinctive talons, which identifies her as a *bird of prey*.[34]

30 Cf. KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 13; KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 9; KARKAMIŠ A14b: § 4; KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 7, 26; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 9, 16, 25; KARKAMIŠ A12, § 3; KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 7; KARKAMIŠ A25a, § 6; KARKAMIŠ A25b, § 3; KARKAMIŠ Stone Bowl, § 1; CEKKE § 24; MALATYA 13; ANCOZ 1 § 2; ANCOZ 5, l. 1; ANCOZ 7, § 4; BABYLON 2, § 4a; BEIRUT § 3; TELL AHMAR 6, § 2.

31 *Kubaba* is associated with the Sun-God on two seals (the BOROWSKI seal and the DELAPORTE seal) and with the Storm-God on the PORADA seal, KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 4, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 23 and BULGARMADEN § 4.

32 For restoration ^{D}Kù-KÁ ^{D}K[ar-ḫu-ḫa] instead of earlier ^{D}Kù-KÁ ^{D}I[5] see Lauinger 2012: 119.

33 E.g., KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18b: (DEUS)CERVUS_2+*ra/i-ḫu-ḫa-*, cf. further Hawkins 2000: 106–107.

34 For the form of the sign see, e.g. KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4 (Hawkins 2000: pl. 20). The bird is definitively not a 'dove' as suggested, e.g., in Haas 1994: 408.

This identification agrees well with invocations addressed to *Kubaba* to 'harass' somebody or 'eat up his eyes and feet'. It is, however, noteworthy that a bird never appears with the images of *Kubaba*. On the other hand, *Kubaba* does not have any *strong* or *specific* connection with wild animals. Her iconographic association with lions may be due simply to her role as a tutelary deity of a city and to symbolic association with the king, as argued by Collins (2004: 88–90), and is thus no more a telling feature than, for instance, association of the Storm-God with a bull. An association of *Kubaba* with *fish* claimed by Radner (2005) on the basis of an alleged spelling of her name as $^{D}KU_6$ is not supported by any Luwian evidence and appears rather dubious.[35] Crucially, neither texts nor images of *Kubaba* betray any connection with mountains or imply that she was thought to be a πότνια θηρῶν, which are the defining characteristics of Cybele.[36]

As for the Anatolian chapter of the history of *Kubaba*, she became known in Anatolia already quite early, being adopted, along with dozens of other Hurrian deities, into the Hittite state pantheon following the full political integration of Kizzuwadna and Northern Syria into the Hittite Empire in the second part of the 14th century BC. In Hatti she remained, however, manifestly a marginal figure. For instance, she is absent from the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near Hattusa which represents all significant deities of the Hurrianized state pantheon of the 13th century BC. Only in the early 1st millennium BC did the cult of *Kubaba* spread in the territory of the late Luwian principalities of south-eastern and central Anatolia. However, as far as one can see, it never crossed the western or northern borders of Tabal: the westernmost points in which *Kubaba* is attested are defined by HLuw. inscriptions KARABURUN, ÇIFTLIK and BUL-

35 The evidence for the connection of *Kubaba* with 'fish' is based on a single badly broken text (Būrmarīna 3, rev. 4, see Radner 2005: 547). Even if one accepts the restoration of the divine determinative before the sign $ḪA/KU_6$ and agrees that it is a deity to whom the money should be paid, the evidence of the spelling does *not* prove any semantic connection between Kubaba and fish. If $^{D}KU_6$ is indeed a 'Divine Fish', then there is no reason to think that the *Sumerian* phonetic reading of the sign as *ku* has any connection with the phonetic reading of the name of the Syrian deity, whatever it may be. If the sign is still used in the phonetic reading KU_6, it might in theory be an abbreviated (and/or playful) spelling of the name *Kubaba*, but then it hardly has anything to do with 'fish'. On the other hand, there is no certainty that Atargatis/Dea Syria attested much later has any connection with *Kubaba*. It is noteworthy that the name of the deity is now directly (i.e. not as a part of a PN) attested in the new version of the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon from Tell Tayinat (VI 50) in the spelling ^{D}*Kù*-KÁ (i.e. ^{D}*Kù-bābu*), which also corrects the reading in another manuscript of the same text (see Lauinger 2012: 102 and 119), and in the new inscription of Sargon II from Karkemish (l. 31′) spelled ^{D}*Gu*-KÁ (i.e. ^{D}*Gu-bābu*, see Marchesi 2019: 6, cf. 20).

36 Cf. already Hutter 2017: 118–120.

GARMADEN, which all lie close to the western border of Tabal. This later spread of the cult of *Kubaba*, who appears to be a rather ordinary divinity, represents a puzzling phenomenon. In the lack of evidence about the nature of the goddess or details of the political history of the region, the most plausible explanation would probably be that the intermixture of the Hurrian and Luwian population following the fall of the Hittite Empire led to the appearance of a Hurrian-Luwian pantheon common to the entire 'Late Luwian' cultural area.[37]

2.3 *Matar Kubeleya,* Κυβέλη *and* κορυβάντες

The principal features of the Phrygian great goddess have already been outlined above: she is, first of all, the Mountain Mother, the mistress of the mountains and protectress of the wild animals. Her nature was thus quite different from that of the North-Syrian *Kubaba*, the bird-like patron of Karkemish. However, the crucial evidence proving that behind the similarity of the names of *Kubeleya* and *Kubaba* stands nothing other than chance correspondence comes from linguistics. Despite the similarity of their names, it is fairly impossible to propose any linguistically plausible explanation for the difference in the final parts within the scenario of a relatively *recent borrowing*.[38] Moreover, if the origin and the meaning of *Kubaba*'s name remains obscure, it is possible to explain the name of Cybele as a genuine Phrygian formation, as was long ago suggested by Brixhe (1979). Now it seems possible to go a step further in explaining the linguistic structure of *kubeleya*. Brixhe suggested that the combination *Matar Kubeleya* (*Kubileya*) may represent a Phrygian counterpart of Μήτηρ ὀρεία frequently attested in the later Greek texts from Phrygia, which would mean that the underlying noun **kubel*(*e*)*-/kubil*(*e*)- may be a Phrygian word for 'mountain'. In an earlier publication (Oreshko 2013 [2015]: 82–86), I doubted this interpretation on the grounds that root **kubel*(*e*)- seems to find no correspondences in the words for 'mountain' in other Indo-European languages and proposed instead that the epithet *kubeleya* refers to a specific place, Κύβελον or Κύβελα, the mountain range above Pessinous (or a part of it). However, it *is* possible to suggest a plausible cognate for the underlying root, which establishes its ties with Greek and in general with the Aegean-Balkan area. One may connect **kubel-/kubil-* with the root seen in Greek κεφαλή 'head, top, extremity', assuming that the original semantics of the Phrygian root was more specific

37 Contra some earlier claims (e.g., Laroche 1960: 122 or Hutter 2003: 272), there is no evidence speaking for any form of *political* influence of Karkemish in Tabal, which might allegedly favor the spread of *Kubaba*'s cult in the region.

38 For critics of Munn's (2008) attempt to derive *kubeleya* from *Kubaba* see Oreshko 2013 [2015]: 82.

than simply 'mountain', namely, 'mountain summit'. The metaphoric use of the word for 'head' as referring to 'mountain summit' is quite common and has numerous parallels in other Indo-European languages, cf. Greek κάρη, as in κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου (Hes. *Th.* 42), Old-Indic *śiras-* 'head, top, summit' or Armenian *sar* 'tip, end, summit of a mountain; mountain' < PIE **kŕh₂-e/os-* 'head'.[39] Greek κεφαλή is usually connected with Germanic words for 'skull' (OHG *gebal* and *gibilla*) and 'front' (OHG *gibil* and Go. *gibla*) and with Tocharian A word for 'head' (*śpāl*) and reconstructed accordingly as **ǵʰebʰ-a-l-* (with *-a-* representing probably an epenthetic vowel).[40] Assuming that the dissimilatory process responsible for the stage **kʰepʰ-* > *kepʰ-* in Greek (Grassmann's law) was operative also in Phrygian, and taking into consideration the Phrygian development of PIE **bʰ-* to *b* and its likely devoicing of PIE voiced stops,[41] an expected Phrygian counterpart of κεφαλή would be **keb(a)l-ā* (< **geb(a)l-ā* < **gebʰ(a)l-ā*). Two very similar forms, κεβαλή and κεβλή, are in fact found in Macedonian, a language which arguably shares a number of important phonetic developments with Phrygian. Given the variation κεβαλή/κεβλή and the non-etymologic nature of -α- in κεφαλή, *i/e* of the second syllable of Phryg. **kube/il-ā* can be naturally explained as reflecting different realizations of the same epenthetic vowel. A somewhat more serious difficulty is the *u*-vocalism of the first syllable of **kubel-ā* instead of the expected *e*. One may propose two alternative explanations for this deviation. Assuming that Phrygian **kubel-ā* was oxytone, like the Macedonian and the Greek forms, one may assume that *e* > *u* is due to purely phonetic process: the unstressed *e* of the first syllable lost its close-mid realization and developed to a front rounded vowel before the following bilabial *b* (possibly through the stage of *ə*). However, it is more probable that the process also involved some analogical rebuilding. The likely model for the *u*-vocalism may be identified in another word for 'head' attested in Greek as κύβη or κύμβη, which is of possible substratum Aegean-Balkan origin. Possible further cognates of the latter are κύμβαχος 'falling head-first' and 'crown of a helmet', κυβιστάω 'to tumble head-first'[42] and, possibly, κύβηβος which designates a 'priest of *Cybele*' or in general 'ecstatic, frantic' (see in detail sub **2.4**). One may further point out two words transmitted in the *Lexikon* of Hesychius as Cretan words for 'head': κύφερον ἢ κυφήν· κεφαλήν Κρῆτες. While κυφή likely

39 Cf. Martirosyan 2009: s.v.

40 See Beekes 2010: s.v. κεφαλή with further refs.

41 The development **bʰ-* to *b-* is directly seen in βρατερ- 'brother' < PIE **bʰreh₂ter-* and for the devoicing of PIE voiced stops cf., e.g., κναικα- 'woman, wife' < PIE **gᵘneh₂ik-eh₂*, cf. further Ligorio—Lubotsky 2018: 1823–1824.

42 Cf. Beekes 2010: s.v.v. κύμβαχος, κυβιστάω, κύμβη.

corresponds to κύβη, κύφερον may finally be a corrupted or a deviant (e.g., dialectal) variant of κεφαλή, featuring *o*-stem, rhotacism and *u*-vocalism, as in the Phrygian word.

Thus, *Matar Kubeleya* is the 'Mother of the Mountain-Peaks' rather than the Mother of a specific mountain. This interpretation agrees much better with the geography of the attestations of epithet *kubeleya* and of the place names based on the root **kubel-*.[43] The epithet is attested in the Highland Phrygia (W-04) and in Bythinia (B-01)[44] and so it is unlikely that it refers to the mountain summit(s) close to Pessinous. The latter *might* have been simply the most famous 'Mountain Head' in Roman times due to its location close to the main cultic center of Cybele, if one relies on the evidence of Ovid (*Fast.* IV, 363–364) and Livy (38.18.5). The oronyms Κύβελον and Κύβελα attested by Stephen of Byzantium are impossible to localize with any certainty, which is probably due simply to the fact that there were many summits in Phrygia called in this way. Furthermore, there are several names of *settlements* based on **kubel-ā*, and the proposed etymology presents a ready explanation for this. The sources attest possibly as many as three such place names in Asia Minor: Κυβέλεια attested by Stephen of Byzantium as a city in Ionia (πόλις Ἰωνίας); a village (κώμη) Κυβέλεια attested by Strabo (Str. 14.1.33) in the region of Erythrai, which is probably not identical with the first one, due to the different definitions applied (πόλις vs. κώμη); and Κυβέλλᾱ πόλις Φρυγίας attested by Tzetzes. Now, there are a number of Greek place names based on κεφαλή, such as Κεφαλή in Attica, Κεφαλαί in Libya, Κυνὸς κεφαλαί in Boeotia and Thessaly, Κεφαλλενία etc., which apparently were associated with different geological features reminiscent of a head, such as 'headland' or 'cliff'; in some cases, it might possibly refer to 'headwaters'. Given this fact, also the Phrygian names were probably connected not with mountain tops, which are unlikely places for settlements, but with similar natural formations.

One may conclude these observations by adding a further piece of evidence which indirectly corroborates the proposed etymology and brings in a further nuance relevant for the problem of Κυβηβος. It concerns the etymology of the name of κορυβάντες (sg. κορύβας), the priests of Cybele, sometimes associated also with Dionysos. The etymological dictionaries (cf. Beekes 2010: s.v. with further refs.) present no convincing etymological explanation of the word, referring only to its possible Phrygian origin and listing Ἄβαντες (an

43 For the toponymic evidence cf. Billerbeck 2014: 136 (s.v. Κυβέλεια with further refs. in the respective fn.).

44 The third Old-Phrygian attestation is probably found in the second inscription found near Germanos in Bithynia, which is in part parallel to B-01, see Brixhe—Vottéro 2016.

ancient tribe inhabiting Euboea) and ἀλίβαντες 'corpses' as possible morphological parallels. However, when viewed in a Phrygian linguistic perspective, the etymology of the word turns out to be rather transparent: given the correspondence Phryg. *b* = Greek φ (< PIE **bʰ*), *κορυβ- may be readily recognized as a Phrygian counterpart of the root seen in Greek κορυφ-ή 'head, (mountain) top',[45] as was in fact *en passant* suggested long ago by Cook (1914: 107), who thought, however, that it is a Macedonian word. It is possible that the root with voiced labial and nasalization—which has a parallel in κύβη/κύμβη (and elsewhere)—is also attested in Greek transmission as κόρυμβος 'uppermost point, top of a mountain/hill, top-knot' (cf. Beekes 2010: s.v.v. κόρυμβος, κορυφή). In view of the association of the goddess with 'mountain tops', a similar connection of her priests, who were likely involved in cult activities at mountainous locations, would not look in any way surprising. However, the morphology of the word suggests that the association with mountain tops is probably secondary, and the core semantics of κορύβας is somewhat different. The morphological similarity of κορυβάντες with Ἄβαντες and ἀλίβαντες leads no further, as the latter two words are etymologically quite obscure. However, viewed from the Indo-European perspective, κορύβας, -άντος looks like an *active participle* built with suffix *-nt-*, which implies that κορύβας is a derivative form a *verbal stem* *κορυβά-, which would literally mean 'to head'. Although from a Greek point of view, κορύβας stands formally closer to aorist participles, it does not have to be so in Phrygian (or another closely related language), and, from a semantic point of view, a *present* participle would look more natural as a term for a priest, who is supposed to perform *regular* activities for a deity. Given the association of the cult of Cybele with ecstatic music and dancing, the specific meaning of *κορυβάω may most probably be defined as '(vehemently) shake the head'. One may note that this meaning closely corresponds to the meaning in which Aristophanes uses verbal derivative κορυβαντιάω in *Vesp*. 8, when referring to Sosias who feels drowsy and is apparently constantly *nodding off*.[46] Thus, κορυβάντες were first of all '*head*-shakers' and then 'priests of the mountain-*heads*'. In view of this, one may wonder if the epithet *kubeleya* could be, in its turn, a conscious interplay between the two meanings of 'head': the goddess of the 'mountain heads' could be at the same time the goddess of the

45 The word is a usual poetic term for 'mountain top', cf., e.g. ὄρεος κορυφῇσι (Hom. *Il.* 3.10), κορυφὰς ὀρέων (*HH* 19.7), ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου (Hes. *Th.* 62) or ὀρέων κορύφαισ' ἔπι (Sappho 44a or Alkaios, fr. 304), cf. Str. 10.3.22: πόδας μὲν γὰρ λέγεσθαι τὰς ὑπωρείας, κορυφὰς δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν.

46 The usual meaning of κορυβαντιάω, well attested, e.g., in Plato's dialogues (cf. *Crit*. 54d, *Symp*. 215e, *Ion* 533e and 536c) is 'to be filled with Corybantic frenzy'.

'head-shaking' and the ecstatic state induced by it. It is not at all obvious which aspect of the goddess could be primary or more important for her devotees.[47]

2.4 *Κύβηβος*

The recent discovery in Amisos of a sanctuary of goddess Κυβηβος brings to light a highly important piece of puzzle for the whole question of the '*Cube Goddesses*'. It is a coherent archaeological complex dated to the Archaic and early Classical period which combines architectural, iconographic and epigraphic material. Both iconographic and epigraphic components give some tangible clues about the goddess. The style of the figurines of the goddess herself and the dedicants[48] is very close to the late archaic figural style of the Aegean, especially of its eastern part (the Greek colonies of western Anatolia), and bear no signs of influence which one could call 'Neo-Hittite', 'Syrian' or 'Near Eastern'. The goddess is represented sitting on the throne in a static pose, is clad in a long dress and has a high *polos* on her head. Although she has no attributes and is not accompanied by any animals, the general figural type and especially the high *polos* are reminiscent of representations of Cybele found in Phrygia and western Anatolia.[49] It is thus no wonder that the publishers of the archaeological complex associate it with the cult of this goddess, although the name attested on the dedications is *not* Κυβέλη. The cult of Cybele is indeed attested in the basin of the Black Sea[50] and from an ethnocultural point of view the association of the goddess of Amisos with Cybele and Phrygia makes good sense. Although the ethnolinguistic composition of Paphlagonia in the early 1st millennium BC remains particularly obscure due to the lack of direct epigraphical evidence, there are some indirect indications that this part of Anatolia stood culturally and ethnically close to Phrygia, without being fully identical with it.[51] Significantly, northern Anatolia shared with Phrygia some personal names, such as, for instance, Τίβ(ε)ιος and Σα(γ)γάριος, the cult of several gods,

47 It is noteworthy that the name of the musical instrument closely associated with the cult of Cybele, κύμβαλον 'cymbal', also shows an obvious similarity with the name of the goddess herself. In this case, the name definitely has no semantic connection either with 'shaking heads' or 'mountain tops', as it is a derivative (poss. a diminutive) of κύμβος 'hollow vessel' or κύμβη 'cup, bowl', a *homonym* of κύμβη 'head' and, as the latter, a word of likely substratum Mediterranean origin distantly connected with Lat. *cymba/cumba* 'ship' (cf. Beekes 2010: s.v. κύμβη). It is probable that we are dealing with a conscious *phonetic* interplay of the terms associated with the cult of Cybele.

48 Cf. Şirin—Kolağasıoğlu 2016: 21–22 with res. 20–21.

49 For comparative material see Naumann 1983.

50 Cf. Vermaseren 1987: 68–70, Alexandrescu-Vianu 1980, Johnston 1996.

51 See Barat 2014 for a general overview of history, geography and population of Paphlagonia and Summerer 2005 specifically for the region of Amisos and the Leukosyrians. For

most importantly, **Tiu̯s* (Zeus), and the tradition of rock-cut monuments and tombs traceable to a Balkan prototype.[52] In all probability, Paphlagonia constituted a part of the large ethnolinguistic area resulting from the migration of the peoples from the Balkans, which encompassed regions from Mysia in the west to Armenia in the east. The people called Σύροι or Λευκοσύροι (sometimes also Σύριοι or Ἀσσύριοι) in Greek tradition and likely mentioned under the name *Sura* in a few HLuw. inscriptions has no connection with either Syrians or Assyrians; although its ethnolinguistic identity is not entirely clear, it was probably a part of the same ethnocultural complex to which also the Phrygians belonged.[53]

Linguistic evidence of the graffiti found in the sanctuary is also quite suggestive.[54] The name of the goddess is attested only in the dative form (τηι) Κυβηβωι, which, despite its feminine gender, formally presupposes the nominative form Κυβηβος (Κύβηβος rather than Κυβῆβος, cf. below). Despite the fact that the second declension in Greek includes a number of feminine words (as νῆσος, ἄμπελος or ὁδός), a name in -ος is surprising for a *goddess* and hardly finds any parallels elsewhere. Given the Anatolian context of the find, the first thought would naturally be to compare the name with that of *Kubaba*. However, on closer consideration this comparison immediately faces several serious problems. The first one has been already pointed out above: there is no evidence for a longstanding cultural or ethnic connection between Amisos and Syria or southern Cappadocia, which could explain the import of the cult of *Kubaba* to Amisos.[55] The linguistic side is not that smooth either. In the language of the settlers of Amisos, who reportedly came from Miletos and/or Phokaia and thus probably spoke the Ionic (less probably Aeolic) dialect, the name of a local goddess called *Kubaba* would have been adopted as *Κυβαβη or, if one assumes that

similarities between Phrygia and the Black Sea coast cf. Vassileva 2015; for the extent of Phrygian area cf. van Dongen 2014 and recently Summers 2018.

52 For Paphlagonian personal names see Avram 2018 and Avram forthcoming; for Τίβ(ε)ιος, Σα(γ)γάριος and the cult of **Tiu̯s* see Oreshko 2019: 219–224; for religious cults of Paphlagonia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see a recent study by Chiai 2019 with further refs.; for Paphlagonian rock-cut monuments and parallels from Phrygia and the Balkan region see Vassileva 2012.

53 See Rollinger 2006, Simon 2012: 174–176; for the question of ethnolinguistic identity of the Anatolian Σύροι see Oreshko forthcoming C, § 6.

54 Cf. Şirin—Kolağasıoğlu 2016: 32–36.

55 The evidence about possible short-lived control of Amisos by a Cappadocian ruler *Timades* (cf. Summerer 2005: 148–149) in the second half of 6th century BC is irrelevant: the event, if real, dates to more than a century after the fall of the late Luwian principalities of Tabal, and can be contextualized within the establishment of Persian control over Anatolia.

the second *a* in the name was long—for which there is no evidence—*Κυβηβη. In any case, the local name of a *goddess*, if adopted, would be the usual feminine in -η (-ā) and not the odd form in -ος (cf., e.g., Ἀστάρτη < *Astoreth/Ištar*). This evidence, combined with the distinctly Aegean or West-Anatolian appearance of the goddess decidedly speaks against any direct connection of Κυβηβος with the North-Syrian-Luwian *Kubaba*.

On the other hand, there is an obvious alternative connection, suggested by the form of the name itself. As a matter of fact, the word κύβηβος, as well as some of its derivatives, is well attested in the Greek tradition. The *Lexikon* of Photius gives for κύβηβος three closely related definitions: 1) θεοφόρητος 'possessed by a god, inspired', referring to 'Thracian Women' by the 5th c. BC Athenian comic poet Cratinos (= fr. 87); 2) μητραγύρτης 'begging/vagabond priest of the Mother (i.e. Cybele)' or γάλλος 'eunuch priest of Cybele', referring to the elegiac and iambic poet Semonides of Amorgos (= fr. 36), active in the late 7th century BC; 3) ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν 'possessed by the Mother of the Gods (i.e. Rhea/Cybele)'.[56] Photius also knew a related verb, κυβηβᾶν, which he explains as μαίνεσθαι 'rage, be furious or frantic' and ἐνθουσιᾶν 'to be inspired or possessed by a god, to be in ecstasy'. The *Lexikon* of Hesychius repeats the third definition by Photius and adds to it another closely related entry: κυβέβις which is explained as γάλλος 'eunuch priest of Cybele', κίναιδος 'catamite' and μανιῶν 'raving, mad'. Hesychius also registers the verb κυβηβᾷ which he glosses by κορυβαντιᾷ 'celebrate the rites of the Corybantes, be filled with Corybantic frenzy'. Lastly, there are two relevant entries in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. The first one is κύβηβος which is explained as κατακύψας, 'stooping', and etymologically linked with Greek κύπτω, 'bend forward, stoop'. The second one is κυβήβειν, which I will cite here in full in view of its immediate importance for the problem:

> κυβήβειν· κυρίως τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥίπτειν· καὶ κύμβαχος· ἐπεὶ οἱ μαινιώδεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, πάθους γινομένου, τοιοῦτοι γίνονται· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ Κυβήβην λέγουσιν· αἰτία γὰρ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῖς μύσταις γίνεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ ἱερὸν μητρὸς θεῶν
>
> In the proper sense, "throw upon the head" and "head-foremost, tumbling"; since the mad ones become as such in respect of the heads under the effect of passion; hence one also calls the Mother of the Gods Κυβήβη

56 'Κύβηβον· Κρατῖνος Θρᾴτταις τὸν θεοφόρητον (corr. Ruhnken ad Tim., p. 11, θεόφραστον cod.). "Ιωνες δὲ τὸν μητραγύρτην καὶ γάλλον νῦν καλούμενον· οὕτως Σιμωνίδης' and 'κύβηβος· ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν. θεοφόρητος'.

> because of the inspired frenzy, as she is the cause of the inspired frenzy of the initiates (*mystai*); there is also a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Phrygia.[57]

Despite the lateness of the sources, this evidence is significant in three respects. First, it shows that the word κύβηβος and its derivatives were well known in the Greek world, and there existed little ambiguity concerning their meaning, even if they apparently did not belong to the usual literary registers. Second, the evidence unequivocally connects the terms with the cult of Cybele, which suggests a Phrygian or, possibly a more general Balkan origin of the term, given the possible associations with Thrace in the fragment by Cratinos. This connection perfectly agrees with the Cybele-like appearance of Κυβηβος of Amisos noted above, proving that the exact phonetic match of the name with κύβηβος is not fortuitous. Third, the lexicographers furnish some linguistic evidence which allows one to establish an even more specific *linguistic* connection with the Aegean-Balkan area and to offer a plausible etymology of the terms.

To begin with, as the original semantics of κύβηβος appears to be that of an *adjective*, the strange 'masculine' form of the goddess's name obtains a logical explanation: in all probability, κύβηβος is not the name of the goddess, but only her *epithet*, which is apparently understood at Amisos as an adjective of *two endings* (i.e. one having ending -ος for both masculine and feminine). As for the root of the term, the crucial evidence comes from the definition of κυβήβειν in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and from Hesychius' explanation of κυβηβᾷ as κορυβαντιᾷ, which refers us immediately back to the etymology of κορυβάντες discussed above. Since κύβηβος as a term for priests of Cybele semantically corresponds to κορύβας and both words serve as the basis for denominal verbs, κυβηβάω/κυβήβω and *κορυβάω respectively, a natural assumption would be that κύβηβος is connected with κύβη/κύμβη 'head'. This is further supported by the explicit connection of κύβηβος with κύμβαχος and κεφαλή in the *Etymologicum Magnum*[58] and also by the possible association of κύβη/κύμβη with Phrygian **kubel-ā* '(mountain) head' noted above. Morphological relationship between κύβη/κύμβη and κύβηβος is not clear. As neither κύβη/κύμβη nor its possible cognates κυβιστάω and κύμβαχος have obvious Indo-European correspondences, the terms are probably of a substratum Aegean-Balkan origin. The

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57 The entry ends with pointing out possible connection with κύβος (κῦβος): ἢ ἐκ τοῦ κυβῶ κυβέσω τὸ καταστρέφω· καὶ κῦβος, τὸ γεωμετρικὸν σχῆμα 'or from κυβῶ/κυβέσω "turn it upside down" and "cube", the geometrical figure'.

58 In contrast, the connection with κύπτω is probably misleading, as 'stooping' does not make much sense in the context of the ecstatic worship of Cybele.

suffix of κύβηβος can be compared with suffix -(μ)β-/-φ- seen in some other words attested in Greek (as θόρυβος 'noise, clamor', ἀσκάλαβος 'gecko', κόλλυβος 'small coin', σαλάμβη 'chimney' etc.), which are mostly unclear etymologically and are possibly of substratum origin as well.[59] It is especially striking that many terms associated with Bacchic cult and thus possibly connected with Thrace, such as ἴαμβος, διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, ἴθυμβος, seem to contain the same suffix; also the name of Ἑκάβη (Lat. *Hecuba*), the Phrygian wife of Priamos, possibly features it.

As for underlying semantics of Κύβηβος, used as an epithet of the goddess of Amisos, there is every reason to accept the explanation offered in the *Etymologicum Magnum*: the goddess is called after the divine frenzy she inspires in her devotees. In the context of the orgiastic cult of Cybele, this explanation looks entirely reasonable and finds further support in the case of βάκχος which is used both as an epithet of the deity—mostly Dionysos, but sometimes also Zeus—and the term for his followers possessed by the divine frenzy. Since in the Phrygian area Cybele is the goddess of the divine frenzy *par excellence*, it is extremely likely that Κύβηβος of Amisos is this very goddess. Still, one should probably reserve a slight possibility, anticipating the considerations on Lydian *Kufaws* put forward below, that Κύβηβος of Amisos is a slightly different female divinity, in a way, an alternative—specifically Paphlagonian—reflection of the common Balkan cult of the *Frantic Goddess*.

These etymological observations not only present a cogent explanation for the figure of Κύβηβος at Amisos, but also shed new light on the problem of the alleged confusion of Phrygian Κυβέλη and *Syrian Kubaba*-Κυβήβη by Greek authors (for Κυβήβη in Lydian contexts see below). For Hellenistic and Roman authors, such as Callimachus (fr. 193.35), *Anacreontea* (12.1) or Strabo (10.3.15), such confusion is not very surprising, due to the religious syncretism which started with the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms. However, it looks much more puzzling in the context of archaic Lokroi Epyzephyrioi on the southern coast of Italy, which produced two pieces of epigraphic evidence belonging to the 6th century BC context which attests both Ϙ⟨υ⟩βαβα and Ϙυβαλα.[60] Given the specific context, there is little doubt that both names refer to one and the same goddess, but if the presence in Lokroi of the great Phrygian *Mother* well known in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor does not seem too surprising, her conflation with the Syrian *Kubaba* at such an early date is, if not impossible, very odd. The anchoring of Κύβηβος in the Aegean-Balkan linguistic milieu resolves

59 For the suffix see Schwyzer 1953: 495–496.

60 See Jordan 2000: 95–96 with further refs., cf. de la Genière 1985.

the contradiction. Now, both Ϙ⟨υ⟩βαβα and Κυβήβη mentioned in the *Phrygian* contexts can be explained naturally as variants of the divine epithet κύβηβος 'frantic', in this case treated as an adjective of *three endings* (i.e. one differentiating masculine and feminine forms). This eliminates the goddess of Karkemish from eastern and central Mediterranean.

2.5 *Kufaws*

There remains the Lydian goddess *Kufaws*. As noted, the goddess is usually thought to be the Syrian *Kubaba* somehow transplanted to Lydia. With the revision of the case of Κύβηβος and *Phrygian* Κυβήβη one obtains a reasonable alternative connection for the Lydian goddess. Let us now look at the available evidence to see which of these connections is more sensible.

The goddess in question is attested in the Lydian corpus only twice: in an inscription LW 4a: 4 where her name appears as *Kufaw=k* (the last element being an enclitic connector) and in a graffito on a potsherd (LW 72) in the form *Kuwaẉ*[.[61] Given that the names of two other Lydian female deities, *Artimus* and *Lamẽtrus*, represent *u*-stems, it is very likely that *Kufaws* represents a contracted variant of original **Kufawus*.[62] The Lydian evidence on the goddess is slim, but still contains some clues. The text LW 4 consists of two separate parts each of which concerns different parts of the grave and contains an invocation to one of two different groups of gods: *Sãntas Kufaw=k Mariwja=k* in 4a and *Qλjãns Artymu=k* in 4b. There is a clear parallelism in the structure of the two groups: both *Sãntas Kufaw=k* and *Qλjãns Artymu=k* represent a *couple* consisting of a male and a female deity. As *Q*(*a*)*λjãns*, the main male god of the Lydian

61 Despite my earlier doubts (Oreshko 2013: 412–413) the last letter of the name should be read in both cases indeed as 𐤅 ⟨w⟩ (and not as 𐤋 ⟨d⟩/⟨j⟩). A close inspection on the photo of the graffito LW 72 given in Gusmani 1969, fig. 1 (and reproduced in Gusmani 1975: fig. 12) shows that his drawing of its last letter (ibid., fig. 13) is not quite correct: it is possible to discern in its lower part a *second* slightly oblique stroke going from the vertical hasta of the letter; the upper stroke is almost horizontal. Moreover, Gusmani's drawing of the first *w* is also imprecise, as both short strokes of the letter are put almost horizontally, *diverging* at a very slight angle. The last letter is thus undoubtedly *w* and corresponds exactly to the first *w*. Moreover, re-interpretation of 𐤋 as ⟨j⟩ (Oreshko 2019) anyway precludes connection with *Kubanda*.

62 Thus contra Gusmani (1975: 28–30) who posits *Kufaw*(*a*)-, apparently on the basis of Greek Κυβήβη or Luwian *Kubaba*. However, the Greek or Luwian forms are not immediately relevant: the connection with the latter is at least dubious (cf. below) and the Greek form might well represent a result of re-modeling, for instance, by the analogy with Κυβήλη. The final *a* of the Lydian *a*-stems drops sometimes before the enclitic *=k* (cf. *laqriš=k* in LW 8: 2), but it is not dropped in *Mariwja=k* in the same line of LW 4a. An assumption of a *u*-stem would better account for the form *kufaw=k* < **kufawu=k*.

pantheon, is very probably the consort of *Artimus* (cf. above), one may tentatively assume that the same is true for the couple *Sãntas-Kufaws*. However, even if *Sãntas* indeed represents a more or less close counterpart of Luwian *Šandas*, one can hardly draw from this fact any conclusions about the nature of *Kufaws*, since the deities in a couple rarely share even essential features. It is worth noting once again that Luwian *Šandas* is *not* the consort of Syrian *Kubaba* (see above). The funerary context of LW 4 does not give any strong reasons to associate *Kufaws* with the Underworld: in similar curse formulas *any* deity thought to be an effective protector against violation of the grave can appear.

The slim Lydian evidence is significantly substantiated by a passage of Herodotus (5.102.1) which mentions that the fire set on Sardis by the Greeks (apparently accidentally) during one of the episodes of the Ionian Revolt (498 BC) destroyed the temple of a local deity (ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ) Κυβήβη. Although the passage lacks specific details about the goddess or the location of her temple, it confirms that the goddess took a prominent position in the Lydian pantheon, as the Persians later used the burning of the Lydian temple as a pretext to justify the destruction of Greek temples. It is also noteworthy that Herodotus explicitly identifies Κυβήβη as a *local* Lydian goddess.

The next important piece of evidence is furnished by a line of Hipponax (fr. 127 W, 125 D) preserved in the *Lexikon* of Hesychius (s.v. Κυβήβη), which mentions Κυβήβη (cod. Κυβήκη) in the company with Thracian goddess *Bendis* as a 'daughter of Zeus' (καὶ Διὸς κούρη Κυβήβη καὶ Θρεϊκ⟨ί⟩η Βενδῖς). Again, despite the lack of a context, the fragment offers two important clues about the goddess. First, the characterization of Κυβήβη as a '*daughter* of Zeus' makes clear that for Hipponax she was *not* identical to Cybele. Indeed, all strands of evidence universally identify Phrygian Cybele as a *motherly figure*: she is the Mountain Mother (Μήτηρ ὀρεία and *Matar Kubeleya*), the Mother of the Gods (ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν) or Ῥέα/Ῥεία, a daughter of *Uranus* and *Gaia*, sister and consort of her brother Kronos and the *mother* of Zeus. Moreover, another piece of evidence concerning Hipponax (fr. 156 W, 167 D) preserved in a scholion by Tzetzes—ὁ Ἱππῶναξ Κύβελιν τὴν Ῥέαν λέγει—directly confirms that the Ionic iambographer followed this tradition and identified Cybele with Rhea. This might seem puzzling in view of the connection between κύβηβος and Cybele discussed above. However, seen in specifically *Lydian* perspective, this makes good sense. As mentioned above, the Lydian counterpart of Phrygian *Matar* can be plausibly identified in the main goddess of the Lydians, *Artimus*, who appears to combine the characteristic features of the *Mother* and πότνια θηρῶν. Thus, Cybele, as we know her from Phrygia and northern Anatolia, could *not* be present in the Lydian pantheon. Con-

sequently the Lydian Κυβήβη-*Kufaws* was a separate deity having a different status, and there is no contradiction in her definition by Hipponax as a 'daughter of Zeus'.

The second clue offered by the fragment of Hipponax is the *possible similarity* of Κυβήβη and Βενδῖς. This is not the only imaginable reason for mentioning the two goddesses together, but still one of the simplest possibilities. In fact, it is even possible that Hipponax indirectly identifies Κυβήβη with Βενδῖς, if one assumes that he used both names in a *comparison* relating to a *Greek* goddess who might have been mentioned in the previous line of the poem. On the other hand, the mention of Κυβήβη and *Thracian* Βενδῖς might imply an association of the former with the cults of Thrace. In absence of any sensible context for the line, it would be, however, unwise to take this argument any further.

Later lexicographers preserve some further pieces of evidence concerning Lydian Κυβήβη which, despite their inconsistency, may be of some use. The first one is a passage of the *Lexikon* of Photius (s.v. κύβηβος), repeated, with some changes, also in the *Lexikon* of Hesychius (s.v. Κυβήβη): Χάρων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τῇι πρώτηι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν Κυβήβην λέγεσθαι (= FGrH 262 F5) 'Charon of Lampsakos in the first book states that Aphrodite is called *Kybebe* among the Lydians and Phrygians'. The historian Charon lived in the 5th century BC and, since he was a native of north-western Anatolia, his testimony, if correctly preserved, is no less weighty than that of Herodotus. It is clear that his statement cannot refer to *Phrygian* Cybele, as she seems to share no features with Aphrodite. In contrast, the interpretation of the passage as referring to the *Lydian* goddess is meaningful at least in the sense that in general it agrees well with the evidence of Hipponax: in the Homeric tradition (*Il.* 5.370–417) Aphrodite was indeed identified as a *daughter of Zeus* and Dione.[63] The reference to both the Phrygians and the Lydians is, however, ambiguous. One cannot exclude that ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν is a latter addition influenced by the presence of Κύβηβος/Κυβήβη as an epithet of Cybele also in Phrygia. On the other hand, it is not impossible that if Aphrodite was indeed present in their pantheon, the Phrygians might have applied the same epithet also to this goddess, as 'mad' or 'frantic' fits the nature of a Love-Goddess reasonably well. The problem is, however, that no cult of Aphrodite is attested in Lydia in the later period,[64] which one would expect if *Kufaws* were Aphrodite. This raises some doubts about the reliability of the evidence. Still, it is possible that *Kufaws* could have only *some* features connecting her with Aphrodite (for instance, be

63 This tradition is contrasted with one preserved by Hesiod (*Th.* 188–206) which connects her birth with the genitalia of *Uranus* cast into the sea.

64 Cf. de Hoz 1999: 65.

young and attractive), while some of her other characteristics were different and lead to her identification with some other Greek goddess by the Lydians of the Hellenistic period.[65]

The last piece of evidence is furnished again by Hesychius (s.v. Κυβήβη) who, after citing Charon and Hipponax, says that 'some other [call in this way] Artemis' (ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄρτεμιν). The evidence is again problematic. Although Greek Artemis is also a daughter of Zeus (by Leto) her formal etymological counterpart in the Lydian pantheon is *Artimus*, despite the fact that functionally the Lydian and the Greek goddesses were quite different (cf. above). In other words, *Kufaws* cannot be 'pure' Artemis—at best, she might have some features of the Greek Artemis, the young virgin huntress. In general, the absence of consensus among the Greek authors about the nature of Lydian Κυβήβη may indicate that the Lydian goddess did not have a clear correspondence in the Greek pantheon.

Lastly, some possible iconographic evidence concerning *Kufaws* should be mentioned. Unlike Amisos, there is no archaeological complex securely associating *Kufaws* with any figurative representation. The common identification of certain iconographic types of goddess from Lydia with Κυβήβη (cf., e.g., Greenewalt 2010: 233–234) are based on the premise of identity of Κυβήβη-*Kufaws* with Cybele, which is impossible, as shown above. In fact, the *a priori* identification of the 'Cybele-like' Lydian representations of a goddess should be that of *Artimus*, the main Lydian goddess and the closest Lydian counterpart of Phrygian Cybele. There is, however, one important piece of evidence which is relevant for the question of *Kufaws*. It is the famous *naiskos* with two goddesses from Sardis dating around 400 BC.[66] The two goddesses, one older (bigger) and one younger (smaller), are usually interpreted as Artemis/*Artimus* and 'Cybele-*Kubaba*'. Given the available evidence on the structure of the Lydian pantheon, scarce as it is, this appears to be the most reasonable variant, with the proviso that the younger goddess is Lydian *Kufaws*-Κυβήβη and not Phrygian Cybele. It is noteworthy that the representation of two goddesses *side by side* strongly implies that they represent a couple *Mother-Daughter*. Both goddesses of the *naiskos* look very similar, being clad in long chitons and wearing *poloi* on their

65 For a discussion of the connection between Aphrodite, Κυβήβη and *Kubaba* cf. Munn 2006: 106–120, who gives, however, a rather confusing picture. I am not convinced by the argument for a specifically *Lydian* influence of the image of Aphrodite in HH 5, and the connection between Aphrodite and *Kufaws* cannot be really argued for, due to the dearth of evidence about the latter. Likewise, the Luwian evidence about *Kubaba* gives no clues about her connection with sexuality, and it is very dubious that she can be identical with the 'Naked Goddess' (who is in all probability Hurrian *Šawoška*).

66 See Hanfmann—Ramage 1978: 58–60 (nr. 20), figs. 78–83, cf. Cahill 2010: 438 (nr. 35).

heads, and in general closely correspond to the iconographical type of Cybele (as well as Κύβηβος of Amisos). The older goddess holds a deer and the younger one a lion, which further supports their affinity. It is noteworthy that the possible association of *Kufaws* with a lion not only agrees with her identification with Artemis by some Greek authors noted above, but also establishes a link with Phrygian Cybele.

In sum, the available evidence on Lydian *Kufaws* is rather scarce and ambiguous. Still, this evidence is sufficient to give a definitive answer on the question raised at the beginning of this section: is *Kufaws* the Luwian-Syrian *Kubaba* transferred to Lydia or a goddess in some way connected with Cybele and the Aegean-Balkan tradition? As a matter of fact, there is *no evidence whatsoever* which could support the Luwian connection. The appearance of *Kufaws* with *Sãntas* in LW 4a does not in any way support the borrowing scenario, and all other strands of evidence, both literary and iconographical, clearly establish the status of *Kufaws* as a local Lydian deity. There is no historical evidence which implies any sort of cultural or ethnic connection between Lydia and the eastern Luwian zone in historical time. Lastly, one should note that despite the similarity of the names, the Lydian form also speaks *against* the scenario of a *relatively recent* borrowing from the Luwian zone—which would be possible or sensible only after ca. 1100 BC when the cult of *Kubaba* spread beyond the limits of northern Syria. Lydian did possess in its phonetic inventory voiced and voiceless stops which functioned as allophones and were rendered by the same letter 𐤡 ⟨p⟩.[67] If borrowed recently, the expected Lydian form of *Kubaba* would be spelled simply **Kupapas*. The spellings with *f* or *w* and the possible *u*-stem of the name once again confirm that the name has deep roots in Lydian. Moreover, it would be possible to analyze the name as a specifically Lydian suffixal derivative, as an adjectival suffix *-w(a)-* is present in Lydian. The suffix is most frequently attested in personal theophoric names, as *Paki-wa-* or *Armã-wa-*, but may be found also in toponyms, cf. *Asplu-wa-* possibly 'Sipylean'.[68] One

67 For the Lydian phonological system and alphabet cf. Oreshko 2019: 208–213 with further refs.

68 Cf. also *Sfar-wa-* attested in LW 10: 19 and 11: 1. The interpretation of the word is difficult due to an obscure context, and its translation as 'monument' or 'vow' (cf. Gusmani 1964/1980: s.v.) is no more than guesswork. One cannot exclude the possibility that the word is an adjectival derivative from the name of the Lydian capital, *Sfari-* (LW 22: 5 and 10), distinct from a *ja*-adjective *Sfar-ja-* (for the latter two forms see Oreshko 2019: 197–199). At least in LW 11: 1, which is a sort of heading of the text, this makes a good sense, cf. *Sfarjẽnτ* 'Sardians' in LW 22: 1. If the assumption that the original form of the name is **Kufawus* is right, then one can identify the suffix as *-w-*, interpreting *-a-* and *-u-* as two different thematic vowels.

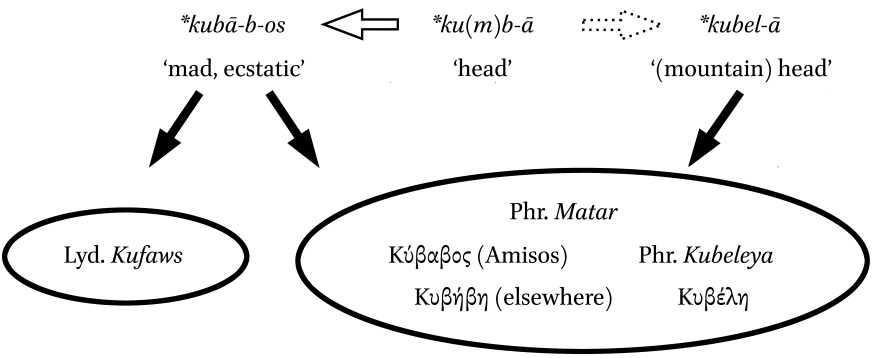
cannot exclude that the original function of the suffix was the general derivation of adjectives from nouns. Its historical connection with the suffix -β- in κύβηβος is not impossible, but is at present unverifiable.

As for the connection of *Kufaws* with Phrygian Cybele (Κυβήβη/Κύβηβος), a number of indications support such a connection, showing at the same time that it was indirect and rather complex. *Kufaws* cannot be directly identified with Cybele, as the former was in all probability a *young* goddess, and her status in the Lydian pantheon essentially differed from that of *Matar* in the Phrygian pantheon. However, both iconographic evidence and especially the numerous subtle indications of the general affinity between the Phrygian and the Lydian religious traditions imply that the correspondence of names is not accidental and reflects a deeper connection between the deities. Given that in its origin **kubā-b-os* is not a name, but an adjective 'mad, ecstatic, divinely inspired-inspiring', one can suggest that *Kufaws* is, in a way, a *cousin*—or rather a *niece*—of the Phrygian *Matar*, an alternative and younger female embodiment of the idea of the *Divine Frenzy*. In this sense, one may see in *Kufaws* the female counterpart of Lydian *Paki*-Βάκχος. The relationship between *Kufaws* and Phrygian Cybele is reminiscent of that between Lydian *Artimus* and Greek Ἄρτεμις: although their names are etymologically identical, the goddesses standing behind them share only some basic characteristics, while some other features and especially their positions in the respective pantheons are essentially different.

2.6 *Conclusions and a Possible Wider Outlook*

Summing up all the observations on the '*Cube Goddesses*' of Anatolia, one may identify two independent, as it seems, components of the complex. The first component is the Aegean-Balkan tradition associated with the goddesses of the *Divine Frenzy* and *Mountains*. The principal reflection of this tradition is Phrygian *Matar Kubeleya*, known in the Greek world as Κυβέλη, Κύβελη or Κύβελις. Etymologically, the epithet *kubeleya* can be connected with the Greek word for 'head' (κεφαλή), possibly influenced by yet another word for 'head' κύ(μ)βη, and interpreted 'of the Mountain-Heads', reflecting the connection of the goddess with mountains. The epigraphical evidence from Amisos and Lokri Epizephyrioi, as well as indications of later Greek authors, suggest that the same goddess was also known under the epithet κύβηβος or, more frequently, κυβήβη, which reflects her other essential characteristic, the connection with the *Divine Frenzy*. The same name could be applied also to the devotees of the goddess. The name of the Lydian goddess *Kufaws*, rendered by the Greek authors also as Κυβήβη, in all probability represents the same word etymologically. However, the goddess cannot be identical with the Phrygian *Mother* and prob-

ably represents a younger divinity associated with the *Divine Frenzy*, although the available evidence is not sufficient to prove this association. The relationship between these names may be represented in the following scheme:



The second component of the complex is represented by the goddess *Kubaba*, known primarily as the city-goddess of Karkemish, whose origin lies, as far as one can see, in the *Hurrian* religious tradition. Her nature, functions and attributes are not quite clear, but the available evidence does not show any significant correlation with those of Cybele or *Kufaws*. The Syrian goddess was probably not known as such in the Greek and Roman world, as all attestations of Κυβήβη probably refer to the Phrygian or the Lydian goddess. The evidence, as it stands *at present*, suggests that the similarity of the name of this Syrian goddess to the names of the divinities of the Aegean-Balkan tradition is *coincidental*.

And yet, one has to note that there is a slight chance that the names are ultimately *genetically* connected, but this connection lies at an even deeper chronological level than is the case with Lydian *Kufaws* and Phrygian Κύβαβος. Contrary to what is usually assumed, the direction of this possible connection is *from* West *to* East. If, in the evidence concerning the goddess herself, there is nothing which may reveal any connection with the Aegean-Balkan area, then the name of her Karkemissean consort may offer an indirect clue. As mentioned, the name of *Karhuhas* is sometimes spelled using the ideogram CERVUS$_2$, which suggests that he was thought to be a sort of Stag-God, a close counterpart of Luwian *K(u)runt(i̯)as*. Given this evidence, one may naturally connect the name *Karhuhas* with an Indo-European root for 'horn' **ḱerh$_2$-u-*, as in fact was pointed out by Melchert (2012: 209, fn. 7, referring to a suggestion by Eichner), who reconstructs the root as **ḱorh$_2$u-*. Such a derivation finds a close parallel in *K(u)runt(i̯)a*, which may be traced back to PIE **ḱru-nt-*, and has numerous further parallels in Indo-European languages (cf. Lat. *cervus* 'deer' < **ḱerh$_2$-u-os*, MW *carw* 'deer' < **ḱr̥h$_2$-u-os* or Russ. *koróva* and

Lith. *kárvė* 'cow' < **ḱorh$_2$-u̯-eh$_2$*).[69] This plausible Indo-European etymology of *Karhuhas* is surprising, since the suffix *-ha-* and the general historical and cultural context of Karkemish suggests that he is a *Hurrian* god. An explanation of this paradox should probably be sought in the presence of an Indo-European element in Hurrian, which, however, cannot be identified as *Indo-European Anatolian* in view of the obvious discrepancy in the morphological structures of *K*(*u*)*runt*(*iy*)*as* and *Karhuhas*. In itself, this is not an impossible assumption, given the presence of Indo-Aryan linguistic elements in the language of Mitanni which can be dated to as early as 1400 BC.[70] However, *Karhuhas* could hardly belong to the Indo-Aryan layer, as PIE **ḱ* would be reflected here as a sibilant (cf. Skr. *śṛ̀ṅ-ga-* 'horn' or *śiras-* 'head') and a Stag-God seems to be absent from the Indo-Aryan mythological repertoire. A possible alternative would be to assume that *Karhuhas* belongs to an Indo-European language which came to the Hurrian area from the Balkans with an early wave of the migration, whose final result was the formation of the Armenian *ethnos*. In theory, this might be Proto-Armenian, if one assumes that the change PIE **ḱ* > Arm. *s* (cf. *sar* < PIE **ḱrh$_2$-e/os-*) is a relatively later phenomenon.[71] Alternatively, this may be a *centum*-language from the Balkans which later disappeared. Consequently, *Kubaba* might have been brought along with *Karhuhas* and, having been absorbed into the Hurrian pantheon, lost in the course of time any features with might easily betray her original Aegean-Balkan background. Given the attestations of the theophoric names featuring *Kubaba* in Alalakh VII, the goddess could have been known in the region at least as early as the 17th century BC. Needless to say, this scenario is rather hypothetical at present, and much further evidence is needed to substantiate the putative Balkan links of the Hurrian goddess.

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69 Cf. Beekes 2010: s.v. κεραός.

70 For a recent overview see Oguibenine 2013.

71 An additional difficulty is that Armenian word for 'horn' is *elǰewr* < **g^{h}reh$_1$u̯r* (or the like, cf. Olsen 1999: 155) possibly cognate with Hitt. *karawar* and Luw. *zarwan*(*i*)-. Note, however, that Armenian has a corresponding semantic pair 'horn'-'stag', *elǰewr-elǰeru*.

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CHAPTER 7

Diplomatic Marriage as an Engine for Religious Change: The Case of Assuwa and Ahhiyawa

Ian Rutherford

1 Lazpa, Assuwa and the North West

Religious interaction between Western Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age has been the subject of speculation for many decades. It is clear now that Mycenaean Greeks must have been in contact with the various LBA kingdoms of Western Anatolia such as Mira and Wilusa.[1] In addition, the West, being at least in some periods part of the greater Hittite kingdom, seems to have functioned as a sort of contact zone enabling interaction between Mycenaeans and Hittites.[2] We would expect some degree of mutual influence between the religious systems of Ahhiyawa and W. Anatolia, but evidence is very limited (for further case studies, cf. Oreshko and Yakubovich, this volume). Two smoking guns are particularly important:

– first, deities of Ahhiyawa and of Lazpa (generally believed to be Lesbos) are mentioned in a Hittite oracle text (= AhT 20 § 24), dated to the early 13th BC, which certainly implies their presence at the Hittite capital. They are mentioned along with the "personal deity of his majesty"[3] and the ritual of "freeing" ("*tarnumanzi*"), whatever that means in this context. There is no sign of a permanent presence of the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa at the Hittite court, and it seems more likely they have been summoned to assist the king in an illness.[4] The identity of the deities is unknown. Further indirect information about the deity of Lazpa may be deducible from a diplomatic letter (= AhT 7), in which Manapa-Tarhunta, the king of the Seha River Land, reports to the Hittite king that the Anatolian insurgent Piyamaradu

1 For the political geography of W. Anatolia, see Hawkins 1998 and Gander 2017. I follow in general the historical reconstruction of G. Beckman, T. Bryce and E. Cline in AhT.

2 For such issues see Collins 2010. I discuss them more fully in Rutherford 2020.

3 DINGIR^{LUM} NÍ.TE^{NI}; only here and in plural at KUB 17.14 i 14 (substitute ritual Kümmel 1967: 61). Related is the deity "of the head", (*SA* SAG.DU). See Van Gessel 1998: 2.972, 996. For personal deities in Mesopotamia, see van der Toorn 1996: 71–87.

4 Singer 1994: 96.

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has attacked Lazpa, making off with the *SARIPUTU* men that belonged to the Hittite king and Manapa-Tarhunta himself. Itamar Singer has argued that the *SARIPUTU* men were purple-dyers bearing gifts for the deity of Lazpa. Perhaps Lazpa was a sort of religious centre, of interest to Hittites, their vassals and their enemies.[5]

– Secondly, the gods of Wilusa, likely to be Troy (Ilion, originally **Wilion*),[6] included a deity Apaliuna, whose name resembles that of Greek Apollo. This information comes from the treaty that the Hittites made with the Wilusan king Alaksandu of Wilusa in the early 13th century BC (see Beckman 1996: no. 13: § 20), whose name bears a striking similarity to that of the Trojan prince Alexandros in the Greek epic tradition. Although the god Apollo is not so far definitively attested in Linear B, and although Apollo was said by Greeks of the 2nd millennium BC to have Lycian connections, it seems likelier than not that Apaliuna is a Greek deity who has for some unexplained reason migrated to Wilusa.[7]

Thus, both "smoking guns" point in a West-East direction from Greece to Anatolia. Evidence for Anatolian gods migrating to Greece is not as strong. The most promising case is the Mycenaean goddess Potnia Aswiya, attested on a linear B tablet from Pylos (Fr 1206), as the recipient of 150 litres of perfumed oil. Her epithet has often been linked to the political entity called Assuwa (possibly "the good land" from Hittite *assu-*),[8] attested in Hittite texts relating to the late 15th and early 14th century.[9] Assuwa disappears from the record after the conquest of W. Anatolia by the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II at this time. This campaign made a major impact at the Hittite court: a bronze sword survives from Hattusa with an inscription recording the victory, and a surviving royal decree begins with the statement that the victorious king returned to be hailed as "*lahḫiyala*", perhaps "a campaigner" (a word often connected to Greek *laos* "army").[10] A fragment from Hittite annals describes an attack made by him on two groups of cities in the West. (KUB 23.11–12; see Gander 2017: 264–265) The first group of cities group includes Arzawa; the second group, which seems to be called "Assuwa", begins with a place whose name ended in]*uqqa*, and concludes with

5 Singer 2008; for Lazpa as a religious centre see Rutherford 2019: 234–235.

6 For alternative locations of Wilusa, see now Gander 2017: 272–273. For the prehistory of the toponym Wilion see von Kamptz 1982: 295–298.

7 Brown 2004; Bachvarova 2016: 246–247; with KBo 22.125.

8 See Heubeck 1961: 71–73.

9 First in Chadwick 1957: 125–126; further discussion in Aura Jorro 1985: 110. Not everyone accepts this: Starke 1997: 456 links it to the toponym Assos.

10 Sword: Cline 1996; decree: CTH 258.1; see Miller 2013: 57–58; for the etymology, see Katz 2004: 204 n. 29.

Wilusiya and Taruisa. Wilusiya looks like the toponym Wilusa, while Taruisa resembles Troia.[11] A lot hinges on the interpretation of]-*uqqa*: some have interpreted it as L]uqqa, i.e. Lukka, roughly Lycia in South Anatolia. In that case the Assuwa-alliance will have covered a broad territory stretching from SW to NW. A problem with this hypothesis is that the Assuwa-alliance would then overlap with Arzawa, which seems to have been separate. Another possibility, however, is that we should restore Art]uqqa, a place mentioned in an account of an historical campaign conducted in the region of Arzawa by Tudhaliya I/II and his son Arnuwanda. Metin Alparslan has identified Artuqqa with Artake/Erdek in the vicinity of Cyzicus, a hypothesis which would place Assuwa squarely in the NW.[12]

The size of Assuwa remains uncertain. One Hittite text mentions a "city of Assuwa", which Massimo Forlanini deduces might have been in Phrygia; Gander suggests that town might be an easterly relic of a once extended kingdom of Assuwa.[13] Enlightenment has also been sought from Egypt: Assuwa has sometimes been tentatively linked to an Egyptian toponym, *I-s-y-w*.[14] This occurs in part of a geographical list on a statue base from Kom-el-Hetan in Egypt (14th BC), which included Hatti, Arzawa (*Irṯw*) and *I-s-y-w*, all apparently Anatolian territories. Gander suggests that these should be understood as the three great kingdoms of W. Anatolia at the time.[15]

The link between the Mycenaean "Potnia Aswiya" and Assuwa works linguistically, as long as you assume that Assuwa has been augmented with a -ya suffix: *Assuwa* > **Assuwiya* > **Asswiya*.[16] This lengthened form could be the

11 First in Kretschmer 1924, though Forrer 1924 had already equated Taruisa with Troy. See Garstang—Gurney 1959: 105–106. The identification was doubted by Sommer 1932: 363 and by Gander 2017: 272–273.

12 See KUB 23.21, for which see Heinhold-Krahmer 1975: 259–260 (Heinhold-Krahmer 1975: 256–259 was herself not convinced of the earlier dating of these texts). Artuqqa was first restored in KUB 23.11–12 by Garstang—Gurney 1959: 106; see Alparslan 2002 and Gander 2017: 265. Edel 1975: 58–59 suggested that Artuqqa is mentioned in Egyptian topographical lists, though this does not seem to have been taken seriously, presumably because there is no sign that Artuqqa was ever important enough to have been noticed by the Egyptians. See also Strobel 2008: 27.

13 KUB 34.43 obv. 10; Forlanini 2007: 291 connected with a hypothetical Phrygian town Soa; doubted by Strobel 2008: 54 n. 86; defended by Gander 2017: 265 n. 39.

14 In Sethe 1917–1918; Helck 1983 reviews other theories, including that it is Alashiya (Cyprus). Contrast the view of Breyer 2011: 168.

15 Gander 2015: 443–471. For earlier references, see Gander 2015: 445–446 with notes. Stadelmann 2008 had identified Asiya with the Anatolian territory Isuwa, usually thought to be in the North-East.

16 Melchert 2003: 7; compare the developments Zalpa > Zalpuwa, and Ahhiya > Ahhiyawa.

origin of the later toponym "Asia".[17] Surviving records tell us nothing about the pantheon of Assuwa. It has recently been argued that Potnia Aswiya should be equated with Artemis of Ephesos, the best known W. Anatolian goddess of the Iron Age.[18] It is hard to see how this would work, if Assuwa was in the North West of Anatolia. A better fit geographically might be the Meter Didymene worshipped at Mt. Dindymon near Cyzicus, whom the Argonauts supplicate in Greek mythology, though no Bronze Age antecedents of her are known.

2 A Royal Betrothal and AhT 6

Further light on the relation between Ahhiyawa and Assuwa may be found in one of the most difficult of the Ahhiyawa texts, KUB 26.91 (now AhT 6; Hoffner 2009: no. 99).[19] This is a fragmentary letter mentioning Ahhiyawa, the Hittites and Assuwa. It is now believed to be a letter from an Ahhiyawan king to a Hittite king (perhaps Muwatalli 2), although it refers to a much earlier situation several generations before, in fact to the period Tudhaliya's attack on Assuwa already referred to above. The only name mentioned is Kagamuna (line 8), who is described as the great grandfather of some person, but it is not clear if he is a Mycenaean or an Anatolian.[20] The subject of the letter may be a conflict, apparently over some islands (the Luwian word *:gur-sa-wa-ra* in line 10).[21] In view of the link to Assuwa, one wonders if Lesbos would have been one of the islands, in which case there might be a link to the above-mentioned Manapa-Tarhunta

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Kretschmer 1924: 213 sees *-uwa* as replaced by *-iā*. A problem is that one might expect the product of Aswiya to be Āsia, which we find in *Il.* 2.461: Ἀσίωι ἐν λειμῶνι, and also the Homeric name Asios (*Il.* 2.835–2.840), which matches a Mycenaean PN *a-si-wi-yo* (Aura Jorro, *loc. cit*), whereas the GN name Asia is never attested as long, although the adjective Ἀσίς in Greek tragedy has a long A. See Chadwick loc. cit. (above, n. 9).

17 Forrer, 'Assuwa' in RlA 1.227 (1932). Max Gander resists this identification, but on historical grounds, because the name "Asia" is not attested very early, i.e. it is absent in Homer; however, it is in Sappho (600 BC). Gander 2017: 265 asserts that the identification is unlikely because Asia "originally referred to the coast of Asia Minor", citing Gander 2015, but we know little about the early use of Assuwa.

18 So Sarah Morris 2001. Lisa Bendall 2014 has proposed the attractive hypothesis that Pylos sent an offering to Ephesos, on the grounds that the amount of the offering is much greater than usual.

19 Notice that Weeden (2019) has recently argued that the letter was sent by the Hittite king.

20 In 2006 Frank Starke suggested he was Kadmos, wrongly, as is shown by Melchert 2020.

21 See Starke 1990: 535–536 § 312; Starke 1981.

letter (AhT 7), where we have to assume Piyamaradu's attack on Lazpa was backed up by Ahhiyawa.[22]

The letter is very difficult to interpret because even where it is best preserved, we may have only the first half of the lines. As far as we can make out, the Ahhiyawan king reports that in the previous (?) year,[23] the Hittites king wrote to him claiming that the Storm god has given him islands.[24] Ahhiyawa also claims them, using historical precedent. A lot hangs on the interpretation of the verb *hamakta* in line 9, apparently to be taken with the preverb *piran*. The basic meaning of the verb *hamank* is "tie", perhaps from the same root as Greek ἄγχω, "tie".[25] With the preverb *kattan*, *hamank* seems to mean "tie down, establish, manage", and in religious contexts it seems to mean "obligate". But it can also mean "betroth", as in Hittite Law Code § 29 ("if a daughter has been *hamenkanza* ("betrothed") to a man, and he pays a bride price for her …"), and Starke plausibly suggested that here it means "betrothed" or "married".[26] The addition of the preverb presumably changes the meaning to "betrothed/married before".[27]

Marriages between dynasts are often mentioned in Hittite texts. The most celebrated case was the one with Ramesses II in 1246 BC in the aftermath of the Qadesh treaty.[28] Egypt almost entered into a marriage alliance with Arzawa in the preceding century.[29] The Hittites are also known to have used marriage to ally themselves the vassal kingdoms of Western Anatolia.[30] However,

22 Cf. Teffeteller 2013.

23 Reading *[*pa*]*ranni* in AhT 6: obv. 5; Starke had suggested [*ku*]*ranni*, "(year) of separation".

24 The idea that the gods gave the Hittites the islands implies a contrast with simple human action. Starke [ap. Teffeteller 2013: 568 n. 6] suggested this contrast motivated the emphatic Hittite pronoun "*uk*", "I" (i.e. *I* did not take them; the storm god have them to me), which Hoffner accepted but Beckman in AhT did not. For the idea that the god is responsible and justified conquest, see AhT 7.22 referring to when Piyamaradu seizes the men of Lazpa; also KUB 7.60 iii 11–33, cited by Singer 1994: 84.

25 Puhvel, HED 3: 67; Kloekhorst 2008: 278–279. For the form, HW3/1 116.

26 Cf. Melchert 2020: "I now also find fully persuasive the analysis by Starke (already cited by Latacz 2004: 244) that *hamakta* in KUB 26.91 Ro 9 is used in the sense of "betrothed" or "married" and refers to a previous (*peran*) dynastic marriage between Ahhiyawa and Assuwa, a key to understanding the text as a whole." Forrer, RlA s Ahhijawa (1928) 56–57 had translated it "war … verbündet", Sommer 1932: 269 and 274: "band vor (= sperrte ab, hinderte?)"; see also HW 3/1, 116, Friedrich HW 49. Weeden 2019: 224 translates "bound in front (i.e. contracted with/excluded?)".

27 For other instances of the verb with the preverb *piran* see HW 3/1, 120.

28 See Fisher 2013.

29 See the Amarna Letter EA 31; Hawkins 2009.

30 Mashuiluwa of Mira while in exile married Muwatti, daughter of Suppiluliuma I, and Mas-

the hypothetical marriage in the Kagamuna letter, would be the only marriage alliance known involving any Anatolian state and Ahhiyawa. There is no evidence for a marriage between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa.[31] As for marriages between the Western states and Ahhiyawa, the nearest we come is that Piyamaradu is said to be the father in law of both Atpa (a governor of Millawanda in the 13th BC who seems to have protected Ahhiyawan interests), and Awayana.[32] For the case of Greek-Asiatic dynastic marriage we have to wait until the 8th BC when Midas of Phrygia is supposed to have married Damodice or Hermodice daughter of Agamemnon from the Greek colony of Cyme.[33]

The identity of the parties involved in the marriage-arrangement referred to in AhT 6 is unclear because only the first half of the previous line of text is preserved. At the start of 8 the subject is apparently Kagamuna, and in 7 the subject is the king of Assuwa. We cannot be sure whether these refer to the same person or different people, since we do not know whether Kagamuna was Assuwan or Ahhiyawan. The name Kagamuna does not look Greek.[34] In any case, we do not know whether Kagamuna was the subject of the verb. There are many possibilities, depending on which direction it goes and whether wife or husband moves whether the marriage is patrilocal or matrilocal. All four possibilities are attested in Greek myth.

A. The marriage is patrilocal
A1. The bride moves from Anatolian to Greece: Medea
A2. The bride moves from Greece to Anatolia: Helen

turi of the Seha River Land married Massanauzi, daughter of Mursili 2; Bryce 1998: 278. Neither of those marriages produced an heir. The Hittite king actually wrote to the Egyptians about his sister's inability to conceive, requesting medical assistance. Beckman 1996: 22G.

31 AhT 12 (rev. 3–6) seems to have a reference to someone, perhaps a former Hittite queen, who was dispatched "to the land of Ahhiyawa beside the sea", but the context is very obscure: see de Martino 2013: 73–75. Hagenbuchner 1989: 326 (not 226 as in Beckman 1996: 126) thought KUB 21.38, usually interpreted as part of Puduhepa correspondence to Ramses concerning dynastic marriage, might be addressed to the king of Ahhiyawa, but that seems unlikely.

32 Tawagalawa Letter i.64.

33 Pollux 9.83, Heracleides Lembes, 37; Aristotle fr. 611, 37 Rose; PW s. Midas 1539. The wife is said to have been the inventor of coinage.

34 In the unlikely event that the ancient translator misheard a Greek rough breathing as a guttural, I suppose it could be the Greek name Hagemon, "leader", an attested name.

B. The marriage is matrilocal.[35]
B1. The husband is a man who has moved from Anatolia to Greece: Pelops
B2. The husband is a man who has moved from Greece to Anatolia: Bellerophon

The preferred interpretation has been that an Ahhiyawan king married an Assuwan princess, and that the islands were her dowry, which would back up the Ahhiyawan claim.[36] There is, however, very little sign in the early sources for the Ancient Near East that royal dowries included territory; the earliest case seems to be from the Neo-Assyrian Empire: Sargon II married a daughter to a prince called Ambaris from the land of Bit-Purutaš in central Anatolia, and her dowry was the territory of Hilakku.[37] The practice is, however, known from the Hellenistic world, and was particularly practiced by the Seleucids.[38]

35 Finkelberg 2005: 65–89.

36 Hoffner 2009: 290–291, restoring Akkadian "*iwaru*", though he translates that "inheritance", another meaning of the word; Beckman et al. 2011: 134, 138, 270; Teffeteller 2013: 568 n. 5 attributes the idea to Starke at the Montreal conference; his paper has not been published.

37 Aro-Valjus 1998.

38 Around 245 BC Mithridates II of Pontus married the Seleucid princess Laodike, with Phrygia as the dowry according to one source Justin 38.5.2; PW s. Laodike n. 14. Similarly, Ptolemy V of Egypt is said to have received Koile Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III, in 194/3 BC with the intention that the income from taxes be divided between the two monarchs. Josephus, *AJ* 12.154–155; see Kaye—Amitay 2015. According to the historian Polybius, twenty-five years later in 169 BC Antiochus IV refused to acknowledge that any such arrangement had been made (*Hist*. 28.20.9). Another complex case is that of Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who in 295 BC married Pyrrhus of Epirus in NW Greece with the island of Corcyra (Corfu) as her dowry. Later she left him and offered herself in marriage to Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedon, again with the island as her dowry. After her father's death in 289 BC, Pyrrhus seems to have claimed Sicily as his inheritance. So here we see both dowry and inheritance. Diodorus of Sicily 21.4, 22.8.2, Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9–10; RE s. Lanassa 2. Finally, it is worth noting that in Greece claims to territorial rights were sometimes backed up by myths linking the territories (see Jones 1999). Thus, in the 4th century BC the Athenians laid claim to Amphipolis in Thrace on the grounds of a mythological dowry supposedly given to Akamas, one of the sons of their founding hero Theseus. Philip of Macedon countered with his own mythological genealogy. Aeschines 2.31; see Chaniotis 2004: 193. Theseus and Akamas were legendary figures deployed strategically by the Athenians to provide a justification for their empire. Cf. Thuc. 2.29.3 on the myth of the Thracian Tereus and the Athenian princess Procne; discussed by Jones 1999: 30. However, it is worth asking whether the claim made by the Ahhiyawan king was so very different; knowledge of what happened three generations and over a century before may have been so vague that it might as well have been mythology.

If the islands were not the Assuwan princess's dowry, perhaps they were her inheritance, and the Ahhiyawan claim was that the whole kingdom of Assuwa had passed through her to them after the Hittite defeat of Assuwa and her fathers presumed demise.[39] Dynastic marriage could have the effect of unifying the kingdoms, just as Puduhepa told Ramses that marriage between him and her daughter might unify Egypt and the Hittite kingdom.[40] A problem with the hypothesis that the issue was inheritance might be that in that case one would expect Ahhiyawa to be claiming the whole territory of the former Assuwa rather than just the islands, but perhaps this is understood *a fortiori*: "In fact, we have a claim to much more, but for the moment we are limiting ourselves to the islands".

It remains a problem that *hamakta* is only attested as meaning "betrothed", not "married". In the Hittite Law Code (29) the betrothal was the point where the bride price was paid, and we might expect that the payment of a dowry, if there was one, would be agreed at the same time. In the correspondence between Ramesses II and Puduhepa negotiations concerning the dowry precede the agreement. In the context of royal marriage, betrothal would probably be the point when the prospective bride was recognized by emissaries from her prospective husband's country, a moment symbolized by the pouring of oil on her head; marriage would be the point when she arrived there, often after an elaborate procession. Both stages are well documented, particularly for the marriage between Ramesses and Hattusili's daughter.[41] I can think of three reasons why the betrothal might have been singled out in AhT 6:

1. The betrothal happened, but there was no marriage, perhaps because of the Hittite attack. There was no question of inheritance, but Ahhiyawa claims that the agreement about the dowry was still valid.
2. The marriage happened, but the betrothal is singled out because that was regarded as the crucial stage in the negotiation of a royal marriage with respect to the payment of a dowry.
3. The marriage happened, but there was a dispute about timing: it may be that the Hittites claimed that marriage took place after Tudhaliya's invasion, perhaps as a knock-on effect from it, if, for example, the family of the king fled to Greece. They might have believed that they were thus the rightful lords of the whole of the former Assuwa, and that the claim that there was an island dowry was invented as way of establishing a territorial

39 For the double meaning of the Akkadian word *ìwaru* in 6 see n. 36.

40 See Liverani 1990: 201–202.

41 Bryce 2003: 100–101. Cf. KUB 3.63 = Edel 1994: no. 51/E18 in the case of the Puduhepa-Ramesses correspondence.

claim to the islands. Ahhiyawa countered with the claim that even if the marriage itself was post-invasion, the betrothal happened "before".

3 Marriage as an Engine for Cultural Change

Political marriages are common in all ancient cultures and many more recent ones.[42] For the Late Bronze Age in E. Mediterranean and W. Asia, they are particularly well documented in the Amarna-correspondence.[43] Sarah Melville (2005: 224) distinguishes three types of political marriage in the ANE: dynastic (to continue or join a ruling family), diplomatic (between equal states), and vassal (to tie a vassal to the lord). The one in AhT 6 would be diplomatic.[44]

In this final section I would like to explore the possibility that the marriage referred to in AhT6 might be one factor in the transmission of religious ideas between Assuwa and Ahhiyawa. One might ask, is there any evidence political marriage ever had that effect? Well, in some cultures and periods it certainly did to some extent, for example in early modern Europe.[45] It may also have happened in the Ancient Near East. For example, Jean-Marie Durand has speculated about the role of foreign queens at Mari.[46] There is no sign of it in the case of the marriage between the daughter of Hattusili III and Ramses II (indeed, the princess seems to have taken on an Egyptian religious role: see Fisher 2013), although the Egyptian accounts of this represent Seth as taking on some of the roles of a Syrian/Anatolian storm god, withholding the rain (cf. Borghouts 1984). There is a well known anecdotal case from the 1st millennium BC: Amytis of Media married Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon and, according to Berossos' account, she pined for the mountains of Media so intensely that her husband built for her the hanging gardens of Babylon in imitation of them.[47] In the Hittite world, royal marriage may have effected change as well. It was not

42 See Coontz 2006: 54–61 with illustrations from number of ancient cultures; Zhao 2009.

43 There is a useful list in Röllig 1972–1975; see also Röllig 1974.

44 Melville 2005: 224. See also Fisher 2013; Schulman 1979.

45 See two recent volumes of essays on the Early Modern period: Palos—Sánchez 2016 and Morton 2017 on the influence of catholic queens in Early Modern England, particularly Catherine of Braganza.

46 Durand 2008: 373–374. Boese—Sallaberger 1993: 26, suggest that the cult of Dagan was introduced into Ur by Taram-Uram, wife of Shulgi; see Archi 2004: 324 n. 24; but see Weiershäuser 2008: 133. Generally Sallaberger 1993: 19–20 with n. 66.

47 Josephus AAp. 1 141 = Verbrugghe—Wickersham 1996: fr. 9a. Contrast the view of Johannes Haubold (2013: 173–174) that the story of the Hanging Gardens is a Greek nar-

always positive: Mursili II had problems with his stepmother, the Babylonian wife of Suppiluliuma I (Tawannanna = Mal.Nigal?), and accused her of among other things bewitching his own wife, Gassuliyawiya.[48]

While royal matrimony sometimes ended in acrimony, the effect was in some cases more harmonious. In the LBA Hittite state religion seems to undergo some Hurrian influence, and it has long been argued that one factor in this change might have been the influence of one or more Hittite queens, who, though they not from Mitanni itself, were from the heavily Hurrianized area of Kizzuwatna. The most famous of those is Puduhepa, wife of Hattusili III, who, besides the great political power she wielded, also had a major religious influence. In her prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, she explicitly articulates religious translation between the Hittite and Hurrian pantheons: "In the land of Hatti you bear the name of the Sun Goddess of Arinna; but in the land where you made the cedar you bear the name Hepat (KUB 21.27)". Denis Campbell has recently suggested that this change should be traced back considerably earlier to the beginning of the New Kingdom in the early 14th century BC.[49]

Something similar happened in the 2nd century BC when Stratonike, a princess of Cappadocia, who was betrothed to Eumenes II in 189/8, and married him and later his brother Attalus II, and introduced the cult of the deity Sabazios into Pergamum.[50]

I wonder if it could have been the same with Assuwa and Ahhiyawa. If Potnia Aswiya is the Lady of Assuwa and if Apaliuna is Apollo, there was significant interaction between the religions of NW Anatolia and Greece. If an Assuwan

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rative superimposed on the Babylonian material. A dynastic marriage between Sargon 2 and Ataliya, a W. semitic princess, is discussed by Dalley 2008.

48 Bryce 1998: 159–160; 226. The source is a prayer: Singer 2002: no. 17; KUB 14.4 ii 3–13. See the excellent new study by Miller 2014 on that text. Mursili himself married twice, the second marriage being to a woman of Hurrian background, Danuhepa, who was accused by her step-son Muwatalli of among other things profanation.

49 Campbell 2016.

50 I.Pergamum 248, 135/4 BC; cf. Lane 1983–1989, vol. 3: 6. I owe this reference to R. Parker. "Since Stratonike, my mother, who has been most pious of all and especially affectionate towards my father and myself, was reverently inclined towards all the gods and especially towards Zeus Sabazius, she introduced him into our country as a traditional deity of her ancestors. Because of his manifestations of divine power, we decided to enshrine him in the temple of Athena Nikephoros as our comrade and helper in many deeds and many dangers. This sanctuary we thought would be a suitable text and worthy of him, and we gave orders accordingly about the sacrifices and processions and mysteries which are to be held for him on behalf of the city at the proper times and places. We have also created for him a hereditary priest, my Athenaios, who exceeds in piety and excellence and constant faith towards us."

princess married a Greek prince in 1400 BC, perhaps she imported some aspects of Assuwan religion, which eventually shows up as the Potnia Aswiya two centuries later in Pylos. The same explanation might work for Apaliuna and Apollo, if Anatolian Apaliuna is the original; it would not work if Apaliuna is a Wilusan version of Greek Apollo (though there may have been marriages in the opposite direction as well). But as models for how religious change comes about in this region go, I think there's something to be said for the idea that the agents could have been foreign consorts marrying into royal families, and introducing change "from the top down".

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Abbreviations

AhT	G. Beckman etc. *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta 2011)
I. Pergamum	M. Fraenkel, *Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII 1–2. Die Inschriften von Pergamon*; Berlin, 1890–1895.
PW	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

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CHAPTER 8

The *Mopsos* Names and the Prehistory of the Lydians

Zsolt Simon

1 Introduction

The name Mopsos and its allegedly related forms are well-known from both sides of the Aegean Sea (for the most comprehensive list see Gander 2012: 298–299). The precise nature of their relationship is, however, a debated issue until today. Although most of the scholars assume an originally Greek name, which was later borrowed by some Anatolian languages, also the early hypothesis has been revived that the Greek name represents a borrowing from the Anatolian languages (for references see below). Since these linguistic interpretations frequently go hand in hand with historical hypotheses, a critical analysis is an urgent desideratum, which is presented in § 2. This will be followed by § 3, devoted to the historical contextualization of the most important novelty of the present linguistic analysis, the identification of a Proto-Lydian name.

Before turning to the analysis itself, an important but frequently disregarded methodological principle must be mentioned. Since the name Mopsos and its allegedly related forms are formally very close to one another, one could explain the differences with distortions during the borrowing process(es) and thus reject (the possibility of) the precise definition of the source language(s). Although distortions do appear, the borrowing of onomastics happens exactly the same way as any other element of a language, i.e., from a phonological point of view, conditioned by the phonology of the borrowing language, in other words, regularly. Thus, if the relationship of these forms can be phonologically regularly explained, this explanation is superior to any hypothesis based on the assumption of distortions—especially, because phonology-based explanations can be falsified, unlike the distortion-based ones. Distortion-based explanations can be applied *if and only if* all possibilities for a regular borrowing are excluded, and it will be argued in this paper that this is not the case with Mopsos.

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2 The Linguistic Analysis of the Mopsos Names

Geographically speaking, the Mopsos names have two groups, the Greek names (§ 2.1) and the Anatolian names (§ 2.2).

2.1 *The Greek Names*

The key member of the Greek group is the very form *Mopsos*, which regularly continues its attested Mycenaean form, *Mo-qo-so-* /Mok^{w}so-/ (KN De 1381.B; PY Sa 774; Aura Jorro 1985: 457).[1] Having no Greek etymology, the name is probably a pre-Greek, "Aegean" name[2] (but not a borrowing from an Anatolian language, see below). Mopsos is attested, first of all, as the name of Greek mythical figures, on the one hand as a seer in the myth of the Argonauts (the son of Ampyx / Ampykos), and on the other as (yet another) seer (the son of Apollo or Rhakios), who has allegedly founded some cities in Anatolia after the Trojan War (for the details of the Greek traditions see Kruse 1933; for later attestations as a simple personal name see the list of Gander 2012: 299 n. 122). The other member of the Greek group is *MPŠ*, attested in the Phoenician version of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of KARATEPE 1 (§§ XXI, XLII, LVIII) and ÇİNEKÖY (Line 2) in the Neo-Hittite state of Hiyawa, as the personal name of the ancestor of the local dynasty. The Hieroglyphic Luwian versions of these inscriptions show a form *Muksa-* (cf. below), but since the consonant cluster *-ks-* was completely regular also in Phoenician (see e.g. the numerous verbal roots with the structure √*ksC*, Hoftijzer—Jongeling 1995: 521–526), one cannot derive *MPŠ* from *Muksa-* with sound substitution (*contra* Gander 2012: 302 and implicitly Bremmer 2008: 59, contrary to his claim, a form with *-k^{w}-* cannot underlie due to chronological reasons), thus the form *MPŠ* must have been borrowed from a contemporary Greek dialect.[3]

As for the origin of the Greek form, it must be underlined that neither Mopsos (*pace* Zgusta 1964: 331) nor /Mok^{w}sos/ (*pace* Capovilla 1964: 175; Desideri—Jasink 1990: 141; Bremmer 2008: 59) can originate in the Anatolian form *Muksa-*, since Greek *-ps-* can continue only **-k^{w}s-*, but not **-ks-*. A cluster **-k^{w}s-* would

1 Not "*mo-ko-so*", as López-Ruiz 2009: 490 with n. 17 spells it.

2 Landau 1958: 185; Hooker 1980: 69; Gander 2012: 302, similarly but confusingly see Astour 1965: 62–63; Heubeck 1959: 43 with n. 155, 1961: 75 with n. 88.

3 See already Heubeck 1959: 44 [cautiously], 1961: 75; Bron 1979: 174 [implicitly]; Finkelberg 2005: 152 n. 34, 2007: 34; Yakubovich 2009: 155, 2015: 37. Bremmer 2008: 59 n. 54 rejects this analysis with the reasoning that this explanation does not take into account the isolated position of Mopsos within the Greek mythology. This is, of course, a methodologically false reasoning: the linguistic analysis of names is completely independent from the roles of the persons who bear these names within their specific mythologies.

have been written in Hittite as †*Mukkušu-* and in Hieroglyphic Luwian as †*Mukusa-*, not as the attested *Mukšu-* (cf. below) and *Muksa-* (Oettinger 2007: 13, 2008: 64),[4] and thus the attested *Mukšu*/*a-* cannot lead to /Mok^{w}sos/, especially since labiovelars are not created *ex nihilo*.

2.2 *The Anatolian Names*

The Anatolian group is more complex. It includes the following forms:

1. *Mukšu-* mentioned in the so-called Madduwatta Text (^{m}*Mu-uk-šu-uš*; KUB 14.1 Vo. 75: Laroche 1966: 120 No. 815);[5]
2. Luwian *Muksa-*, the name of the ancestor of the ruling dynasty of Hiyawa, mentioned above, in the Hieroglyphic Luwian version of the inscriptions KARATEPE 1 and ÇİNEKÖY in the phrase "house of Muksas" (KARATEPE: § XXI |*mu-ka-sa-sa-na* |DOMUS-*ní-i* (Hu.), *mu-ka-sá-sá-na* DOMUS-*ní-i* (Ho.); § LVIII *mu-ka-sa-sá-*(…) DOMUS-*ní-i* (Hu.); *mu-ka-sá-sa-* (…) |(DOMUS)*pa+ra*/*i-ni* (Ho.)) and in the phrase "grandson of Muksas" (ÇİNEKÖY: § 1 [*mu-ka*]-*sa-sa* |INFANS.NEPOS-*si-sà*), cf. ACLT s.v.[6]
3. Lydian *Moxos*, the name of a legendary Lydian leader (Nicolaus of Damascus, FGrHist 90 F 16; Xanthus the Lydian, FGrHist 765 F 17a—Xanthus spells the name as "Μόψου", which was corrected into "Μόξου" by the editor, Houwink ten Cate 1961: 45 n. 2; Bremmer 2008: 59 n. 51), and later a local personal name (Zgusta 1964: 331 § 960–961; Gander 2012: 299 n. 122).
4. Phrygian *Muksos*, a name among other names from Tumulus MM in Gordion, who, according to the excavator, were participants in the funeral meal of the deceased (Liebhart—Brixhe 2010: 147–149).[7]

2.2.1 The Phrygian Form

The simplest issue is the origin of the Phrygian form *Muksos*: since Phrygian had /o/ too, *Mukso-* must have been borrowed from a form with /*u*/ in the first syllable, i.e. not from Greek or Lydian, but either from Hittite *Mukša-* or from Luwian *Muksa-* (a borrowing from an Anatolian language was assumed already by Brixhe in Liebhart—Brixhe 2010: 148 and Oettinger *apud* Gander 2012: 301

4 Nevertheless, the spelling of the Hittite name would not have been "Mu-ku-ssu / Mu-ku-ssa" as López-Ruiz 2009: 492 believes.

5 Not "Muxas" as López-Ruiz 2009: 492 believes.

6 The claim of Bremmer 2008: 59 "the (…) Luwians wrote Moxus" is false.

7 Whether Lycian B *muχssa* (TL 44d, 39) belongs here as cautiously proposed by Bossert 1952–1953: 335 (and followed similarly cautiously by Heubeck 1959: 44 and Vanschoonwinkel 1990: 197) must remain open due to its unclear grammatical analysis (nom.-acc. pl.?) and meaning, cf. Melchert 2004a: 122; Neumann 2007: 225 with refs.; Gander 2012: 299 n. 122.

n. 131). For historical reasons, it must be from Luwian (and see below that the Hittite form is, in fact, not even Hittite), with a trivial Phrygianization of the ending, fitting perfectly into other well-known cases of Phrygian names borrowed from Anatolian languages (*Midas* and *Tuvatis* [G-133, Brixhe—Lejeune 1984: 122], but not *Gordios*, see Simon 2017a).

2.2.2 The Lydian Form

Although the vocalism of the Lydian name is identical to that of the Greek form, the Lydian one is not necessarily a borrowing from Greek:[8] Lydian had both /p/ and /k^{w}/ and thus an early borrowing would have given Lydian **Moqsos*, a later borrowing would have given Lydian *Mopsos*. Thus the form *Mopsos* of Xanthus can indeed represent a late borrowing, but also the modernisation or Hellenisation of the local name *Moxos*. However, *Moxos* itself is ambiguous, since it is attested only in Greek transcription, but Greek no longer had /k^{w}/ by that time. Accordingly, Moxos can be the transcription of both **Moqsos* and **Moksos* (Oettinger 2008: 64 is imprecise here, since he identifies it as the Greek transcription of an Anatolian *Muksu-*/*Muksa-*). In the first case (**Moqsos*) it would be a borrowing from Greek (as per above), but in the second case (**Moksos*) it cannot be a borrowing from Greek, it must be either inherited or borrowed from a contemporary language. Contemporary forms (Luw. *Muksa-*, Phryg. *Mukso-*) have, however, an [u] in their first syllables, which should have given **Muksos* in Lydian. Thus Lyd. **Moksos* must be inherited. It is important to note that both possibilities (i.e. **Moqsos* or **Moksos*) imply that this name was already known in the Late Bronze Age forerunner of Lydian. By current attestations only other Anatolian forms can help to decide, which form and solution is the correct one.

2.2.3 The Luwian Form

Luw. *Muksa-* cannot be a borrowing from Greek, contrary to the general view:[9] Luwian did have /k^{w}/, and thus the borrowing from **Mok^{w}so-* would have led to †*Mukusa-*.[10] The assumption of Oettinger (2007: 13, 2008: 64, followed by Yak-

8 *Contra* Heubeck 1961: 75; Bron 1979: 174; Fowler 2013: 549–550. Presumably this was meant also by Baldriga 1994: 64 when he claimed this name is probably "l'antica forma orientale del nome di Mopso".

9 Barnett 1953: 142; Heubeck 1961: 75; Bron 1979: 174; Hajnal 2011: 249; Jasink—Marino 2007: 409 (cautiously); Oettinger 2007: 12–13, 2008: 64–65; López-Ruiz 2009: 492; Yakubovich 2009: 155, 2015: 37; Fowler 2013: 549–550; cf. also Meriggi 1951: 81; Chadwick 1954: 5 n. 1; Landau 1958: 185. Hawkins 2009: 166 claims that "Mopsos appears to be an Anatolian rather than a Greek name", but he does not elaborate why this should be so.

10 Lane Fox 2008: 228 expects a Luwian form **Maksa*. This is, however, not necessarily so:

ubovich 2009: 155) that that labiovelar has lost its labial feature in front of an /s/ during borrowing is highly problematic: Luwian had a phoneme /k^{w}/ and although the limited evidence does not allow a generalization that [k^{w}] could stand before a consonant (cf. the list of attested consonant clusters in Melchert 1994: 248–250), labialized laryngeals are definitely attested in preconsonantal position, see the name of the Storm God, *Tarḫunt-* from **t(a)rh^{w}-* or CLuw. *lāḫun(a)i-* 'to wash' (for the demonstration that here we deal with a labialized laryngeal and not a cluster of two phonemes see Kloekhorst 2006: 98–100)—it is also worth noting that Hittite did have [k^{w}s] clusters (cf. below). In other words, the Luwian form should indeed have been †*Mukusa-* if it were a borrowing from Greek /Mok^{w}so-/. A sound substitution *-ps-* > *-ks-* (i.e. a borrowing of *Mopsos*) is not possible either (*contra* Barnett 1953: 142 [followed by Cassola 1957: 112], who, without evidence, claims that this shift "is, of course [sic], common enough"), because *-ps-* is a well-formed consonant cluster in Luwian (Melchert 1994: 249), see e.g. *dupšahit-* 'a type of ritual', and especially *šinapši-* 'shrine *vel sim.*', a borrowing from Hurrian (Melchert 1993: 194), which shows that this cluster was not substituted during the borrowing process. *Muksa*, theoretically, could be a borrowing from Lydian (on the vocalism see fn. 10), but this is not probable due to obvious geographical reasons. Since *Muksa* cannot be explained as a borrowing from any other attested form, one must conclude that there were two similar sounding but different names: Greek *Mok^{w}so-* > *Mopsos* and Luwian *Muksa-*.

This conclusion sheds new light upon Lydian *Moxos*. As per above, *Moxos* cannot represent a borrowing from Luwian, but it can be inherited. Lyd. *Moxos* and Luw. *Muksa-* (if it is interpreted as /Mūksa-/, which is exactly as probable as /Muksa-/ from the point of view of Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling), can indeed be the regular reflexes of a former (at least Proto-Luwo-Lydian) name **Mé/á/ówkso-* (for the sound laws see Melchert 1994: 265, 370, Gérard 2005: 48; note that *Mŭks° would have led to Lyd. †*Muxos* [Melchert 1994: 365; Gérard 2005: 40] and *Mŏks° would have led to Luw. †*Maksa* [Melchert 1994: 263–264]). Thus the Anatolian origin of the Lydian name *Moxos* is not only a theoretical possibility anymore.

since Iron Age Luwian did not have /o/, substitution was needed, which could have been either /u/ or /a/—and in the former case the name could have been incorporated into the class of productive *a*-stems.

2.2.4 *Mukšu-*

The remaining name is *Mukšu-*, which is generally held to be the Hittite transcription of Greek /Mok^{w}so-/.[11] This is, however, hardly possible: Hittite did have /k^{w}/, thus one expects a transcription †*Mukkušu-*.[12] The assumption of Oettinger (2007: 13, 2008: 64) that the labiovelar lost its labial feature during the borrowing process (followed by López-Ruiz 2009: 492, who consistently spells his name as "Öttinger"), cannot be upheld: Hittite had labiovelars before consonants (e.g. *e-ku-ut-ta* ~ *e-uk-ta* /eg^{w}ta/ '(s)he drank' or *e-ku-ud-du* /eg^{w}tu/ '(s)he shall drink', Kloekhorst 2008: 237), including /s/ (e.g. *ak-ku-uš-ke*/*a-* /ak^{w}ske/a-/ 'to drink (imperfective stem)' from the same root as above; *tekkuššiye*/*a-* 'to show, to present (oneself)' <**dek^{w}s-ye*/*o-* [Melchert 1994: 113, on the etymology see esp. Kloekhorst 2008: 865 *contra* Oettinger 2007: 13 n. 5]; *nanakuššiye*/*a-* 'to become dark' <**no-nog^{wh}-s-ye*/*o-*, Kloekhorst 2008: 595–596). Instead, *Mukšu-* (either as [Muksu-] or as [Mokso-], s. n. 12) represents a precise transcription of the above reconstructed Proto-Lydian **Mokso-* and it can be the transcription of this form only (Luw. *Muksa-* would have given Hitt. †*Mukša-*).[13] Note that the Greek etymology was rightly questioned already by Gander 2012: 300–301 on contextual grounds, since Mukšu- and Aḫḫiya appear in the text widely separated from each other (rev. 75 vs. obv. 1 and 60) and Aḫḫiya serves only as a characterization of Attariššiyas.

To sum up, *Mok^{w}so-* > *Mopso-* and Anatolian *Moxos* / *Muksos* / *Muksa-* / *Mukšu-* have nothing to do with one another (this was suggested already by Gander 2012: 300, 301, although only "aufgrund der Bezeugung des Namens zu beiden Seiten der Ägäis schon im zweiten Jahrtausend", which obviously does not prove anything, and entertained as a theoretical possibility also by Fowler 2013: 550).[14] Accordingly, the pair *Muksa-* / MPŠ in the bilingual Texts of Hiy-

11 Heubeck 1961: 75; Jasink—Marino 2007: 409; Oettinger 2007: 13–14, 2008: 64; Yakubovich 2009: 154, 2015: 37.

12 Lane Fox 2008: 228 expects a form **Maksa*, but since Hittite did have /o/ (cf. already Rieken 2005), this is not correct. The stem vowel *-u* cannot be used an argument against a Greek derivation, since one could explain it with a presumably similar case, that of Alakšandu from Alexandros (Oettinger 2007: 13–14, 2008: 64). Note that since none of the vowels of *Mukšu-* are written *plene*, it cannot be decided whether its vowels were [o] or [u] (and thus even an interpretation [Mokso-] cannot be excluded either). Accordingly, the claim of Bremmer 2008: 59, "the Hittites (…) wrote Moxus" cannot be verified.

13 Schürr 2019: 15 n. 14 rightly remarks that **Mé/á/ówkso-* results in Lydian **Móksa-*, not **Mókso-*. However, since the **o* > *a* change affects only non-stressed vowels (Melchert 1994: 366) and the relative chronology of these changes is unknown (cf. Melchert 1994: 381–383), one cannot exclude, moreover, one even expects that the intermediary form was **Mókso-*. On the other views of Schürr see the last footnote.

14 Thus there is no need for *ad hoc* reconstructions as per Szemerényi 1966: 35 n. 32 (inter-

awas must represent either the Luwianization or the Phoenicianization of the respective names, depending on the original language of the text. Would the Luwian version have been the original text, the Phoenician translator would have written *MKŠ or he would have chosen a similar sounding Phoenician name. This is, however, not the case. Thus it must be assumed that the translator of the Phoenician original created for the dynasty of Mopsos translated / luwianized the name MPŠ (Mopsos) with a similar sounding Luwian name, *Muksa-*.[15] This observation provides one more piece of evidence for the recently formulated hypothesis of Yakubovich (2015: 44–50) that the KARATEPE inscription was written first in Phoenician.

Finally, the conclusion that the name *Mukšu-* attested in a Hittite text represents the Hittite transcription of a Proto-Lydian name, requires some historical contextualisation, which is elaborated in the next section.

3 The Madduwatta Text and the Speakers of Proto-Lydian in Hittite Times

It is still a riddle where the precursor of Lydian was spoken in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, i.e. during the time of the Hittite state. A prerequisite is the assured identification of Lydian material from this period. Three cases were proposed, but none of them convinced the scholarly world:[16]

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changeable *ps* ~ *ks*) and per Čop 1958: 264 n. 40 ("kleinasiatisch" *^{k}p (sic, i.e. [kp]), which is interchangeable with /k^{w}/).

15 Such a process is cross-culturally well-known, see e.g. the Hungarian custom before the Second World War, according to which some (Western) foreign given names were substituted with similar sounding (but frequently etymologically not even related) Hungarian personal names, such as *Jules* > *Gyula* (e.g. *Jules Verne* became *Verne Gyula*) or *Eugen* > *Jenő* (e.g. *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* became *Savoyai Jenő*), etc. Thus Gander's unclear assumption of "Vermischung" of both names (2012: 301 n. 132) is not necessary. Incidentally, when Oettinger 2008: 64 entertains the idea that the *-p-* in *MPŠ* "may indicate that, in the Near East, the Greek form, as opposed to the Anatolian one, was considered to be the proper form of the name", he is also implying a similar process, just on the other way round (Hellenization). An anonymous reviewer asks "if the names are indeed etymologically unrelated, could they not still have struck ancient observers (who did not have the benefit of modern linguistics) as related?". This is probably the case and, as per above, exactly this circumstance could have led to the Luwianization of *MPŠ* in KARATEPE.

16 This short overview of the problem is also necessitated by the circumstance that the current overview of Lydian prehistory is inadequate (Payne—Wintjes 2016: 22–24) and the earlier ones (Roosevelt 2009: 13–19, 2010: 50–61) are outdated.

3.1 *Māša*

The first hypothesis (proposed already by Goetze 1924: 23) connects the ancestors of the Lydians with the Western Anatolian region of Māša (mentioned in Hittite sources and in a single Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription) assuming that the name Μῆονες (<**Māyon-*) used by the Greeks for the Lydians derives from the name of this region.[17] The most recent form of the hypothesis goes back to Beekes 2010: 10–12: after having observed that /s/ must have been preserved during borrowing, since **s* disappeared much earlier in Greek (more precisely, it became **h* already in Proto-Greek),[18] he suggests analysing *Māša* as a stem **Mā-* with a suffix *-ša-*. *Māša* would have had a by-form created from this stem, Anatolian **Māiya-* or Greek **Māia-*, which could have served as derivational basis for **Māyon-*. Set aside the uncomfortable fact that this by-form is never attested although Māša has dozens of attestations (Kryszeń forthcoming s.v.), basically there are two problems with this proposal: the stem and the suffix. Since the existence of a stem **Mā-* cannot be verified independently,[19] it is a decisive question if such a suffix can indeed be segmented in this name. Beekes quotes the toponyms *Taruiša*, *Wiluša*, as well as a general claim (with a reference to the material in Jie 1994: 91–93) that this suffix is "very frequent" as an evidence for the suffix *-ša-*. The etymological-morphological analysis of the toponyms *Taruiša* and *Wiluša* and the precise form of the suffix are still hotly debated and cannot be accomplished here. What is important for us is that *Māša* is sometimes spelled as *Māšša* (KUB 19.10 i 14′.20′; KUB 19.11 iv 29) and thus, if one wants to follow Beekes's morphological analysis, we are dealing with *Māš-ša-*, in other words, we still have the /s/ that cannot disappear. In other words, the connection of *Māša* and the Μῆονες is still not viable linguistically.

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17 But see Bryce 2009: 457: "very conjecturally", without any arguments.

18 Hawkins 2003: 10 cautiously suggests ("it would be difficult but perhaps not inconceivable") an intervocalic loss of /s/ in "**Masa-wani-*", which could have led to Greek "**Maiōni-*". It remains, however, unknown, how the resulting **Mā(w)ann(i)-* could have led to "**Maiōni-*". Moreover, it remains unknown in which language this loss could have happened, since the known languages of the region either did not have this change or only much earlier. The remaining possibility, a change in an unknown language (an idea entertained also by Beekes 2010: 11), is not convincing from a methodological point of view without independent evidence for its existence.

19 For the existence of this reconstructed stem he cites the goddess Ma (following Kretschmer 1927), but she is attested only in the 1st mill. and her cult centre was in Komana / Hierapolis in Kataonia (Cappadocia), where Māša can definitely not be located and the spread of her cult cannot be dated before the Achaemenid period (Gordon 1999)—all in all, her connection with this toponym can be excluded safely.

3.2 *Western Anatolian *maddun-*

The second hypothesis was suggested by Th. van den Hout (2003: 303–308), who proposed to segment an element **maddun-* in Western Anatolian names of the Hittite period, which would represent the Lydian form of **mayun-* / **maiwon-* (via the Lydian sound law **y > d / V_V), in which, in turn, the term Μαιονία would have originated. He saw this element in the personal names *Maddunāni*, *Madduwatta*, as well as in the toponym *Maddunašša* (a regular adjectival derivative). His hypothesis has found both followers (Melchert 2008: 154 and Yakubovich 2010: 91–92, 113–114, see however n. 18 against Madduwatta on geographical grounds) and criticism (rejected by Hawkins 2013: 8, 9 due to the required early date of the Lydian sound law [15th c. at the latest], although such an early date is *a priori* not impossible).[20]

However, independently from the dating of the Lydian sound law and from the question if van den Hout's segmentation of these names is correct, the hypothesis of van den Hout is not possible: as Gander 2015: 485–486 rightly pointed out, **maddun-* cannot continue **mayun-*, since the Lydian reflex of this word would have contained a voiced consonant (†*madun-*), which would have spelled with a single stop in Hittite (note that the geminate spelling in these names is consistent, except KUB 57.114 r. col. 3′, which, however, cannot be used as an argument, since the parallel manuscript KUB 7.54 i 1 shows *Maddunāni* again). In other words, **maddun-*, if it existed at all, cannot be identified as Lydian, and thus these names do not help in understanding Lydian prehistory.

3.3 *Arzawa*

Most recently I. Yakubovich saw the ancestors of the Lydians in the elite of the Western Anatolian kingdom of Arzawa. He suggested (2009: 91, 93–94) to connect the Arzawan onomastic element *uḫḫa-* with the Hittite word *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather' and explained the loss of the initial laryngeal with the identical Lydian sound law (followed by Oettinger 2011: 190). However, this does not fit in with any views of the vexed question of the fate of Lydian laryngeals. If one follows the traditional view and assumes a complete loss of laryngeals in Lydian (Gérard 2005: 71 with n. 437 *contra* Melchert 2004b: 142–143), then this derivation needs to address the *preservation* of the internal laryngeal. This was clear for Yakubovich too, who thus suggested a gradual loss. This is, of course,

20 It was also rejected by Weeden 2013: 81 n. 33, but he did not bother giving arguments. Note that such an early date is implied by Melchert's etymology of Greek μόλυβδος 'lead' from Lydian *Mariwda* 'divine name' (2008, esp. 155), this etymology is, however, false (Schürr *apud* Gander 2015: 484 n. 191).

possible, but currently there is no evidence for that. If, however, one wants to follow current proposals, according to which the initial laryngeals in question were retained in Lydian (Oettinger 2016–2017: 255–256 and this volume), then *uḫḫa-* has clearly nothing to do with Hittite *ḫuḫḫa-*. Under these circumstances it must be emphasized that Hawkins 2013: 8 rightly pointed out that it is in fact unknown if *uḫḫa-* has anything to do with *ḫuḫḫa-* (he mentions, furthermore, that a dissimilation is equally possible). In fact, Simon 2014: 185 suggested that this Arzawan onomastic element has a cognate in the Pisidian onomastic element *ougo-*. If this is correct, it means that this word had no initial laryngeal cognate to Hittite *ḫ-*, since Pisidian preserved those laryngeals (see most recently Simon 2017b: 38–39 with discussion), and thus *uḫḫa-* and *ḫuḫḫa-* are not cognates and *uḫḫa-* cannot be identified yet as a Proto-Lydian word.

One can thus conclude that the identification of speakers of Proto-Lydian in Late Bronze Age Anatolia is unsuccessful until now. It is Mukšu that provides the first piece of evidence. Unfortunately, beyond its sheer existence and its general connection to Western Anatolia it is not helpful due to the fragmentary nature of the text in which he is mentioned for the first and the last time.

4 Conclusions

The traditional explanations of the Mopsos names as Anatolian borrowings from Greek or as a Greek borrowing from Anatolian are demonstrably false. We are dealing with two different names, Greek (originally Pre-Greek) *Mok^{w}so-* > *Mopso-* and an Anatolian name attested in (Proto-)Lydian *Mukšu* / *Moxos* and in its cognate, Luwian *Muksa* (whence Phrygian *Muksos*). Their combination in the Hiyawan bilingual inscriptions is strictly secondary and due to the luwianization of the Greek form attested in the Phoenician version. Finally, Proto-Lydian *Mukšu* provides the first piece of evidence of Proto-Lydian in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, since the proposals of the previous research cannot be upheld.[21]

21 After the submission of the manuscript, D. Schürr published a paper (2019) with partly similar, partly different conclusions. Based on the incompatibility of the Phoenician and the Luwian versions, he also assumes that *Muksa-* and *MPŠ* have different origins and these names were only secondarily identified, but he leaves open the origin of *MPŠ* (2019: 14–15). He also entertains the possibility that *Mukšu-* may reflect a Proto-Lydian form, but without arguments. He reconstructs, however, the Proto-Lydian form as **Muksu-* (2019: 15), which is clearly not possible, since the (Hellenized) Lydian form is *Moxos* (see above), which cannot go back to **Muksu-* (setting aside the stem vowel, which could obviously haven been Hellenized). Accordingly, his derivation of the Lydian form from

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the Mycenaean name /*Mokʷso-*/ (2019: 15–16) is not possible and the same applies to his claim that the Phrygian form *Muksos* is a loan from Lydian *Moxos* (2019: 13, 15–16). As per above, Phrygian did have /o/ and thus, a borrowing would have resulted in †*Moksos*. *Contra* Schürr's claim, a Phrygian form **Muksas* is not necessary in case of a borrowing from Luwian, since once cannot exclude a trivial Phrygianization of the stem into *Muksos* (as per above). All in all, a derivation of all forms from the Mycenaean basis as he proposed (see the chart in 2019: 16), is not possible. Nevertheless, he admits that a diffusion independent from Greek is also possible (2009: 16). An interesting question is his proposal that the Hieroglyphic Luwian *Muksa-* is a loan from Phrygian *Muksos* (2009: 16). Although this is formally possible, this leaves the Lydian form unexplained (as it cannot be a borrowing from Lydian and vice versa) and thus, it is less economical than the reconstruction advanced here. Finally, an anonymous reviewer required a "coordination" with the chapter of Oreshko (this volume), but he does not discuss related topics.

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CHAPTER 9

Distorted Reflections? Writing in the Late Bronze Aegean in the Mirror of Anatolia

Willemijn Waal, with Addendum by Martien Dillo

1 Introduction

When comparing the surviving textual sources from the Late Bronze Age Aegean and Anatolia, one is immediately struck by the great difference between these two corpora. The Hittite tablet collections have yielded large, elaborate clay tablets containing a wide range of text genres. These include ritual and festival protocols, oracle reports, hymns, prayers, (international) correspondence, literary texts, lexical lists, but hardly any daily administrative and economic records. By contrast, the Linear B archives consist solely of such administrative and economic records, and none of the above-mentioned text genres which are so amply represented in Anatolia have been found in the Aegean.

Considering the close proximity of these two areas and the fact that they were in regular contact, this difference is intriguing and deserves a closer investigation. Does it reflect a true difference in the use of writing or is it merely a perceived difference because we are dealing with incomplete data on both sides? This question is closely tied to the question to what extent perishable materials was used for writing in the Aegean and Anatolia, which is a controversial topic. This paper aims to add an Anatolian perspective to the long-standing debate about the extent of the use of Linear B writing in the Aegean.

2 Anatolia and the Aegean: Areas in Contact

Though the Aegean and Anatolia are often treated and studied as separate entities, the former regarded to belong to the 'west' and the latter to the 'east', in antiquity intensive contacts between these two regions existed. Fortunately, these connections are being more and more acknowledged and the last decades have welcomed several initiatives (including the present volume) for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the Aegean and Anatolia, as well as the rest of the ancient Near East.[1]

1 See, e.g. the pioneering works of Burkert 1984 (1992); West 1997 and more recently, e.g., Collins—Bachvarova—Rutherford 2008; Haubold 2013; Bachvarova 2016.

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Archaeological evidence shows that contacts between the two regions existed from at least the Neolithic period onwards. The most eloquent demonstration hereof are probably the clay stamps, or *pintaderas* as they are often called. Clay stamps from Neolithic sites in Central Europe, the Balkans, northern Greece, and Anatolia as well as seals and stamps from Early Bronze Age sites in the Aegean, Anatolia, and the Near East show some striking similarities. They share the same motifs and designs (notably zig-zags, spirals, and concentric circles) and shapes, such as the foot-shaped amulets that are found in all regions (Makkay 1984; Younger 1987 [revised 2009]; Skeates 2007).

Contacts continued in the Middle Bronze Age, and are especially well attested for the Late Bronze Age, the period which is the focus of this research. Archaeological evidence shows that there were well-established relations between the Aegean and western Anatolia (see e.g., Beckman e.a. 2011: 267–268, Cline 2014: 70–72, Niemeier 2008). Archaeological confirmation for contacts between the Aegean and central Anatolia is less evident, but not absent: there are incidental finds of Mycenaean objects in the Hittite capital Ḫattuša/Boğazköy and of Hittite objects in the Aegean.[2] Further, the painted plaster remains discovered in Ḫattuša show links to Mycenaean paintings with respect to their iconography as well as the techniques used (Brysbaert 2008: 102; Müller-Karpe 2003: 392–393). Thaler (2007) has pointed out the architectural parallels between Hattuša and Mycenae, and Blackwell (2014) has convincingly argued that the Lion Gate of Mycenae was probably made by Hittite tools and techniques. This all implies the exchange of knowledge and experts.

The most overwhelming evidence for contact, however, comes from the clay tablets found in Ḫattuša. Some 30 texts mention the Aḫḫiyawa, which are to be identified with the Mycenaean Greeks (see recently Beckman e.a. 2011). The texts confirm the Mycenaean presence in West Anatolia and reveal that diplomatic contacts between the Hittite king and the king of Aḫḫiyawa existed. This king of Aḫḫiyawa, whose name is not preserved, is called 'Great King' by the Hittite king, a title which was reserved for the rulers of the great powers of that time.

2 The fact that there are only relatively few examples is not alarming, as there is a general dearth of Hittite objects outside of Anatolia, as well as foreign imports in Ḫattuša (e.g. Genz 2010; Kozal 2017). It is, however, clear from textual evidence that there were regular diplomatic contacts and exchanges of goods with Egypt and Mesopotamia, so the scarcity of the archaeological evidence should not be seen as evidence that contacts were limited or non-existent. Also, the almost complete absence of Mycenaean pottery in central Anatolia does not necessarily reflect Hittite restrictions on Aegean import as is often assumed (see, e.g., Cline 1994: 71–74; Bachhuber 2006: 355).

2.1 *Political Organization*

The title of 'Great King' being used for the king of Aḫḫiyawa brings us to the hotly debated issue of the political organization of Mycenaean Greece.[3] The figure of a Great King is hard to reconcile with the conventional view in which the Mycenaean world was made up of several independent kingdoms. This view has been challenged by Kelder (2004/5, 2008, 2010) who has strongly argued for a united Mycenaean kingdom ruled by a Great King (*wanax*), presenting a range of arguments. Apart from the above-mentioned textual evidence from Ḫattuša, he sees the striking cultural uniformity, the uniformity of the palatial administrations and the large-scale infrastructure projects in Mycenaean Greece as evidence for a central overarching authority. Though still not generally accepted, this view seems to be gaining steam, see e.g. Eder—Jung (2015),[4] Bányai (2019), Waal (2019a) who also present arguments for a unified Mycenaean kingdom ruled by a *wanax*. Beckman et al. (2011: 4–6) suggest a slightly different scenario, in which Aḫḫiyawa is to be understood as a confederation of Mycenaean kingdoms. Dickinson (2019) prefers a scenario of independent city states, conceding that the Mycenaean kingdom may 'have had a circle of allies, some perhaps more like vassals but still technically independent, very much as in the Hittite Empire' (p. 42). Indeed, if some form of overarching Mycenaean authority existed, the situation in the Aegean would have been comparable to the political organization of Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. The Hittite Empire has been aptly described as a network of vassal states. These vassal states were controlled by a (usually local) ruler, who was bound to the Hittite king by means of a treaty in which the vassal's obligations, duties and benefits were stipulated (see, e.g., Bryce 2005: 48–49). The surviving treaties show that the vassal kings enjoyed some level of freedom with respect to local, internal affairs, but they were not allowed to have their own foreign policy; all relations with other states were in principle controlled by the Great King in Ḫattuša.

3 For a most recent discussion, see now Kelder—Waal (2019).

4 It is surprising that Eder and Jung do not refer at all to Kelder throughout their article, though they use a number of the same arguments that he has put forward. They conclude with a curious 'note on Kelder', in which they—incorrectly—state that Kelder did not consider Crete to be part of the Mycenaean Kingdom, ignoring all the other contributions he has made to this discussion.

3 Writing in Anatolia

3.1 *Hittite Cuneiform Writing*

One of the two writing systems that were in use in Hittite Anatolia (ca. 1650–1180 BCE) was the cuneiform script. It is generally held that this script was taken over from Syria in the 17th century BCE and remained in use till the end of the Hittite Empire around ca. 1180 BCE. Altogether, some 30.000 clay tablets and (mostly) fragments have been found on several locations in central Anatolia, the majority stemming from Ḫattuša/Boğazköy.

The texts are predominantly written in the Hittite language and belong to the palace or state administration, no texts in clearly private contexts have been found.[5] As mentioned above, the tablets include religious, scholarly, historical, mythological and literary texts, but little day-to-day administrative and economic documentation (see also below § 5).

The tablets are not dated, but on the basis of their palaeographic and linguistic characteristics a rough distinction between Old Hittite (1650–1500 BCE), Middle Hittite (1500–1350 BCE) and Late Hittite (1350–1180 BCE) may be made.[6] The overwhelming majority of the texts stems from the Late Hittite Period.

The corpus can be divided into 4 broad categories: temporary or disposable records, semi-current records, permanent records and charters.[7] The temporary tablets are a relatively modest group, which includes letters, oracle reports, depositions and economic-administrative records. They are generally small tablets, which are sometimes hastily written. These tablets were not copied as separate documents, but they were discarded after a certain period of time and/or incorporated into larger summaries. The semi-current records are larger, more-columned tablets that mainly include such summaries and inventories based on smaller, ephemeral records. By far the largest group are the so-called permanent records, including festival and ritual protocols, literary compositions, annals etc. These texts were copied over the centuries and existed in multiple copies. A singular category are the charters, which represent original sealed documents. This is a limited collection, which predominantly consists of land deeds from the Middle Hittite period that were kept on a special location.

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5 For an overview of the nature and content of the Hittite cuneiform sources, see Van den Hout 2011. For a possible example of a private document see Wilhelm 2007.

6 Note that these dates and the dating criteria used have been the object of discussion in recent years. Van den Hout (2009a, 2009b) has made a case for a later date of the earliest texts.

7 See Waal 2015: 173–175. This division relies heavily on Van den Hout 2002.

Overall, the tablets in all tablet collections are very uniform and highly standardized. This does not only apply to their content, but also to the language, scribal conventions and diplomatic features (shape, size, layout etc.).[8] Apart from clay, metal could also serve as a writing material for cuneiform. Texts on clay inform us that important tablets could be executed in gold, silver, iron and bronze. In 1986 one such metal exemplar was discovered, a bronze tablet containing at treaty (Otten 1988).

The cuneiform script is almost exclusively attested on tablets. Exceptions are a few incidental inscriptions on an axe, a sword and a hay fork (Van den Hout 2011: 56 with references) and the legends of royal seals (see below 3.2).

3.2 *Anatolian Hieroglyphs*

The Anatolian Hieroglyphs are an indigenous writing system that was used for Luwian, a language closely related to Hittite that was in all likelihood spoken by the majority of the population.[9] Geographically, the hieroglyphic sources are more widely spread than the cuneiform script, ranging from northern Syria to the west coast of Anatolia. The origins of the scripts are debated, but they were in use as a writing system from at least the 15th century BCE onwards. The script continues to be in use after the fall of the Hittite Empire in Cilicia and Northern Syria till around the 7th century BCE.

In the Late Bronze Age, the Anatolian hieroglyphs are best known from seals, and mainly seal impressions. In Ḫattuša, several thousands of clay sealings with the impressions of seals of kings, queens, princes and officials have been discovered. On the seals, their names and titles may be written in hieroglyphs. Only on royal seals, the use of hieroglyphs in the centre is combined with the cuneiform script in the outer ring of the seals.

The majority of the sealings (over 80 %) are so-called bullae, lumps of clay formed around a knot or a string, comparable to the hanging nodules found in the Aegean (see below § 3).[10] It is unclear whether or not these bullae were originally attached to written documents or to other goods and objects. The largest group of the bullae were found together with the above-mentioned sealed land deeds. It has therefore been suggested that the bullae were attached to official documents of a similar content, but now recorded on wooden writing boards instead of clay (Herbordt 2005: 36–39). However, other suggestions for their

8 See Weeden 2011: 383, Waal 2015, esp. pp. 122–124, 150. Note, however, that Gordin 2015: 344–345, 354 does distinguish different scribal traditions in Ḫattuša during the Late Empire Period.

9 See e.g. Van den Hout 2006.

10 For the terminology, see Herbordt 2005: 25.

use and function have also been made (Mora 2007; 2010: 95–97; Van den Hout 2012: 49–54). A smaller percentage of the sealings are direct sealings, which are assumed to have been attached to leather bags (Herbordt 2005: 34–35).[11]

Apart from seal impressions, the Anatolian Hieroglyphs were used for official royal rock inscriptions. The number of such inscriptions from the Late Bronze Age is limited, the majority of the inscribed stone reliefs stem from the period after the fall of the Hittite Empire. The first king known to have an inscription for public display executed in stone was king Muwatalli II (ca. 1295–1272 BCE), or possibly Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322 BCE).[12] In addition, there are occasional examples of hieroglyphic graffiti and a few hieroglyphic inscriptions on metal objects, such as cups, bowls and weapons, and one badly damaged and uncertain example of an inscription on lead.[13]

From the succeeding Iron Age, several lead strips have survived, containing economic and private documents.[14] Due to these fortunate discoveries we know that Anatolian Hieroglyphs were also used for economic-administrative and private documents in the first millennium BCE. Opinions differ about the extent to which they were also used for such purposes in the Hittite period, a problem which is inevitably tied to the disputed and elusive wooden writing boards (see below).

3.3 *Writing on Perishable Materials: The Wooden Writing Boards*

Hittite cuneiform texts refer relatively often to wooden documents and to scribes-on-wood. These wooden documents have not survived due to their perishable nature.[15] Though there is quite some debate about which script was used on these wooden documents, cuneiform or hieroglyphs, the existence of wooden documents as such is not doubted.[16]

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11 It would be very interesting to compare the direct sealing practices on leather in Anatolia and the Aegean, but this falls outside the scope of this paper.

12 The Südburg inscription was long held to be from the time of the last Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II, but it now seems likely that it in fact dates to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (Oreshko 2016).

13 See Van den Hout 2011: 68 with references. To the inscriptions on metal we may now add the silver signet ring belonging to a woman found in 2014 in Ortaköy (Süel 2017: 67, 69). For the damaged lead strip, see Akdoğan—Hawkins 2010: 2, 14–16. For the use of signs resembling Anatolian Hieroglyphs as pot marks, see Waal 2017.

14 For these lead strips, see Hawkins 2000: 533–559 and Akdoğan—Hawkins 2010 and Weeden 2013.

15 An exception is the Ulu Burun writing board, see below § 6.5 and the appendix of Martien Dillo.

16 For the view that these lost wooden tablets were inscribed with cuneiform, see e.g. Singer 1983: 40–41; Symington 1991: 115–116; van den Hout 2010: 257–258, for the view that the

The wooden scribes and their documents are mentioned in administrative, juridical and religious contexts (Symington 1991; Waal 2011). It has been suggested that the missing wooden tablets included daily administrative and economic records and private texts, which are so conspicuously absent in the Hittite records (e.g. Güterbock 1939: 36; Bossert 1958; Uchitel 1988; Dinçol—Dinçol 2002: 210; Waal 2011). There are references to wooden tablets being sealed (Güterbock 1939: 26–36; Herbordt 2005: 25–26). As mentioned above, it has been proposed that some of the clay bullae found in Ḫattuša were originally attached to wooden writing boards, but it cannot be excluded that they had a different function altogether.

4 Writing in the Aegean

4.1 *Cretan Hieroglyphs and Linear A*

In the second millennium BCE, at least three writing systems were in use in the Aegean: Cretan Hieroglyphs, Linear A and Linear B, of which only the latter has been deciphered. The Cretan Hieroglyphs have been attested on various sites at Crete, such as Knossos, Malia and Petras. They first appear around the end of the third millennium on seals and seal impressions. Apart from sealings, clay documents in Cretan Hieroglyphs have been found, the first ones dating to around 1800 BCE, the last ones to ca. 1500 BCE.[17]

Linear A documents make their first appearance around the 18th century BCE and the last documents date to ca. 1450 BCE.[18] They have been found on the Greek mainland and several of the Aegean islands. Since both Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphs are undeciphered it is hard to establish their precise function and internal relationship. The archeological records show that they existed side-by-side and their coexistence seems to have resulted in the exchange of certain scribal features (recently Petrakis 2017: 80–90).

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scribes-on-wood wrote in hieroglyphs, see e.g. Güterbock 1939; Bossert 1958; Dinçol—Dinçol 2002: 210; Waal 2011. Note that recently new evidence has come to light to support this latter view (Waal 2019b).

17 The Cretan Hieroglyphs have been connected to the so-called Archanes script dating from around 2000 BCE, which show signs that are similar to those found in Cretan Hieroglyphs, but this relationship is uncertain. For an elaborate discussion of the Archanes script, see now Decorte 2018. Further, we may mention the script of the Phaistos disc, which represents yet another writing system.

18 For a more elaborate overview of the Linear A sources, see, e.g. Bennet 2008 and Tomas 2010a.

There are some 1500 Linear A inscriptions, which are overall quite short and mainly belong to the palace administration. They appear on unsealed clay tablets and mostly on sealings (nodules and roundels). As the script is not deciphered, our knowledge about these texts is limited. However, from what we can tell they concern registrations of incoming and outcoming deliveries of grain, oil, wine, olives and figs etc. Some 7.5% of the inscriptions can be considered as 'non-administrative', including votive inscriptions on cups and vessels and incidental inscriptions on luxury items such as a silver pin and a golden ring (Bennet 2008: 8).

4.2 *Linear B*

The oldest texts in Linear B stem from around 1450 BCE, but it cannot be excluded that the script was already in use before that time.[19] Though the exact relations may be unclear, Linear B script is undoubtedly a modified form of Linear A. It was used for the Mycenaean language, an ancient form of Greek. Linear B is attested till the end of the Mycenaean period around 1200 BCE and the entire corpus presently consists of about ca. 6.000 clay records. These are mostly small, narrow 'palm-leaf shaped' tablets, recording economic and administrative activities. A second type of tablets includes larger, page-shaped tablets, which compile and summarize information which was in all likelihood first attested on several smaller leaf-shaped tablets.[20] In addition, Linear B has been attested on clay nodules and labels.

The Linear B documents have been found in palatial centers in mainland Greece and the Aegean islands.[21] On each site the tablets, which are not dated, appear to cover administrative periods of a year at most (Bennet 2001: 29; Palaima 2003: 153, 172).

The texts on the tablets are exclusively administrative: there are no literary, historical or religious documents, nor letters, lexical lists or school texts. Likewise, no official sealed documents, such as sale contracts, documents of ownership, loans etc. have thus far been discovered. The tablets are very uniform with respect to their diplomatic features (format, size, layout), paleography, language, vocabulary and scribal conventions (Palaima 2003: 159–162).

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19 For a more elaborate overview of the Linear B sources, see, e.g. Uchitel 1988; Palaima 2003, 2010.

20 This does not necessarily mean that all palm-leaf shaped tablets were to be incorporated in such later compilations, some may represent 'final' records (Bennet 2001: 27–30).

21 An exception is the tablet fragment discovered at Iklaina which was found outside palatial context.

Apart from the clay records, there are ca. 160 (very short) painted inscriptions on transport stirrup jars,[22] some nine inscriptions on other pottery (Palaima 1987: 502; Pliatsika 2015: 608–669 with references), incidental inscriptions on stone (Bennet 2008: 17; Palaima 2010: 358; Perna 2011: 17), and a possible painted sign on a fresco at Knossos (Palaima 1981).[23]

4.3 *Writing on Perishable Materials*

With respect to Linear A, there seems to be a general consensus that the use of writing was not restricted to clay, but that documents of perishable nature also existed. The main reason for this assumption is the discovery of so-called flat-based nodules with traces of leather or parchment, which can only have been attached to folded documents (see, e.g., Weingarten 1983; Kryszkowska 2005: 155–157; Hallager 2000: 135–145; Perna 2017: 72–76). Several proposals have been made with respect to the size and content of these documents. According to some, they may have quite sizeable (Hallager 2000: 138–140, Perna 2011: 10, 2017: 74) whereas others give a more modest estimate (Kryszkowska 2005: 156). Secondly, Linear A has been attested on other materials, such as metal and stone in non-administrative contexts. It is thus generally agreed that this script was more widespread and used for other than economic purposes.

When it comes to Linear B, however, there is considerably less agreement. Some scholars assume that writing on perishable material must have existed (e.g. Driessen 2000: 186–187; Palaima 2003: 171–172, 2011), but others maintain that this script was restricted to writing on clay (e.g. Bennet 2001:27–28; Perna 2011: 18–19; Steele 2017: 154 with n. 5). The fact that writing on perishable materials is less accepted for Linear B is mainly due to two reasons. First of all, from the Linear B archives, there are no certain examples of the just mentioned flat-based nodules showing traces of having been attached to leather documents. In the Room of Chariots at Knossos a handful of sealings have been found that have been classified as such flat-based nodules. They were used to seal narrow pieces of leather, but they are very different from the Linear A examples and their precise function is unclear (Krzyszkowska 2005: 217–218). Secondly, compared to Linear A, Linear B has less frequently been attested

22 The meaning of the signs on these stirrup jars is unclear, but they are usually related to the palace administration (Palaima 2003: 167–169). For a full discussion of their possible function(s), see Judson 2013.

23 The two inscribed amber objects found all the way up in Bernstorf, Bavaria (Janko 2015) are probably fakes, see Meller 2017 (ed.).

outside of palatial administrative contexts. These observations have led to the assumption that the use of Linear B was more restricted than that of Linear A.

The differences between the Linear A and Linear B material are certainly of interest and demand an explanation. However, it may be premature to conclude that they mean that the Linear B writing was more limited, as other explanations are possible. As has often been pointed out, there are substantial differences between the Linear A and Linear B administrative procedures. An obvious change was the switch to the Mycenaean language. This was, however, not the only adjustment. There are also significant changes in document formats. A new tablet form, the leaf-shaped tablet was introduced, and other formats were abandoned or used in a different manner (Tomas 2017: 65–67). There are also notable alterations in the sealing practices. As pointed out by Perna, there is a shift in the ratio between sealings and tablets: in the Linear A archives there are much more sealings than tablets (Perna 2011: 13 comes to a ratio of 7 sealings to 1 tablet for Haghia Triada, see also Perna 2017: 77), whereas this is the other way around for the Mycenaean material (Perna 2011: 13 mentions a ratio of 9 tablets to 1 sealing for Pylos and Knosssos).[24] With respect to the tablets' content there are also differences: the Linear B tablets are more complex and organized, containing more detailed information than the Linear A tablets.

In brief, the Linear B corpus shows substantial administrative changes compared to the Linear A corpus, including a shift in sealing practices.[25] However, this does not necessarily mean that all writing on perishable materials disappeared in the Linear B administration (cf. Palaima 2003: 171) and the debate about the potential use of Linear B on other materials than clay is far from settled. A comparison with Hittite Anatolia may be helpful here.

24 At Knossos, ca. 3700 Linear B clay tablets have been found and ca. 400 sealings, at Pylos there are about 1000 tablets and 147 sealings. At Haghia Triada, 147 tablets and 1023 sealings have been excavated (Perna 2011: 13).

25 These changes were not confined to the administrative system only; in the transition period from Linear A to B, there were also changes in the material and burial culture (Bennet 2008: 20). See also Tomas 2010b about the differences in Minoan and Mycenaean religious administration.

TABLE 9.1 Lifespan of Linear B and Hittite cuneiform tablets

Script	Temporary records	Semi-current records	Permanent records	Charters, sealed tablets
Linear B	++	+	–	–
Hittite cuneiform	+	+	++	MH land deeds

5 The Hittite and Linear B Text Corpora Compared

5.1 *Differences and Similarities*

If we compare the nature of Hittite and Linear B tablet collections, some interesting similarities can be observed:

- Both the Hittite and Linear B tablets belong to the palace administration; no private records have come down to us;
- Both the Hittite and Linear B tablets are very uniform and standardized with respect to scribal habits, formal features, paleography, language and content;
- Both the Hittite and Linear B tablets are not dated;
- Both the Hittite and Linear B tablets are as a rule not sealed; no legalized contracts, wills etc. have survived;[26]
- With respect to sealing practices, both in the Hittite and Linear B archives sealings in the form of hanging nodules or bullae are predominant;
- There are no public inscriptions in Linear B nor in Hittite cuneiform.[27]

However, there are also some remarkable differences:

- The Linear B tablets are mostly small tablets containing only a few lines of texts, whereas the Hittite tablets are overall much larger, containing elaborate compositions;
- The Linear B tablets exclusively deal with economic affairs, whereas the Hittite tablets primarily contain other text genres;
- The Linear B tablets all have a short lifespan, whereas most Hittites texts were kept and copied over centuries.

26 Exceptions from Ḫattuša include the special group of land deeds from the Middle Hittite period, and some incidental sealed tablets. For Hittite sealing practices, see Güterbock 1939: 26–36, 1980; Herbordt 2005: 25–26; Marazzi 2000: 79–98; Waal 2015: 44–48.

27 In LBA Anatolia there are a few public inscriptions in Anatolian Hieroglyphs, see above 3.2.

5.2 *Meeting in the Middle*

If we zoom in on the last point of the previous paragraph, the lifespan of the tablets, the following picture unfolds itself:

As table 9.1 shows, there is an overlap between the Hittite and Linear B texts in case of temporary records and semi-current records. The ratio of these two types of records in the Aegean and Anatolia is, however, more or less reverse: for Linear B, there are predominantly primary temporary records, whereas in the Hittite archives, the semi-current records are more common than temporary records. Their content is also mostly different: The Linear B tablets mainly deal with economic administration including livestock, foodstuff and armor; topics that hardly appear in the Hittite records.[28] By contrast, most of the Hittite temporary and semi-current documents consist of oracle reports, letters and cult inventories. The modest Hittite economic corpus largely deals with inventories of raw materials and luxury items and further includes a small number of lists of cities and people and cadastral records (Van den Hout 2012: 44–46). It is only in this last category, the cadastral records or *Feldertexte*, that there are some remarkable similarities with the Linear B records, as shown by Uchitel (1988).[29]

Most arresting is the complete absence of non-administrative records in the Linear B corpus, which are so abundantly attested in Hittite Anatolia. How are these differences to be explained? Should we conclude that the Mycenaean and Hittite societies were fundamentally different when it came to writing? Were the Myceneans solely interested in minutely recording daily economic transactions, whereas the Hittites did not bother with such trivial affairs, but used writing for all kinds of other purposes instead? And, if we broaden our scope to the rest of the ancient Near East, were the Aegean and Anatolia the only areas in which writing was never used for private purposes?[30] Or should we accept that we are missing documents on both sides that were written on perishable materials?

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28 There are only 2 possible primary records that deal with flour distribution (KBo 32.134) and bread delivery (KBo 18.189). In addition, there a small number of ration lists, which lay down the rules of distribution, but no actual receipts have been found (Van den Hout 2012: 44–45 with references).

29 Note that Uchitel suspects that the Hittite and Linear B documents reflect the same procedures.

30 As pointed out by Palaima 1987: 501 the lack of personal uses of writing in the Late Bronze Age is in sharp contrast with the first attestations of the alphabet in Greece, which are all texts of a private nature.

5.3 *Missing Records?*

Considering the fact that the Hittite Empire was highly centralized and organized, it is hard to imagine that it could have functioned without recording the first level of administration.[31] The assumption that this was done on perishable materials is supported by the fact that in a few of the semi-current records explicit reference is made to wooden writing boards (Siegelová 1986: 33, Uchitel 1988). In all likelihood, most primary records were composed on wood, on the basis of which sometimes compilations in clay could be made. With respect to the dearth of sealed documents, textual references are again of help. Though there are no clear examples of direct sealings that were attached to perishable documents, the texts inform us that sealed (wooden) documents did exist. Possibly, they were sealed by means of bullae attached to strings (see 3.2 and 3.3 above), or in a completely different manner altogether.

For the Aegean, there are no comparable references to writing on perishable materials, nor to sealed documents. This is not surprising, since such references are hardly to be expected in the type of records that have come down to us. As the comparison with Hittite Anatolia makes clear, the fact that there is no direct archaeological confirmation of the usage of perishable writing materials for Linear B in the form of impressions of direct sealings, is not a conclusive argument to dismiss their existence altogether.[32] The perishable documents may have been sealed by the hanging nodules, or other methods of (indirect) sealing may have been used.

Secondly, just as in the case of Linear B, the use of Hittite cuneiform in non-archival contexts is extremely scarce: Hittite cuneiform has been attested only on three objects outside the tablet collections during a period of some 500 years, and two of these inscriptions are not in Hittite, but in Akkadian.[33] The use of Linear B outside of archival context, though modest, is much firmer compared to the Hittite evidence. However, as the clay tablets demonstrate, cuneiform writing was already used for a wide range of text genres from the very beginning period of the Hittite Empire. The paucity of Linear B inscriptions outside the palatial administration is therefore also no valid reason to exclude its use for other text types than administrative records.

Lastly, the lack of school exercise texts in both regions is of significance.[34] They are an eloquent warning that our corpus is not complete: the uniformity

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31 For a different view, see Van den Hout 2012: 45, 48.

32 As suggested by Hallager 2000: 259 for Linear A, the single-hole nodules may have been attached to written documents, such as legal documents. This could also have applied to Linear B documents.

33 See above 3.1.

34 Note that in Ḫattuša, we do have lexical lists, but these were not part of the primary

TABLE 9.2 Linear A, Linear B, Hittite Cuneiform and Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions in non-administrative context

Script	Public inscriptions	Inscriptions on objects in non-administrative context
Linear A	–	+ (ca. 7.5%)
Linear B	–	+ (< 1%)[a]
Hittite cuneiform	–	+ (< 1%)
Anatolian Hieroglyphs	+	+[b]

a This number would be substantially higher if one were to include the ca. 160 stirrup jar inscriptions whose function is uncertain, see above n. 22.

b The total number of Late Bronze Age Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions is too low to give a representative percentage.

of the scribal conventions both in Ḫattuša and the Aegean imply a strict and rigid training process and the scribes must have learned to master the script in some way.[35]

To conclude, though it cannot be excluded that both the Aegean and Anatolia were each in their own way exceptional in their restricted use of writing in comparison to each other—and the rest of the Near East with respect to the absence of private (and school) records—there are compelling reasons to consider the possibility that our data are skewed and that perishable materials were used for (some of the) missing documents on both sides. For Hittite Anatolia, textual references confirm this assumption. For the Aegean, indications are less manifest, but certainly not absent.

6 Arguments for a Wider Use of Linear B on Perishable Materials

As the previous paragraph has shown, there are no cogent reasons to assume a more restricted use of Linear B than of Linear A. By contrast, there are in fact a number of arguments that plead for a wider use of Linear B on perishable materials:

scribal education, but rather very learned scholarly texts (Weeden 2011: 130; Scheucher 2012: 345–346; Veldhuis 2014: 278–279). The typical lentil-shaped exercise tablets known from Mesopotamia have not been found in Hittite Anatolia.

35 With respect to Linear B, the fact some topics, such as pottery production do not appear in the surviving records could also be seen as an indication that our records are far from complete, though other explanations for this absence are possible as well.

6.1 *The 'Palm-leaf' Tablet*

The most common type of Linear B tablets has been dubbed 'palm-leaf tablets' as its shape is reminiscent of palm leaves. The choice for this tablet shape is significant. The material clay hardly imposes any restrictions to the size or the format of a document and it can in principle be shaped into any desired form. An obvious reason why the clay was kneaded in this shape would be that it was imitating an already existing type of document, namely palm leaves (see, e.g., Evans 1921: 638; Myres (in Evans 1952): 2; Diringer 1953: 42; Ahl 1967: 188). The choice for palm leaves as a primary writing material would be a natural and logical one. It is easy to use, widely available (especially on Crete) and resistant, which is why it has been, and still is, a very popular writing material in many regions of the world (see, e.g. Diringer 1953: 37–44; Padmakumar et al. 2003). In many languages, the use of leaves for writing is still reflected in today's terminology for script bearers (e.g. folia, Blatt, leaf, hoja, feuille).[36] When the scribes who were accustomed to writing on palm leaves started to write on clay, they stuck to the same scribal conventions, including the shape of the documents.[37] This scenario finds support in the fact that in classical antiquity it was commonly held that palm leaves were the first writing material in the Aegean (see below § 7.1). Needless to say, the perishable materials used for writing were not necessarily restricted to palm leaves, possibly they also made use of other ephemeral materials, such as leather, parchment or wood.

6.2 *The Characteristics of the Script*

As has often been pointed out (e.g. Evans 1921: 638; Palaima 2003: 171) the written forms of the Linear B characters are cursive and complex and better suited to be written with pen and brush than to be incised in the coarse material clay.[38] It is telling that the sign forms are retained over time without any simplification or abstraction, which would have made writing in clay much easier. We do very clearly see such developments in the cuneiform script which was written almost exclusively on clay.[39]

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36 For a different view, see Weingarten 1983: 9 n. 9.

37 For the reason why this shift may have occurred, see below § 8.

38 Alternatively, no ink was used, but the soft palm leaves were incised with a stylus. As examples from South Asia show, this technique is also very suitable for round letter shapes, see Padmakumar et al. 2003: 128.

39 Note that Driessen (2000: 186–187) has argued that the external and internal features of the script betray elements that make it more than just a bookkeeping script, thus also implying a wider use of the script.

6.3 *The Number of Scribes*

Though the Linear B corpus is relatively limited, a substantial number of scribal hands have been identified. If the identifications of the scribal hands are correct, this would first of all mean that a sizeable group of individuals within the palace administration were able to write.[40] Bennet (2001: 29) mentions an average of 32 tablets per scribe at Pylos; 50 at the Room of the Chariot tablets and 55 in the main archive of Knossos. This leads him to conclude that these scribes were in fact administrators at the highest level, presumably members of the elite, who spent much of their time supervising activities (Bennet 2001: 31–35).[41] This scenario is certainly possible, but not without problems, as pointed out by Palaima (2003: 176–177). As he observes with respect to Pylos, the scribes wrote about widely diverse subjects without any clear patterns of specialization that would point to them being responsible for certain parts or aspects of the economic management. In addition to the objections raised by Palaima, one has to wonder if the elite members would have been interested in recording such detailed accounts; in contemporary Mesopotamia, for instance, this kind of bookkeeping activities were hardly considered as prestigious high-status tasks.[42]

A simpler explanation for the awkward ratio of the relatively high number of individuals involved in writing to the relatively few and short records would be that writing was used on a much larger scale on perishable materials and that literacy was not necessarily confined to the elite.

6.4 *The Uniformity of the Script*

Though there are quite a number of scribes responsible for the tablets that have come down to us, the overall uniformity and standardization of the script and the scribal habits is striking, both on the mainland and the islands.[43] This implies not only a centralized control (see above § 2), but also a very rigid training. It is questionable that such an elaborate educational system would have been used and maintained so consistently only for the detailed recording of a limited part of the administration.[44]

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40 On the identification of scribal hands, see Palaima 2011: 96–100 with references.

41 Compare also Driessen 1992: 198–200 who argues that tablet-writers were part of an administrative class who could also be members of other elite groups.

42 The inscriptions on the stirrup jars have also been seen as indications that writing was more widespread (Ventris—Chadwick 1973: 109–1110; Wace 1953: 426), but since their function is uncertain, they are best left out of consideration.

43 Needless to say, there are certainly regional differences and variations. However, these are only to be expected as we are dealing with individual people, not machines, and they do not affect the overall very homogenous picture.

44 The fact that the Hittite cuneiform script is also very uniform, yet used for a wide variety

6.5 *Archaeological Evidence*

When discussing the possible existence of perishable writing materials, archeological evidence is bound to be absent or limited. The well-known wooden diptych from the Ulu-Burun shipwreck is one of the few surviving wooden objects from the Late Bronze Age. Its provenance is unknown, but it may have belonged to one of the Mycenaean officials who were on board on the ship.[45] A confirmation that this tiny wooden diptych may indeed be Mycenaean has now been suggested by Martien Dillo. He proposes that the signs incised on the edge of the tablets have to be read as Mycenean numerals (see the appendix of Dillo below).

Further indications for the use of such wooden diptychs in the Mycenaean period are the bronze hinges that were found at the Archive Complex at Pylos and in the arsenal at Knossos. Shear (1998) has suggested that these may be hinges of wooden tablets, similar to the one found in Ulu Burun.[46] Lastly, we may here recall the flat-based nodules from Knossos which may have been attached to leather documents (see above § 4.3).

6.6 *Correspondence with Hittite Anatolia: Aḫḫiyawa Letters*

As discussed in § 2, excavations in Ḫattuša have yielded correspondence between the Hittite king and the king of Aḫḫiyawa. The preserved documents, including a letter that was sent by the Aḫḫiyawan king to the Hittite king, are written in Hittite, by a native speaker and in a typical Hittite *ductus*. This is by no means exceptional: some of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence unearthed in Ḫattuša is not written in Akkadian, which was the Late Bronze Age *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East, but in Hittite.[47] Various explanations for this have been offered: the letters could be drafts or translations and/or archival copies, or the correspondence was at times conducted in Hittite.

The possible modes in which contacts between the Hittite king and the king of Aḫḫiyawa took place has already been discussed elsewhere and I will therefore not address this issue in detail (Melchert 2020, Beckman et al. 2011: 138–139; Hoffner 2009: 299; Surenhagen 2008: 260–265; Bryce 2003: 199–200). Theoretically, many scenarios are possible. If one does not want to accept that in the Aegean during this time period writing was used for any other purpose than

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of text genres makes the argument of Dow 1954: 122 that the uniformity and conservatism of the script is an indication that its use must have been restricted invalid.

45 For Aegean presence on the ship, see Pulak 2005; Bachhuber 2006: 352–356.

46 For a different view, see Perna 2011: 15.

47 On the mechanics of the communication between the Great Kings of the ancient Near East, see Bryce 2003: Chapter 3, esp. pp. 54–56.

economic administration, one could argue that the messages from Aḫḫiyawa were transmitted orally, and that they were only written down on the Hittite side. Though possible, this would be highly exceptional in light of the wider Near East, where letters were the basic tools for the maintenance of diplomatic relations (Bryce 2003: 48). Not only the Great Kings, but also vassal kings of smaller states made use of writing for their correspondence. Considering the fact that Aḫḫiyawa was not only in contact with Anatolia, but also with Egypt (see, e.g. Cline 1994; De Fidio 2008: 96–97), it would seem only logical and practical that in the Aegean writing was used for such long-distance communication, just like the partners with whom they corresponded.[48]

All in all, there are quite a number of facts that suggest that the now available corpus of Linear B texts does not offer us the full picture and that many more documents were produced that are now lost. It is inevitable that the evidence presented here is only indirect; more direct proof of perishable writing materials cannot realistically be expected.

7 Later Traditions about Ancient Writing Materials

Further to the arguments above, it is of interest that in later classical traditions it was generally believed that the first writing materials before the invention of papyrus, were on perishable materials such as palm leaves and wood.[49] Though these sources should be treated with caution as they stem from a much later date, they offer a welcome additional perspective to the debate.

7.1 *In Palmarum Foliis Primo Scriptitatum*

Pliny (23–79 CE), citing Varro, relates that the use of papyrus for writing was invented in Alexandria. Before that time, people first wrote on palm leaves, then on the bark of certain trees, subsequently they used sheets of lead for official documents, and for private documents linen sheets or wax tablets.

> (Varro informs us that paper owes its discovery to the victorious career of Alexander the Great, at the time when Alexandria in Egypt was founded by him;)

48 It is interesting that in the so-called Millawanda letter explicitly mention is made of *wooden* documents made for the king of Wiluša (Beckman e.a. 2011: 128–129). The use of wooden documents would explain the conspicuous absence of any written sources in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age.

49 See already Evans 1909: 105–106 and Ventris—Chadwick 1973: 109.

> *antea non fuisse chartarum usum: in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, dein quarundam arborum libris. Postea publica monumenta plumbeis voluminibus, mox et privata linteis confici coepta aut ceris; pugillarium enim usum fuisse etiam ante troiana tempora invenimus apud Homerum*
>
> *Naturalis Historia* 13.21[50]

> before which period paper had not been used, the leaves of the palm having been employed for writing at an early period, and after that the bark of certain trees. In succeeding ages, public documents were inscribed on sheets of lead, while private memoranda were impressed upon linen cloths, or else engraved on tablets of wax; indeed, we find it stated in Homer, that tablets were employed for this purpose even before the time of the Trojan war.[51]

The information given by Pliny is in line with information found in the Suda, a Byzantine encyclopedic work from the 10th century CE. Among the various explanations of the meaning of *grammata phoinekeia*, we find the following observation:

> Φοινικήϊα γράμματα· Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τοῦ εὑρόντος· τούτοις δὲ ἀντιλέγουσι Κρῆτες, ὡς εὑρέθη ἀπὸ τοῦ γράφειν ἐν φοινίκων πετάλοις
>
> Suda φ 787

> Phoenician letters: Lydians and Ionians [call] the letters [thus] from their inventor Phoinix the son of Agenor; but Cretans disagree with them, [saying that] the name was derived from writing on palm leaves.[52]

The Greek word φοῖνιξ can have several meanings: it may, among other, refer to a palm tree, the color purple or crimson, or 'Phoenician' (Liddell—Scott 1940 s.v. φοῖνιξ). In combination with *grammata* it is usually taken to refer to the Phoenician letters, by which the alphabet is meant. Here, an alternative explanation is given, in which the *grammata phoinekeia* refer to writing on palm leaves.[53]

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50 For an online text edition, see Mayhoff 1906, see http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-lat1:13.18.

51 Translation: Bostock—Riley 1855, available online at http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:13.21.

52 For text edition, see Suda On Line and the Stoa Consortium 2000–2018 (http://www.stoa.org/sol/).

53 If this interpretation is correct, it would mean that the expression *grammata phoinekeia*

7.2 *Lead and Linen*

On another occasion, Pliny tells about a letter of Sarpedon that the Roman consul Mucianus had seen in a Lycian temple, of which he questions the authenticity:

> praeterea Mucianus ter cos. prodidit nuper se legisse, cum praesideret Lyciae, Sarpedonis ab Troia scriptam in quodam templo epistulae chartam, quod eo magis mirror si etiamnum Homero condente Aegyptus non erat: aut cur, si iam hic erat ussus, in plumbeis linteisque voluminibus scriptiatum constet, curve Homerus in ipsa illa Lycia Bellerophonti codicillos datos, non epistulas, tradiderit?
>
> *Naturalis Historia* 13.27[54]

> In addition to these facts, Mucianus, who was three times consul, has stated that he had recently read, while governor of Lycia, a letter written upon paper, and preserved in a certain temple there, which had been written from Troy, by Sarpedon; a thing that surprises me the more, if it really was the fact that even in the time of Homer the country that we call Egypt was not in existence. And why too, if paper was then in use, was it the custom, as it is very well known it was, to write upon leaden tablets and linen cloths? Why, too, has Homer stated that in Lycia tablets were given to Bellerophon to carry, and not a paper letter?[55]

For Pliny, it is a well-established fact that in the old days people wrote on different writing materials (lead and linen cloth) and he regards the use of papyrus as an obvious anachronism, casting doubt on the genuineness of the document (cf. Higbie 2014: 15).

7.3 *Bark and Bronze*

Writing on bark is mentioned in relation to the diary of Dictys, the companion of Idomeneus in the Cretan contingent at Troy. This diary has survived with two introductions. One of them relates that the journal was discovered when the tomb of Dictys at Knossos collapsed:

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was later (incorrectly) re-interpreted as referring to the Phoenicians, who were seen as the bringers of the alphabet to Greece (e.g. Herodotus, *Histories* 5.58). This also has potentially interesting implications for the origins of the alphabet, see Waal forthc.

54 For an online text edition, see Mayhoff 1906, see http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-lat1:13.24.

55 Translation: Bostock—Riley 1855–1857, available online at http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:13.27.

> pastores cum eo devenissent, forte inter ceteram ruinam loculum stagno affabre clausum offendere ac thesaurum rait mox dissolvunt non aurum nec aliud quicquam praedae, se libros ex philyra in lucem prodituri.
>
> Shepherds who arrived there [at the grave- W.W.], by chance came upon a tin box among the other rubble. So thinking it was treasure they presently opened it. But what came to light was not gold or anything profitable, but books of linden bark.[56]

Though the story about this miraculous rediscovery is in all likelihood fabricated, one should not completely discard it as mere fiction. The main aim of this account is to lend credibility to a supposedly ancient diary dating to the time before Homer. In order to achieve this, the physical details of the document and its unearthing must have sounded credible to the audience.[57] It is therefore quite possible that the report was inspired by genuine discoveries of ancient documents (Evans 1909: 108; Astour *apud* Owen—Young 1997: 33). As pointed out by Ahl 1967: 189, referring to the observation of Evans that Cretan women wore Linear B tablets as charms, it is more than likely that during the Classical period ancient inscriptions were found. Like palm leaves, bark was a commonly used writing material in other regions, and examples hereof have sometimes survived in more favorable environmental conditions.[58]

A reference to the discovery of an ancient document made of bronze is found in the *Moralia* of Plutarch (46–120 CE). When the alleged tomb of Alcmene, the mother of Heracles, was opened, a bronze tablet with a long inscription in an unknown script was revealed. In the following passage, Phidolaus relates about the opening of the grave:

> (There were found no relics of a body; but a small brazen bracelet, and two earthen pipkins full of earth, which now by length of time was grown very hard and petrified)
> [ἐπάνω δὲ] τοῦ μνήματος [ἔκειτο] πίναξ χαλκοῦς [7] ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ [8] ὡς παμπάλαια γνῶναι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν [9] οὐδὲν [10] παρεῖχε καίπερ ἐκφα-

56 Translation: Dowden 2016 (Brill's New Jacoby 49).

57 For the construction of the elaborate 'Beglaubigungsapparat' for this text, see Stott 2008: 93 with references.

58 The oldest known birch bark manuscripts are the Gandharan Buddhist texts from Afghanistan, dating to the 1st century CE (Salomon et al. 1999). For the use of bark for more mundane text genres, see the medieval birch bark documents from Novgorod (Schaeken 2012). Evidence for the use of wood as a writing material in the Roman period, is presented by the Vindolanda tablets (1st–2nd c. CE).

> νέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυθέντος τος, ἀλλ᾽ ἴδιός τις ὁ τύπος καὶ βαρβαρικὸς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐμφερέστατος Αἰγυπτίοις διὸ καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἀντίγραφα [11] τῷ βασιλεῖ δεόμενος δεῖξαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, εἰ ξυνήσουσιν
>
> PLUTARCH, *De Genio Socratis* section 5[59]

> Upon the monument there was a brazen plate full of strange, because very ancient, letters; for though, when the plate was washed, all the strokes were very easily perceived, yet nobody could make anything of them; for they were a particular, barbarous, and most like the Egyptian character. And therefore Agesilaus, as the story goes, sent a transcript of them to the king of Egypt, desiring him to show them to the priests, and if they understood them, to send him the meaning and interpretation.[60]

Since the tablet contains mysterious signs that look like Egyptian hieroglyphs it is sent to Egypt, where it is 'translated'. It has been suggested that these signs refer to Linear B (see e.g. Astour *apud* Owen—Young 1997: 33; Larson 1995: 92; Evans 1909: 107–108), but this remains impossible to prove. One may further mention the bronze tablets of Acusilaus of Argos (FGH 2 T1, see Jeffery 1967: 159 n. 27; Higbie 1999: 55). The *Suda* describes Acusilaus as a very ancient historian, who wrote genealogies from bronze tablets that were reportedly found by his father when he was digging a place in his house.[61]

As already mentioned, the above accounts date to a much later period, which affects their trustworthiness and the information they provide should not be taken at face value. However, the fact that in classical antiquity the idea that the earliest form of writing was on perishable materials such as palm leaves was apparently widely accepted common knowledge is significant and should not be ignored either.

8 Accidental Survivors?

The evidence for the use of the main writing materials in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and the Aegean may be summarized as follows:

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59 For an online text edition, see Bernardakis 1891, see http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg109.perseus-grc1:5.

60 Translation based on Goodwin 1874, available online at http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg109.perseus-eng1:5.

61 S.v. Ἀκουσίλαος (Adler α 942), see the Suda online (http://www.stoa.org/sol/).

TABLE 9.3 Main writing materials in the Aegean and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age

Writing materials	**Anatolia**		**Aegean**	
	Anatolian hieroglyphs	**Cuneiform**	**Linear B**	**Linear A**
Clay	–[a]	++	++	++
Metal	+	+	–[b]	+
Wood, bark, leaves	*References in cuneiform texts to wooden documents and scribes on wood*		*The Uluburun diptych?? References to these writing materials in later classical texts*	
Leather, parchment	–	–	*Impressions of leather on direct sealings?*	*Impressions of leather on direct sealings*
Stone	*From ca. 1350/1300 BCE onwards*	–	+	+

a Exceptions are a few incidental signs on clay tablets, see Waal 2017.

b There are later references to lead and bronze as early writing materials in the Aegean, but it is unclear to what script they refer (see above 7.2 and 7.3).

As is to be expected, the evidence for the use of perishable writing materials is in all cases indirect since—except for the Uluburun diptych whose provenance is uncertain—none of the actual documents have survived. If we accept that Linear B, just like it is usually assumed for Linear A, was predominantly written on perishable materials, and that the leaf-shaped tablets mimicked palm-leaves, several important questions immediately come to mind: Why were the documents that did survive written on clay instead of on palm leaves? Do they testify to a definite switch from palm leaves to clay or did palm leaves continue to be used alongside the clay tablets? And what kind of texts were written on these palm leaves and/or other perishable materials? To start with the second question, since the script does not change in the way we would expect it to if it were solely used for writing in wet clay, it seems likely that writing on palm leaves continued (Ahl 1967: 188). Also, the fact that only a relatively

limited corpus of clay tablets has survived would plead for the continual use of perishable materials, though this could also be due to archaeological chance and/or the recycling of tablets after they were no longer relevant.[62] Yet another possibility is that clay did replace the palm leaves, but writing on other perishable materials such as skin and leather continued. It is of interest that later traditions do not mention clay as an ancient writing material (see above § 7), which may be seen as a confirmation that the use of this material was exceptional and not common practice.

The first question, why the texts that have survived were written on clay is even harder to answer. The suggestion of Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 109) that the use of clay for storeroom inventories was probably a protection against mice is charming, but impossible to prove. It is, however, very well possible that there were some very practical, mundane reasons behind this choice, which can unfortunately no longer be traced. This is not a unique situation, it also remains a mystery for instance why the few surviving economic texts and letters in Anatolian Hieroglyphs from the first millennium were written down on lead (and have as a consequence survived).

As for the question what kind of texts were written on other materials than clay, one may speculate that they included the kind of documents present in the state archives of Anatolia—such as religious texts, literary texts and (international) correspondence—and/or private records, but this remains unavoidably tentative.

This article has put forward a number of arguments for a wider and more extensive use of Linear B than solely for economic administration on clay. Part of the argument has been based on a comparison with Anatolia, and the rest of the ancient Near East. Of course, one needs to be careful to extrapolate too easily from parallels from contemporary neighboring societies (cf. Van den Hout 2012: 48). The fact that these regions were in close contact does not automatically mean that they were all the same; it is clear that differences existed, which already becomes apparent from the various distinct writing systems that were, and continued to be, in use. By the same token, however, one should also be wary to regard the Aegean as exceptional too readily and to continue to study this region in isolation.

62 Note that the rule 'No fire, no tablets' (Palaima 2010: 358) does not always hold true, as is shown by examples of surviving unbaked clay tablets from Anatolia and Mesopotamia. See also Evans 1909: 43 and Myres (in Evans 1952): 3 about the discovery of unbaked tablets from Crete.

Addendum by Martien Dillo

Do the Uluburun signs represent Mycenaean numerals?

One of the most spectacular finds in the shipwreck at Uluburun was a wooden writing set or folding tablet (diptych) dating to ca. 1300 BCE, which was discovered in 1986. The diptych contains a number of incised marks, which could not immediately be identified. In his edition and discussion of the wooden tablet Robert Payton (1991) identified the upper mark of three signs on the lower end of the inner border of the right-hand board as an 'O', but he could not decide whether or not this mark, as well the other two marks further down below were a form of script. Above the three marks there is a blank area, then the beginnings of another mark are visible, which is very difficult to see. Payton interpreted this sign as an 'O' as well, and suggests that perhaps more marks were originally present, that are now eroded or missing (see fig. 9.1). As for the function of these markings, he remarked that apart from some form of script they could represent owner's marks, a form of decoration, or that they could have been made for an unknown purpose (Payton 1991: 104).

A similar sobering conclusion was proposed by the Nestor of Linear B epigraphy, Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. after investigating the tablet. He did not recognize the signs as characters in any writing system known to him, as he mentions in his letter (March, 1989) to Barry B. Powell, who was at that time preparing a study on the origin of the Greek alphabet. Bennett concludes: "it would be wiser not to claim that the diptych itself is inscribed" (Bennett *apud* Powell 1991, paperback ed. 1996: 66–67, note 185). This opinion has not much changed since, and the signs have therefore not received much attention. An exception is Neumann (1999: 413) who has proposed that the signs most below represent a diptych and the two signs above may represent a personal name ('diptych of X').

When I studied the signs in 1991, trained in Linear B by the lectures and *privatissima* given by Prof. C.J. Ruijgh at the University of Amsterdam (cf. Ruijgh 1967), the idea came to me that the marks could be interpreted as Mycenaean signs representing numbers. When I recently discussed the Uluburun markings with Willemijn Waal, I realized that this interpretation has not yet been put forward and I am therefore happy to set out—on her kind invitation—my arguments below.

The Linear B numeral system is expressed by means of a decimal notation, identical with that of early Minoan in Linear A. Single units are indicated by vertical strokes and the signs for tens by horizontal lines, while the hundreds and thousands are indicated by simple circles and by circles with spokes

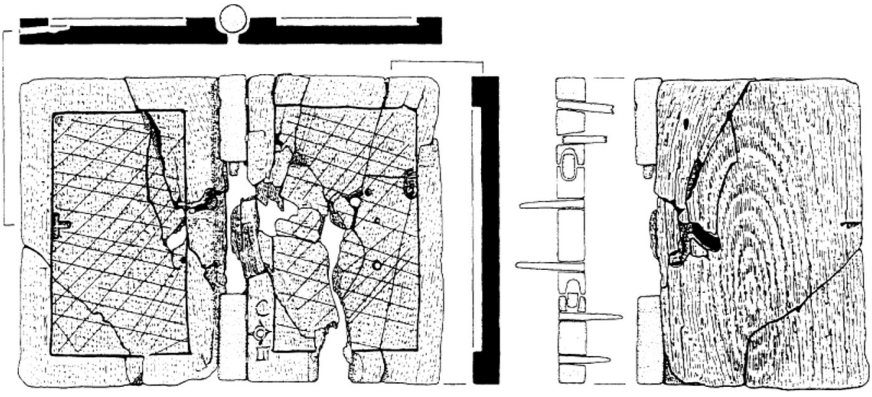

FIGURE 9.1 The Uluburun writing-board set (diptych) with marks inside
DRAWING BY NETIA PIERCY, PUBLISHED IN PAYTON 1991: 102 (FIG. 2). REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

respectively. The sign for 10,000, which is not attested in Linear A, is expressed in Linear B by means of a ligature of the sign for 1000 with a horizontal line (10) written within (cf. Evans 1909: 256; Ventris & Chadwick 1956: 53; Heubeck 1966: 24; Ruijgh 1967: 32), see fig. 9.2.

In my opinion the marks inside the Uluburun diptych have a structure that is very similar to the Mycenaean signs representing numbers. Though they are 'not in the best condition' (Bennett *apud* Powell 1991; 1996: 67), the upper mark was already identified as 'O' by Payton, as mentioned above. This 'mark' can then easily be understood as the Linear B sign for '100'. The lowest mark is given by Payton in his reconstruction as three vertical lines between two horizontals. This could be read as the sign for '3' in a separate framework. Judging from the photo published in Aruz et al. 2008 (p. 368, fig. of cat. no. 234), however, the lower horizontal line appears to be absent. In this case, we might be dealing with the number '3' written below the number '10'.

Parallel to the upper sign for '100' is the second sign, which is a circle with spokes, just like we see in the Linear B signs for '1000'. However, here we do not find the horizontal stroke (10) written inside (which would represent 10,000), but a circle (100). In analogy to the way the sign for 10,000 is formed (the sign 1000 with the sign 10 within) this sign could represent the amount 100,000 (the sign 1000 with the sign 100 within), which has so far not been attested, see fig. 9.3.

If these observations are correct, we may conclude that the tablet's owner was a (chief) merchant, most likely from Mycenaean Crete or mainland Greece. He may have had more tablets in his possession, since a fragment of another

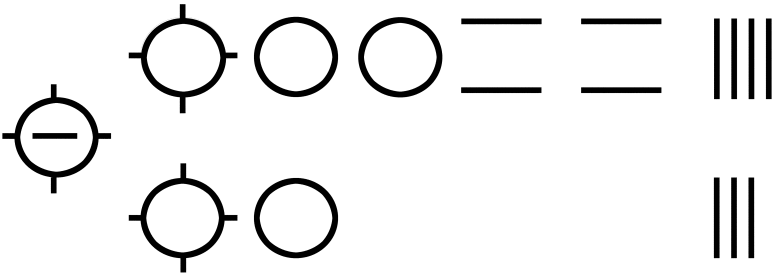

FIGURE 9.2 The number 12,347 in Linear B
AFTER HEUBECK 1966: 24; FOR A COMPARABLE EXAMPLE ('12,345') SEE VENTRIS AND CHADWICK 1956: 53

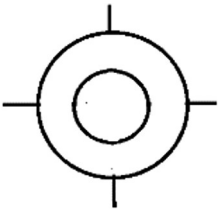

FIGURE 9.3
Proposed sign for '100,000' (1000 with 100 inside), to be add to the Aegean numerals (attested in the Uluburun diptych)
DRAWING: MARTIEN DILLO

wooden writing-board was found in the shipwreck (Pulak 2008: 367 with n. 6). The folding tablet with the markings may then have been his 'third' diptych, which was indicated with the signs most below. Possibly, he used the diptych to notate elements of the cargo which were numbered in greater amounts, but sold per unit. The numeral '100,000' may sound a bit exorbitant in this context, but it may, for instance, have referred to the total amounts of beads, thousands of which were actually found still aboard the vessel. The content of the writing-board set may have been a list comparable to the lists found on the Mycenaean rectangular page-shaped tablets, enumerating the different owners and their share in the merchandise. The scribe may have initially forgotten to include the numbers and therefore used the wooden frame to note down the numbers on the left side. However, other interpretations should certainly not be excluded.[63]

Since the signs of the diptych are not in perfect condition and I have not been able to examine the original, this suggestion has to remain tentative. If proven correct, however, this would have some interesting historical implications. It would confirm Mycenaean presence on board of the Uluburun ship

63 A different function is proposed by Kelder 2016, who points out that the luxurious materials of which the diptych is made (fine buxus wood with ivory hinges) would suggest that it had a more official function and may have served as a diplomatic passport.

(Pulak 2005; Bachhuber 2006), and it would be an indication that Linear B was not only written on clay, but also on wood, and that it was used outside the palatial administration.

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CHAPTER 10

The Anatolian Connections of the Greek God Enyalius

Ilya Yakubovich

Enyalius (Ἐνυάλιος) was known as a warlike deity in traditional Greek religion and frequently underwent syncretism with the war-god Ares in literary sources, to the point of being perceived as his epithet.[1] The association between the two deities is already attested in *Il.* 17.210–211 δῦ δέ μιν Ἄρης | δεινὸς Ἐνυάλιος 'and Ares, dreadful Enyalius, entered him' (cf. Purves 2011: 82). Nevertheless, other passages in the Iliad conjure up his perception as an independent deity, endowed with epithets of his own (García Ramón 2010: 88), while epigraphic evidence supports the ubiquitous veneration of Enyalius and Ares as distinct gods in Classical Greece (Gonzales 2008: 132).[2] Even Hellenistic and Roman compositions dealing with non-Greek religions implicitly separate Enyalius from Ares, although this type of evidence can only have the subsidiary value. Thus, Polybius (*Hist.* 3.25.6) "translates" the Roman gods Mars and Quirinus as Ares and Enyalius respectively. Josephus Flavius (*A.J.* 1,119) attributes to Hestiaeus the view that after the destruction of the Tower of Babel the priests who

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2 Gonzales (ibid.) observes: "A plotting of the cults of Ares and Enyalios on the map of the Greek world shows an unmistakable pattern that tends to reinforce the picture of two, originally separate, martial deities. Ares predominates in the north and east, while cults of Enyalios are focused almost exclusively in the south and west". But the reference to primary sources in the footnote to the same passage allows one to see that the generalization can only be made with reference to mainland Greece. The cult of Enyalius, but not Ares, is attested on the island of Rhodes, while the Mycenaean sources supply indirect evidence for him having been worshipped in Crete (see immediately below).

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survived took the vessels of Zeus Enyalius to Shinar. Therefore, modern scholars usually assume that Enyalius and Ares had originally represented separate entities.

The god Enyalius is attested once, probably twice, in Mycenaean sources, both times being detached from the possible mentions of Ares in the same corpus. The fragmentary Linear B tablet KN V 52 contains the syllabic spelling *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* /En(u)walijōi/ 'to Enyalius' next to *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /At^{h}ānā-potnijāi/ 'to Lady Athena' or 'to Athenian Lady', *pa-ja-wo-ne* /Pajāwōnei/ 'to Paean', and the partially preserved form *po-se-da*[-, which is presumably to be understood as /Poseidāhōnei/ 'to Poseidon' (Duhoux 2010: 107). The chain of theonyms in this Knossos tablet was identified at the dawn of Mycenaean Studies and indeed played a certain role in the decipherment of Linear B (Chadwick 1976: 88). The passage PY An 724 11–12 *e-ko-si-qe e-qe-ta ka-ma*[...|] *e-to-ni-jo e-nwa-ri-jo* offers more challenges, but the latest edition of the relevant Pylos tablet suggests its tentative interpretation along the lines /ek^{h}onsi-k^{w}e hek^{w}etai kamas etōnijon En(u)walijōi/ 'and the *hekwetas*-officials will hold the *kamas*-terrain as the *etōnion* for Enyalius' (del Freo 2002–2003: 154–156).[3] Even if one assumes that *e-nwa-ri-jo* is here a personal name, following the alternative hypothesis entertained in del Freo's paper, its derivation from the theonym under discussion still seems fairly likely.[4]

A number of Hellenists pronounced themselves in favour of treating Enyalius as a substrate element in Greek religion. Frisk (1960: 526), Rujigh (1967: 112), and Chantraine (1968: 352) converge in describing the theonym Ἐνυάλιος as Pre-Greek, while Hiller (2011: 186) goes a step further hypothesizing that it has a Minoan origin. While the last hypothesis cannot be excluded *a priori*, it does not seem to impose itself. The only positive argument in favour of the last assumption appears to be the provenance of *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* from the Knossos archive. Hiller prefers to treat *e-nwa-ri-jo* from Pylos as a genetically unrelated formation, but since he does not supply independent reasons for such an analysis, the whole argument appears to be circular. Given that Knossos in Crete represents the find spot of one of the two largest Linear B archives, the fact the clearest attestation of Ἐνυάλιος comes from a Knossos tablet need not entail far-reaching ethno-historical conclusions.

3 For the etymological connections of *etōnijon* '(privileged land-holding)', see Egetmeyer 2010: 305.

4 The earlier doubts regarding the connection between the two forms appear to have been derived from the uncertainty about the reading ⟨nwa⟩ (see e.g. Morpurgo Davies 1972: 109). This reading, however, was validated in Bennett–Olivier 1973: 54. For parallel instances of free alternation between *48 = ⟨nwa⟩ and the graphic sequence *nu-wa*, see Melena 2014: 62.

Indo-Europeanists, on the other hand, have striven to provide Enyalius with a Proto-Indo-European etymology. Recent years saw two attempts of accounting for this theonym as an inherited prefixed formation. Dunkel (2014: 242) offered the reconstruction **enu-u̯l̥l-i̯i̯ó-* 'one who is/acts along the throng (*Gedränge*)', while Schaffner (2017) elaborated upon his analysis, suggesting PIE **(h₁)enu-wlh₃-i̯o-* 'one who is/acts along the battle(field)'.[5] The common difficulty of both approaches is the necessity to posit the prefix **(h₁)enu-* 'along', essentially extrapolated from Indo-Iranian **anu* 'along' but lacking any parallels within Greek. While an exceptional survival of the preverb **(h₁)enu-*, otherwise lost in Greek, is theoretically possible, such a bold assumption could only be confirmed through the external cognates of Ἐνυ-άλιος reflecting the same morpheme combination, which are not available at present. That being said, it remains to be seen whether the proposed reconstructions have other merits that could offset this flaw.

The dictionary genre of Dunkel 2014 was not conducive to discussing the first hypothesis at length, and so one can only speculate that *Gedränge* could be perceived as a metaphor for a battling army. The author, however, makes it clear in the footnote that the morph **-u̯l̥l-* belongs to the same Indo-European root as Gk. εἰλέω 'to press, shut in' and ἀ-ολλής '(pressed) together'. While both lexemes may occur in military contexts, neither of them is restricted to the military sphere, and therefore they do not really contribute to motivating the function of Ἐνυάλιος. To this one can add that the syllabic structure of **enu-u̯l̥l-i̯i̯o-* begs a question about the origin of the allomorph **-u̯l̥l-* postulated for the Proto-Indo-European morpheme **u̯el*: one should rather expect **enu-ul-i̯i̯o-* yielding **enūli̯i̯o-*, or something of the sort. Although the "Sievers-Lindeman" allomorph αλ-, going back to **u̯l̥l-*, is indeed attested within Greek, for example, in the participle ἀλείς, treating Ἐνυ-άλ-ιος as a late analogical formation would undermine the archaic character of the prefix Ἐνυ-, which lies at the heart of the proposed solution.

Schaffner's approach has the advantage of pointing out potential root cognates whose meaning could prop up the function of Enyalius in the Greek pantheon. These are Old Norse *walr* 'battle-field', Old English *wæl* 'the slain (collective)', and Old Saxon *wal-dad* 'murder'. The first morpheme of Old Norse *Wal-kyrja*, literally "Chooser of the dead", contains the same root. From the functional perspective, one can compare the Homeric epithet ἀνδρειφόντης

5 For the sake of completeness, one can also mention the account of Carnoy 1956: 119–120, according of which Ἐνυάλιος means 'one who kills by piercing with arrow or spades'. Carnoy's reconstruction of the root **us* in this word is flatly contradicted by Mycenaean evidence, let alone the absence of the Indo-European root **u̯es* 'to pierce'.

'man-slaying' applied to Enyalius and perhaps *Il.* 18.307–309, where Hector explicitly portrays this god as an arbitrator of death. Finally, Schaffner argues that the same root, -αλ- reconstructed on the Proto-Indo-European level as *μelh_3, is present in the Greek aorist stem ἁλ(ω)- 'to be defeated, killed in battle'.

It is this final link, however, that compounds the problems. While the forms derived from the stem ἁλ(ω)- can indeed pragmatically refer to dying in battle, the analysis of their Homeric attestations suggests that the literal meaning of this stem is 'to be captured'. Thus, the participle ἁλοῦσά is used with reference to the captured Troy (*Il.* 2.374), while in *Il.* 5.487 we find the phrase ἀψῖσι λίνου ἁλόντε 'caught in the meshes of linen'. The meaning 'to be killed' is synchronically metaphoric and must have arisen within the combination θανάτῳ ἁλῶναι 'to be seized by death' (e.g. *Od.* 5.312). Although this was a stable metaphor, as shown by the disjunction ἠὲ κατακτάμεν ἠὲ ἁλῶναι 'either to slay or to be slain' (*Il.* 12.272), where θανάτῳ is understood but not spelled out, it did not trigger the semantic shift. In the later Greek language, we find the middle verb ἁλίσκομαι 'to be taken, conquered' and the matching active verb ἀν-αλίσκω 'to use up, spend'.

This means that if the Greek verb under discussion is indeed related to Old Norse *walr* 'battle-field' and related forms, it must have preserved its earlier meaning 'to be captured', while the Germanic cognates generalized its metaphoric extension 'to die', presumably for euphemistic reasons. The semantic development in the opposite direction would be unnatural and unbelievable. Since the archaic formation Ἐνυ-άλιος is expected to be derived from the primary meaning of the Greek root, it would literally mean something like "being/acting along the booty", which does, not, however, correspond to the known function of the Greek god. Alternatively, one can hypothesize (and this is my preferred solution) that the Greek and Germanic forms are genetically unrelated.[6] In this case, one remains free to reconstruct the meaning of Ἐνυ-άλ-ιος as 'someone who is/acts along the battlefield' and to compare it with Old Norse *walr* 'battlefield'. This would come, however, at the cost of positing a

6 The set of potential Indo-European cognates of ἁλίσκομαι was recently summarized in Beekes 2010: 69–70. Among the comparative material collected there, the verbal forms that display the closest semantic match are Gothic *wilwan* 'to rob, plunder' and Classical Armenian *gołanam* 'to steal'. Exactly the same verbal forms are listed as most likely cognates of ἁλίσκομαι in Frisk 1960: 74 and Chantraine 1968: 62. Isolating this cluster is conducive to grouping together Hittite *walḫ-* 'to strike', Latin *vellere* 'to tear out' (cognate with Latin *vulnus* 'wound'). While both 'to be stricken' and 'to be seized' represent suitable euphemistic paraphrases for death, the semantic change from 'striking' to 'seizing' or vice versa would be far less trivial. Incidentally, the splitting approach is compatible with formally different reconstructions, *μelh_3 'to seize' and *μelh_2 'to strike'.

Greek derivative where not one but two morphemes are otherwise unattested in Greek. The low probability of such an interpretation invites a quest for further alternative solutions.

Recently I had a chance to work on a new edition of the Lydian inscription LW 22, which is now published as Yakubovich 2017. This text represents an agreement of the Sardians with a group called *mλimna-*, for which I proposed identification with the Mermnad clan. One of the lexemes occurring in this difficult text, which had resisted the etymological analysis thus far, is *ẽnwaλa-* (cf. Gusmani 1964: 108). This noun occurs in the dative case in the phrase *kot≈it cidaλmdaν ẽnwaλaλ* 'as for the *ẽnwaλa-* of the *cidaλm-*eans'. The reference is apparently made to the party that has concluded an agreement in the past, with either the Sardeans or the *mλimna-* group, which provides a standard of comparison for the agreement LW 22. Since the phrase under discussion is unlikely to contain both dat.-loc. sg and dat.-loc. pl without coordination, the form *cidaλmdaν* most likely stands in gen. pl. An additional argument in favour of this interpretation is the adjectival suffix the *-(i)da-* < *-(i)yo-* recoverable in *cidaλm-da-*, on which see Gérard 2005: 89. The closest formal match to *cidaλm-da-* is *sfar-da-* 'Sardian' derived from *sfar(i)-* 'Sardes' (cf. Gusmani 1964: 202–203). Therefore, I proposed that *cidaλm-da-* designates a group of people of which *ẽnwaλa-* is the ruler or representative to assume responsibility for the agreement.

The interpretation of *cidaλmdaν ẽnwaλaλ* offered immediately above is conducive to the comparison between Lydian *ẽnwaλa-* and Hittite *annawali-*, *annauli-* 'co-ranked, peer, colleague', which is also attested in heterographic transmission as ^{LÚ}*MEḪRI* (Puhvel 1984: 64). The structure of Hittite *annawali-, annauli-* suggests that we are dealing with a Luwian loanword. As stressed in Rieken–Sasseville 2014: 307, the second part of Hitt. *anna-wa-li-* must be considered together with another Luwian loanword in Hittite, namely *aya-wa-la-* '(a representative of the king)', originally perhaps also 'peer, equal'.[7] The same

7 The meaning 'equal' was originally proposed for Hittite-Luwian *ayawala-* in Goedegebuure 2002: 67 based on the comparison with its Hittite cognate *ānt-* 'equal'. Such a semantic reconstruction became only more likely after Craig Melchert (*apud* Rieken–Sasseville 2014: 306) identified the root **aḭ-*, present in both forms, as the missing cognate of Latin *aequus* 'equal'. But the rhetorical question "Is not the second-in-command an *ayawala-* of the king?" (KUB 14.3 i 11–12) appears, on face value, to speak against the synchronic interpretation 'equal'. It seems, therefore, more plausible to assume that the noun *ayawala-* indicating a high rank displays the same semantic shift with regard to the original meaning 'equal, colleague' that is reconstructed here for *annawali-*. It is, furthermore, likely that the morphological derivation *ayawal(a/i)-* (adj.) → *ayawala-* (noun) went hand in hand with this process, although the details are not at present to be determined.

paper offers the interpretation of the suffix *-wa-* as a marker of social status in the Anatolian languages. As for the first morpheme of *anna-wali-*, *anna-uli-*, I compared it with the Luwian prefix *an*(*ni*)- 'con-', which is usually hidden under the logogram ⟨CUM⟩ in hieroglyphic texts (Yakubovich 2010a: 380, fn 10). Thus, the lexeme under discussion received the morpheme-by-morpheme translation "co-rank-ed". But one of its attestations clearly indicates that it can also function as a title: the phrase *š*[*A*] KUR URU ^{LÚ}*MEḪRI* 'a peer of the realm' is attested in KBo 4.14 iii 68. Such a semantic evolution is typologically natural: compare the English title *peer* applied to members of the House of Lords. A parallel that is more distant semantically but bears more structural resemblance to *anna-wali-* is Latin *com-es* (gen. *com-itis*) 'companion' yielding the French title *comte* 'count, earl'.

Another Luwian title of similar structure is *hanta-wa-tt*(*i*)- 'king', probably derived from Proto-Luwic **xant-a-wə-* (virtual PIE **h*$_2$*ent-eh*$_2$*-u̯o-*) 'one of advanced status' / "fore-ranked" (cf. Rieken–Sasseville 2014: 307). Additional derivatives of the same Proto-Luwic stem are Lycian A *xñtawata-* 'rule' and *xñtawate/i-* 'ruler, king', as well as Lycian B *xñtaba-* 'rule' (Melchert 2004: 84, 136) and Carian *κδου-* /kandow-/ 'king'? (Adiego 2007: 372). The derivative that brings us back to Lydia is the (alleged) royal name Κανδαύλης / Candaules (**kandawla-*), which displays the same type of word-formation and syncope as *annauli-* < *annawali-* (Oettinger 2017: 259). In reality, this must also have been a title 'king' (Yakubovich 2010b: 94–95). The actual name of Candaules, if he is not altogether legendary, was probably preserved by Herodotus as Μυρσίλος (*Hist.* 1.7.2). In all probability, Lydian **kandawla-* is a form of Luwic origin, since the Lydian word for 'king' is *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* (Yakubovich 2017: 288).[8]

The correspondences between Hittite *annawali-* / *annauli-* and Lydian *ẽnwaλa-* are compatible with the assumption that Luwian **annawal*(*i*)- was borrowed into Lydian. The likely posttonic position of syncope in Hittite and Lydian suggest that the Luwian and Hittite form were probably stressed on the second syllable, while the Lydian one must be reconstructed with the initial stress (Gérard 2005: 49). The initial vowel developed into *ẽ* in an accented closed syllable before a nasal (Gérard 2005: 43). The accent shift in Pre-Lydian can be explained by the fact that the Lydian prefix *ẽn-* always attracts the stress,

8 The earlier etymologies of Hitt. *anna-wa-li-* failed to capture the morphological parallelism between Proto-Luwic adjectives **ənn-a-wə-* "co-ranked" and **xant-a-wə-* "fore-ranked". Thus, Puhvel (1984: 65) derived *anna-wa-li-* from the demonstrative pronominal stem *anna-*, while Starke (1997: 464) interpreted it as "pertaining to (one's) mother status", with reference to the fact that princes by the same mother enjoyed equal standing in Hattusa.

if it can be synchronically segmented. The suffix *-a-* was presumably added to Pre-Lydian **ánnawali-* in order to underscore its substantivization (for this function of the reflexes of **-eh*$_2$ in various Anatolian languages, cf. Sasseville 2014–2015).[9]

Now, the Lydian title *ẽnwala-* looks sufficiently similar to the Greek theonym Ἐνυάλιος to prompt an enquiry about the possibility of their connection. Before turning to the formal side of this comparison, one has to account for the implied semantic change. A cross-culturally common pattern of referring to gods is using titles of authority, such as 'king/queen' or 'lord/lady'. Thus, the invocation 'lord' is typical of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite hymns to gods (Metcalf 2015: 23, 73, 91–92). The Greeks were also not immune to this habit: ἄναξ 'lord' is particularly common with reference to Apollo but also occurs in connection with other gods, such as Zeus, Poseidon, or Dioscuri. Notably, the same archaic epithet ἄναξ is attached to Enyalius in the famous couplet of Archilochus (7th century BCE): εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνῡαλίοιο ἄνακτος | καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος 'I am the acolyte of Lord Enyalius, but (I am) also experienced in the lovely gift of the Muses' (Fr. 1 D).

Furthermore, there are many examples of such epithets gradually replacing the primary name of the deity. Thus, the Babylonian god Marduk was commonly referred to as Bel "Lord" from the Late Bronze Age onward, and this derivative of Akkadian *bēlu-* 'lord' survived the extinction of the Akkadian language. The cult of Bel (Greek Βῆλος, Latin *Belus*), distinct from its West Semitic counterpart Baal, persisted until Late Antiquity, not only in Babylon but also in the Syrian oasis of Palmyra (Dalley 1995). The presence of Baal "Lord" in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Aramaic pantheons finds its counterpart in the Biblical use of Adonai, literally "my lords". This etymological plural form probably served as a polite way of referring to *YHWH* before turning into a tabooistic replacement of this theonym. Phoenician *'dn* /adōn/ 'lord' was apparently used as an epithet of Tammuz, which would explain why this Semitic resurrecting god came to be known to the Greeks as Adonis (cf. West 1995: 57). In the Mycenaean world, a common way of classifying goddesses was using the inherited title *po-ti-ni-ja* /potnijā-/ 'lady' accompanied by various modifiers, which were frequently derived of place names (Nosch 2009: 22). One of the female

9 In formal terms, it is impossible to exclude the scenario of **ənn-a-wə-* 'co-ranked' being a specific Proto-Luwic analogical formation on the model of **xant-a-wə-* 'for-ranked', and Lydian *ẽnwala-* continuing the inherited **én*(*i*)-*u̯o-l̥ieh*$_2$. But from the semantic perspective, reconstructing Proto-Anatolians designations of social status has little to recommend itself, since they must have been frequently renewed. I am not aware of any title of nobility that can be reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian by the comparative method.

deities mentioned in the Linear B corpus is *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* 'Asian Lady', possibly an indigenous Anatolian goddess (cf. Hutter 2003: 268 and Rutherford 2021: 169–170 [this volume]).

It is my contention that the personal name Enyalius may reflect the same pattern of semantic change that is demonstrable for Belus, Adonis, and, more remotely, Potnia. Originally it may have been a title of an Anatolian war-god, which the Mycenaean Greeks learned in lieu of his original name. With all due caution, one can propose the Hittite/Luwian warlike god Santa as a potential prototype of Enyalius. The collocation ^{d}*Ša-an-ta-aš* LUGAL-*uš* 'Santa the King' (KUB 9.31 ii 22) is attested in the Zarpiya ritual emanating from Kizzuwatna, immediately in front of a Luwian incantation mentioning the Annarummi-deities, the "forceful (ones)". In a Late Luwian text emanating from Tabal, Santa is associated instead with the Marwaya-deities, "the dark ones" (KULULU 2 § 6). The Aramaeans referred to the Luwian Santa as "Baal of Tarsus", while the Hellenistic Greeks later identified him with Heracles (Hutter 2003: 229 with ref.).

The assured attestation of the god Santa in Lydia comes from the inscription LW 4a, where the triad *sãntas kufaw≈k mariwda≈k* 'Santa, Kufaw, and Mariwda' occurs in the curse formula. In all the three instances, the deities under discussion seem to be of Luwian origin. The regular Lydian correspondence of Luwian *Santa-* would be **sẽtas* (cf. Melchert 1992: 36), therefore *sãntas* must be analyzed as a Luwian loanword. Kufaw ultimately represents an adaptation of the Syrian goddess Kubaba, who came to be worshipped throughout Anatolia in the early first millennium BCE (Hutter 2003: 272–273, for a different interpretation, cf. Oreshko, this volume). The Mariwda-deities were identified with the Luwian Marwaya-deities, companions of Santa (Melchert 2008: 153). The correspondences in this case do not indicate a borrowing (cf. Gérard 2005: 89), but given the borrowed origin of Santa, the simplest solution is to assume that the inherited Lydian *mariwda-* < **morg^{w}-iyo-* 'dark' was secondarily deployed as a theonym, calquing the usage of Luw. *marway(a/i)-* < **morg^{w}oyo-* 'dark'.

But there is an additional reason why Lydian *mariwda-* 'dark' is of relevance for the present paper. As shown in Melchert 2008, the earlier form of this adjective was borrowed into Mycenaean, where *mo-ri-wo-do* was used as the metal name 'lead' (cf. Classical Greek μόλυβδος). The significance of this discovery lies in the demonstration of linguistic contacts between Lydian and Greek dating back to the second millennium BCE. To be sure, the familiarity of Mycenaean Greeks with western Asia Minor is not a new claim: besides the *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* mentioned above, the linear B sources preserve the adjective *a-si-wi-jo* 'Asian' and a number of other adjectives derived from Anatolian toponyms,

which are used with reference to slaves of foreign origin (Nikoloudis 2008: 47; cf. the map in Palaima 2007: 204). What was implicitly questioned in earlier literature is the early Lydian presence in western Asia Minor, since the whole of it was sometimes uncritically assigned to the Luwian speakers with reference to the Late Bronze Age (Beekes 2003). Melchert's finding, on the other hand, is more compatible with the indigenous status of the Lydian language in northwestern Anatolia, which I defended on independent grounds in Yakubovich 2010b: 86–96 (cf. also Simon 2021 [this volume]).[10]

According to my scenario, the Greek god Ἐνυάλιος was borrowed from a western Anatolian deity known as **santas ẽnuwalyas* 'Santa the Lord', or something of the sort.[11] One needs western Anatolian mediation, as opposed to a direct loan from Luwian **annawal*(*i*)- in order to account for the initial Ἐνυ- of the Greek form. The Lydian language emerges as the most likely intermediary, since both the theonym *sãnta*- and the title *ẽnwala*- are directly attested there. The implied early Lydian form **ẽnu-walyas* presumably came into being via assimilation of **ẽnə-walyas* and was later affected by the productive Lydian syncope (Gérard 2005: 49). If so, its initial morpheme reflected an intermediate phonetic stage between the reconstructed **anna*- of **anna-wal*(*i*)- and the attested Lydian *ẽn*-. The apparent long ῡ of Ἐνῡάλιος, interpreted as such on the basis of poetic texts, probably reflects a mere metric lengthening, implemented in order to avoid a sequence of four short syllables (thus also Schaffner 2017).

An indirect piece of evidence for the status of **enuwalyas* as an appositional element at the moment of transfer was the adaptation of **-ya*- as Greek suf-

10 For the likely Lydian origin of the god Bacchus (Βάκχος), admittedly borrowed in the post-Mycenaean period, see already Chantraine 1968: 59 and compare Oettinger 2021: 117 (this volume).

11 It must, however, be stressed that the basic claim of this paper does not depend on the tentative identification of Santa as the prototype of Enyalius. In principle, any western Anatolian war god could transfer his title to the Greeks via the same mechanism. In addition to Santa, the Hittite-Luwian pantheon also featured Yarri, a deity connected with both war and plague. While I am not aware of Yarri's cognates in the alphabetic Anatolian languages, claims have been made that the cults of Ares in Hellenistic Asia Minor are so different from their counterparts in Greece that they must reflect a syncretism between Ares and Yarri (Millington 2013: 553–560). In this connection, it is interesting to observe that the dative form *areλ* 'to Ares' also probably occurs in the Lydian inscription LW 11.2 (Schürr 2003: 118). There are no independent indications that the cult of Ares in Lydia was influenced by the Luwian veneration of Yarri, but such a possibility cannot be ruled out. Yet if the title **ẽnuwalyas* were transferred to the Greeks from the Lydian Ares/Yarri, one would expect the complete merger between Ares and Enyalius in the Greek tradition. The fact that such a merger did not happen speaks on face value against the alternative discussed in this footnote.

fix -ιο-, which is otherwise quite typical of divine epithets. The morphological shape of Ἐνυάλιος may in turn have predetermined his schizophrenic treatment in subsequent Greek tradition. Having entered the Greek pantheon as an independent warlike deity, Enyalius was rationalized as an avatar of the functionally similar war-god Ares in the diction of someone involved in the formation of the Homeric epic (*Il.* 17.210–211). A perception of Ἐνυάλιος as an Ionian patronymic was likely instrumental in the back-formation of the warlike goddess Ἐνυώ (*Il.* 5.333, 592), who is absent in Mycenaean sources. The possibility of using Ἐνυάλιος as a fluid epithet was still open to the educated users of Greek in the first century CE, as is clear from its juxtaposition with "Zeus" in the *Judean Antiquities* of Josephus Flavius.

Granted, the combination *sãntas ẽnwalas*, which could alone provide a positive confirmation of the proposed etymology, is absent in the available Lydian record. But the similarity between Ἐνυάλιος and the Lydian title *ẽnwala-* is undeniable, the forms in question are sufficiently long to render chance resemblance unlikely, the semantic development of divine titles into theonyms is typologically common, the phonetic correspondences are unproblematic, and there is independent evidence for early contacts between Greeks and their neighbours in western Asia Minor, as well as for the perception of Ἐνυάλιος as an epithet among the Greeks. Therefore, I submit that the western Anatolian origin of the Greek god Enyalius is the most plausible hypothesis available to date.

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