

# Gods and Languages in Ancient Anatolia

Mariona Vernet, Ignasi-Xavier Adiego,  
José Virgilio García Trabazo, María-Paz de Hoz,  
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (eds.)



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in Ancient Anatolia**

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UNIVERSITAT<sup>DE</sup>  
BARCELONA

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Edicions

*Nu nekuz meḥur kuitmankan* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš nāwi ūpzi... (KUB 4.47 i 11)  
In the twilight, before the sun rises ...

Heiner Eichner  
*In Memoriam*

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## Foreword

Anatolian studies, in all their linguistic, epigraphic and archaeological dimensions, are currently flourishing, with the incorporation of young new scholars, new discoveries and different perspectives of analysis that enrich and deepen this wide-ranging and interdisciplinary field of study. This is why we are pleased to offer the present volume, which is mainly devoted to the Anatolian divinities but also explores some very interesting linguistic and epigraphic novelties in the Anatolian languages. However, despite these grounds for celebration, it is with sadness that we must mourn the loss of Prof. Heiner Eichner, professor emeritus at the Universität Wien, who passed away very recently (7/3/2024). Professor Eichner was one of the great Anatolists and Indo-Europeanists whose influence on the study of Anatolian and Indo-European languages is undeniable. An example of his contribution is Eichner's Law, published in a 1973 article on the etymology of Hitt. *mēhur* 'time, period', according to which PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>* did not colour *\*ē*. Heiner Eichner, who was a member of our research project, always firmly believed that linguistic and philological studies of Anatolian languages should go hand in hand with epigraphy and archaeology; so we hope that this volume, which reflects precisely this interdisciplinary vision that he so enthusiastically and rigorously defended, will serve as a tribute to him, an expression of our sincere gratitude and acknowledgment of his achievements. On behalf of the editors, I would like to dedicate this volume to him *in memoriam*.

This volume is published inside the framework of a research project funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation and entitled *The gods of Anatolia and their names (continuity, importation, interaction): a philological and linguistic approach*, coordinated by the Universitat de Barcelona, the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

The articles in this volume cover a broad chronological as well as linguistic, epigraphic and archaeological spectrum, as they refer to Anatolian gods, languages, and other topics from the second and first millennia BC. Beginning with gods in the Hittite world, Birgit Christiansen presents a study and characterization of the Anatolian divinity Pirwa, comparing and contrasting it with other Mesopotamian and Syrian horse-related divinities. She argues that Purwa is not identifiable with

Astarte and notes that in some contexts (CTH 66) Pirwa can be understood as a chariot-riding deity similar to Šamaš. The Hittite divinities of the Underworld are analysed by José Virgilio García Trabazo in an article which places special emphasis on the Night goddess of Šamuḫa, considered to be a divinity of the underworld; this interpretation is in accordance with the Indo-European conception, in which she was related to the Dawn. The author also provides other arguments connecting this divinity with the Anatolian divinity <sup>d</sup>*Išpanza(-šepa)*- and the chthonic character of DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>. The emotional aspects of the Hittite religion, within a comparative approach between human and divine levels, are dealt with in detail by João Galhano, who analyses how the human body and the conceived divine body were perceived by the Hittites as a landscape of emotions. In her article on the deity <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>kuš</sup>*kuršaš*, Natalia Lodeiro focuses on Hittite and Luvian texts that refer to this divinity, the protector of the royal family, the country, and nature. She also examines the attribute of this divinity, a bag made of animal skin known as the *kurša*, a symbolic representation of the god, which contains a high sacred meaning. In his study on the *Āššiya*- deities of Luwian origin, H. Craig Melchert defends that they are a part of an entire set of reflexes of the root \**āšš*- ‘good’ in Luwian and Lycian: *āššā*- ‘be good, favorable’, *āššatta*- ‘good, blessing’, <sup>d</sup>*Āššiya*- ‘bearer(s) of good/blessing’, *āššuwali*- ‘beneficent’ and argues that it cannot be proven that Hittite *āššu*- ‘good’ is a prehistoric loan from Luwian. In the following article, Laura Puértolas offers a study of a group of Hittite divinities with negative epithets, which are far less common than other kinds of divine names: the goddess Wišuriyant, the evil GULša- and the divine Seven called “evil”. She presents them in context and discusses in detail the prescribed treatment and the way to address each divinity, which seems to be quite different.

Regarding the gods in the Neo-Hittite world, Tatiana Frühwirt presents a reconstruction of the detailed sequence of deities in the Neo-Hittite pantheon of Tabal. She identifies two models: model (A) represented by Tarḫunt, Ḫebat, Šarruma, Alanzu, Ea and Kubaba; and model (B), headed by Tarḫunt, Kubaba and Runtiya. Diether Schürr analyses in detail the group of Kubaba seals. Four of them contain no more than the name of the goddess Kubaba, who is mainly associated with the northern Syrian city of Carchemish, but five contain symbols as well as hieroglyphs, like the ones found on Neo-Assyrian seals. On the Kubaba seals, not only the pairing with the sun god is striking, but also the association with other astral deities: the moon, the morning star and the Pleiades. The author relates these divinities with other texts and inscriptions from the ancient Near East. Zsolt Simon dedicates his article to the Neo-Hittite deity traditionally called Nikarawas, attested in a single Hieroglyphic Luwian text from Carchemish. According to the author, the

regular interpretation for its spelling as *NiKaru-* or *NiKarwa-* provides a fitting identification with *Nikkalu-*, the Hittite form of the Mesopotamian goddess Ningal.

The following section of articles is dedicated to the gods in the Lydian and later Luwian world. Juan Pablo Sánchez offers a study based on Greek inscriptions of the god Apollo Tyrimnos, of Lydian origin, the patron god of Thyateira in north-western Lydia. In his article on the Lydian god *Qldāns*, Ilya Yakubovich offers a new hypothesis and etymology for this Lydian theonym: according to him, *Qldāns* may be the Storm-God of the Army, a loanword of Carian origin (pre-Car. *\*kwalj-ān*) with the meaning ‘warlord, military leader’. Consuelo Ruiz Montero defends that the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon gives an appropriate generic description of a pompe of Artemis at Ephesus. Zeus and Apollo along with their epithets are analysed in detail by Francesco Guizzi and Michela Nocita in the Greek inscriptions of Hierapolis and Laodicea, providing interesting points of view on their cult. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego analyses in great detail in epigraphic and literary sources, the Carian epithet of Zeus Osogōs, in its multiple variants: *Osogōs*, *Osogō* and *Osogōa*; he concludes that there are no epigraphic examples of *Ὀσογῶα*, and that it should be read *Ὀσογῶλλιος*, genitive of *Ὀσογῶλλης*. As for literary sources, the reading *Ὀσογῶ*, genitive, given by the manuscripts of Strabo, is unproblematic and should be maintained. Accordingly, therefore, the correct transcription in English of the Carian name is not Zeus †*Osogoa* but Zeus *Osogos/Osogollis*. And finally, he accepts that no clear etymology for *Ὀσογῶς*, *Ὀσογῶλλης* has been found. Manuela Anelli’s article deals with the epiclesis of the local Zeus worshipped at Labraunda, a Carian sanctuary near Mylasa, which occurs under several variant forms in both the literary and the epigraphic sources; she concludes that *Λαμβράυνδος* was the earliest form of the epiclesis of Zeus of Labraunda and that the Carian root was presumably *\*lambr-*. The cult of Zeus in Iasos between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC are analysed by Roberta Fabiani who studies this cult in a wider historical perspective. She shows the evident relationship between the Hecatomnids and the cult of Zeus at Iasos and concludes that Zeus stratiotes was worshipped in Iasos in Archaic times. The Lycian god *Σουμηνδης/Σομενδης*, mentioned in Greco-Roman inscriptions from a sanctuary in the region of Limyra, is analysed by Florian Réveilhac. This theonym can also be found in Carian, as well as in Lycian and Luwian personal names of Greek transmission. According to the author, the most convincing etymology is CLuw. *zaman-* ‘damage, witchcraft’. Héctor Arroyo-Quirce’s article is concerned with what may be the earliest attested oracle of Ares in Anatolia, namely the one in Side, Pisidia. In this case, the god is called Ares *Kiddeudas*, an epithet of enigmatic meaning. The non-Hellenic term *δοῦμος* attested in several Greek inscriptions from Roman times across a wide area of Asia Minor, particularly in northeastern Lydia,

is analysed by María-Paz de Hoz. This term seems to have a Phrygian origin since it is also documented in Palaeo-Phrygian. She explains the semantic evolution of this term, which originally may have been used to designate a sacred village which became a religious association in imperial times and, afterwards was used for “association” in general outside Anatolia.

The last part of this volume focuses on new trends in Anatolian linguistics and epigraphy. Gem Ferrer proposes a new formal approach to the Sidetic signs for *d* and *l*, while examining and establishing the epigraphic variants of these signs and proving a relationship between them. This internal evidence reinforces Neumann’s hypothesis that brings the Sidetic alphabet closer to other local alphabets in Anatolia, thus pointing to a Greek origin. Alwin Kloekhorst tries to elucidate and establish the synchronic paradigms of the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns in Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian, and also to reconstruct the Proto-Luwian paradigms for these pronouns and discuss to what extent they can be used to reconstruct the Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European scenarios. Elisabeth Rieken’s article is devoted to the establishment of Luw. *\*hūmm-/huwamm-*, a new word family, and its connection with Hitt. *hūm-* ‘to take, enclose (etc.)’. According to her, both may derive from Proto-Anatolian *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-h<sub>1</sub>em-/\*h<sub>2</sub>u-h<sub>1</sub>m-* and ultimately from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-*. Recai Tekoğlu presents, for the first time, two unpublished *pinakia* from the deposit of the Side Museum, with new signs (such as sign 27) and new phonetic proposals such as sign 23, which may be a velar occlusive /k/. The last article, written by Miguel Valério and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, deals with Carian *q* and Luwic *\*H* (< Proto-Anatolian *\*H* < PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>*). The authors conclude that *\*Hu* and *\*ku* are probably the two main sources of Carian *q*. Moreover, they defend a uvular interpretation of *q* (instead of a labiovelar sound). The result of these conclusions is that Kloekhorst’s interpretation of Luwic *\*H* as a uvular stop /q/ presents the most economical scenario in terms of historical development: *\*k/* merged with *\*q/* before *\*u/* in Carian. But it also entails that elsewhere Luwic *\*H* /q/ was de-uvularized, becoming Carian *k* /k/. The authors also note that the fate of Luwic *\*k/* in Carian remains very uncertain.

I would not like to conclude without expressing my deepest thanks to the authors of this volume, as well as to the co-editors Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, María-Paz de Hoz, José Virgilio García Trabazo and Bartomeu Obrador for their help and enthusiasm in bringing this volume to completion.

Mariona Vernet  
Barcelona, June 12<sup>th</sup> 2024

# The character and gender of the Anatolian deity Pirwa and other Ancient Near Eastern deities associated with horses

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## § 1. *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

The deity Pirwa played a significant role in the Hittite state cult during the New Hittite Kingdom that extended from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>2</sup> It held a significant role in various festivals and incantation rituals and was included in the pantheon of numerous cities. The primary temple dedicated to Pirwa was the *ḫekur* of Pirwa (<sup>NA</sup>*ḫekur* <sup>D</sup>*Pirwa*), a sanctuary presumably constructed from stone and situated in the mountains. This temple was a hub for agricultural activities such as crop cultivation and animal husbandry, including rearing sheep, goats, and horses. Moreover, the *ḫekur* of Pirwa functioned as a horse training facility. The strong association with horses is also displayed in Pirwa's statues, portraying a human figure standing on a horse accompanied by various equipments.

1. The present study has been carried out in the framework of the project 'The Hittite Corpus of Divinatory Texts: Digital Edition and Cultural Historical Analysis (HDivT)', led by Birgit Christiansen, Enrique Jiménez (both Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) and Daniel Schwemer (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg) and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG project number 494541176). I would like to thank the conference organizers for the invitation to Barcelona and the possibility to present some results of my research. I am also grateful to Craig Melchert for his invaluable comments, which greatly benefited the article. Of course, all errors and shortcomings are solely my responsibility.

2. For overviews on the deity see van den Hout (2003); Pecchioli Daddi (2003); Taracha (2009: 27–31) with further literature.

The earliest attestations of the deity are found in documents from the Assyrian trading posts in Kaneš during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. These records and subsequent Hittite written sources highlight Kaneš (Hittite Neša, modern Kültepe) as a pivotal site for Pirwa's worship. Although the Old Assyrian texts provide limited information on the local religious beliefs and practices, they offer some significant insights into the importance of Pirwa (Old Assyrian Per(u)wa). For instance, a document labeled kt 87/k 320, 21 (layer II) mentions a priest (*kumrum*) of Per(u)wa named Ḫa-pu-a-lá.<sup>3</sup> The prominence of the Pirwa cult in Kaneš is further evidenced by the deity's name being the most frequent theophoric name in Kaneš, born by many high-ranking officials and royal family members.

In Hittite sources from the Old and Middle Hittite Period, only the personal name Pirwa is attested. However, many texts dating from the Empire Period are copies of older texts or maintain earlier religious concepts and rituals and thus reflect Pirwa's significant role before the New Hittite period. A notable example is a myth that, according to Melchert (2021), likely originated in a foreign language (possibly Hattian) and was translated into Hittite in the Old Hittite period. Pirwa's close association with the cult of Kaneš/Neša and Hattian religious traditions is seen in the monthly festival (CTH 591), where the singer of Kaneš sings a song for Pirwa of Šippa in the Hattian language (cf. KUB 2.13 rev. VI 9–10).<sup>4</sup> During the same festival, Pirwa, along with the gods of Kaneš (DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup>*kaniš*) and various deities closely associated with him, receives a billy goat as an offering (KUB 56.45).<sup>5</sup> Yet, Pirwa was also part of the religious traditions of Luwian communities, as seen in a ritual text for vineyard growth where a song for Pirwa is performed in the Luwian language (KUB 35.2 8–11).<sup>6</sup>

The origin of the name Pirwa has sparked scholarly debate, with some scholars suggesting a connection to Hittite *peru-*, gen. *perunaš*- 'stone, rock' and Sanskrit *pārvata*- 'mountain'.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Oettinger (2020, 175) proposes a link to Hittite *parḫ-* 'to hunt, to rush' and ai. *bhari* 'to stamp along' (especially of horses) < PIE. *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2</sub>yo-* or *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2</sub>yo-* 'to rush'. Pirwa would then originally be a 'herder' of wild horses, i.e., a god who herded (wild) horses and drove them to hunters or shepherds at their request, which is also supported by the deity's epithet

3. See Kryszat (2006: 115).

4. Edited by Klinger (1996: 544–589). For further literature see Košak, hethiter.net/: hethkonk (2.plus).

5. Edited by Klinger (1996: 608–13). See also Groddek *et al.* (2002: 54–55 with further literature).

6. KUB 35.2 8–11. See already Otten (1953: 68).

7. See Haas (1994: 412 with further literature).