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INSTITUT DEL PRÒXIM ORIENT ANTIC · UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

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Foreword

The present volume is published within the framework of the research project *The Anatolian Gods and Their Names* (*Continuity, Importation, Interaction*): *A Philological and Linguistic Approach*, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and coordinated by the Universitat de Barcelona (UB), the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) and the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (USC). Indeed, many of the contributions here are by the same project participants who also contributed to the volume published in 2024, for which see M. Vernet, I.-X. Adiego, J. V. García Trabazo, M.-P. de Hoz, & B. Obrador-Cursach (eds.), *Gods and Languages in Ancient Anatolia* (Barcino Monographica Orientalia 25 – Series Anatolica et Indogermanica 5), Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona. Chapters cover a wide chronological spectrum, from the second millennium BC to the third century AD, in some cases focusing on linguistic problems and generally using evidence from a wide variety of sources (literary, epigraphic, archaeological).

Beginning with the Hittites, García Trabazo proposes to study the nature and function of hunting bags (*kurša*) and Stag-gods in their religious culture based on recent research on prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies. According to him, the Anatolian Stag-gods could be reinterpreted as the survival of the prehistoric Master of Animals, while the hunting bags, as cult objects associated with the Stag-gods, would be amulets that symbolized the well-being and prosperity of social groups. On the other hand, Galhano analyses the role that "all the gods" (*ḫumant-* DINGIR.MEŠ and its lexical variants) played as a collective entity in mythological accounts, treaties, letters, rituals, and prayers from the Hittite tradition. Through a comparative perspective with Akkadian and Egyptian texts, Galhano examines how the expression "all the gods" reflects a collective and largely undifferentiated vision of the pantheon, with these deities acting as a supreme court that sometimes reinforced the ascendancy of other gods. Divine wrath in Hittite ritual texts and its

catastrophic consequences (such as illness or death) are the topic of Puértolas Rubio's chapter. Her aim is to assess how the Hittites used divine wrath to attack their enemies, analysing not only the witchcraft practices employed for this purpose, but also the ways in which the victims attempted to counteract these magical spells, thus offering a new perspective on the relationship between the peoples of ancient Anatolia and their gods. Frühwirt's chapter analyses the symbolism of the bull in the Neo-Hittite religious context, focusing on its association with the Storm-god. Using textual and iconographic sources, it highlights how the bull appears as a sacred animal in sacrifices and divine representations, especially in orthostats and reliefs in which the Storm-god is shown standing on a bull or in a bull-drawn chariot. Rieken's chapter provides a general grammatical description of the Cuneiform Luwian language by studying the order of suffixes (which were easily isolated by their phonotactic structure) in about 190 lexemes, identifying hierarchical and diachronic patterns in the formation of nouns and adjectives. Furthermore, she proposes reinterpretations of Luwian divine names based on these patterns, thus providing a valuable tool for the etymological analysis of these type of names. Finally, Kloekhorst argues for the existence of a new ligature sign *ta+tá* (phonologically interpreted as representing /tanta/) in the expression "let these gods be heard!" in a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription.

The following section is devoted to gods in Caria and to Carian linguistics. Melchert analyses Carian forms such as *trquδe*, *šanne*, and specially *mλane, mδane,* and *mλne* in votive contexts. Through the study of inscriptions and comparisons with other Anatolian languages such as Hittite and Lycian, he argues that *mλane* and its variant forms are not verbal forms, but rather dative singular nouns derived from the Indo-European root *meldh-* ("to solemnly declare"), meaning "for the sake of a vow" or "ex-voto". The study also addresses the phonological evolution of these variants and their functional equivalence with Greek common terms in votive inscriptions such as εὐχή. Simon deals with the Carian word element -(*i*)*d*, present in Carian names transmitted in Greek (in the form *ida-*; see, for example, *dquq* / *Idagygos*), and argues that it does not mean "forest", but it is rather a theophoric name, this being related to the Anatolian custom of treating mountains as divinities (*Ida*). Adiego analyses the Carian god known as Sinuri, proposing that his correct Greek name is *Sinyris* (Σινυρις), and not the indeclinable form Sinuri. Through the study of Greek and Carian inscriptions, Adiego argues that Sinyris was a local deity worshipped near Mylasa, with no iconographic representation and never mentioned in literary sources. He examines the origin of the name and its possible Carian root *yri-* ("great"), linking it to personal names and also proposes that bilingual inscriptions show the use of Sinyris as a theonym or toponym. Anelli

analyses the multiple variants of the epithet of Zeus in the sanctuary of Labraunda, documented in inscriptions from the Hecatomnid to the Imperial periods, and systematizes them considering their chronological and geographical distribution. She proposes that these variants reflect both phonological processes and sociolinguistic phenomena related to the replacement of Carian by Koine Greek. Fabiani and Nafissi's contribution focuses on the figure of Artemis Astias of Iasos, on the representation of the goddess in written sources and in art, and on the institutional and devotional practices that characterized her cult in the city, these being in connection with other cults of neighbouring Caria (in particular, with the cult of the Apollonian triad at the sanctuary of Çanacık Tepe near Iassos). Guizzi's study analyses the epithet Karios, exploring its meaning as an ethnic adjective — from Kar, the eponymous ancestor— and its evolution from being the name of an autonomous deity to its use as an epithet of Zeus in Caria. Using Greek literary and epigraphic sources, Guizzi explores how Karios represents both an ethnic identity and a regional cult (centred in Mylasa), and how the use of this epithet transcended Caria, also occurring as an autonomous theophoric name in different religious contexts of Asia Minor. Sayar explores the diversity of cults in the northern region of Caria, where Zeus was worshipped with over fifty epithets (such as Labraundos, Panamaros, Osogoa, just to name a few), many of them linked to villages and rural sanctuaries in mountainous areas. His study highlights how the Carian religious identity was forged through the adaptation of local deities to the cult of Zeus, reflecting processes of acculturation and religious syncretism with Greek, Oriental, and Egyptian influences. Finally, Önder deals with the cult of Apollo Telmisseus at his sanctuary at Telmessos near Halikarnassos, which was active from the third century BC to the second century AD (as inscriptions, coins and literary sources, such as Herodotus and Arrian, demonstrate).

The following section is devoted to gods in Lycia and the Lycian language. Réveilhac analyses the Lycian term *heledi*(je), which also recurs in funerary inscriptions with curse formulas. Two etymological hypotheses are proposed: one relates it to a Luwian divine epithet associated with judicial punishment, and another —more convincing— links it to the Luwian term *sarladi* ("above"), suggesting that *heledi*(*je*) designates "the gods above". Matilde Serangeli offers a detailed classification and historical analysis of Lycian *-s* nouns and adjectives (which, due to morphological phenomena such as i-mutation, are rare and difficult to analyze). The study synchronically classifies nouns into five groups according to the vowel or consonant preceding the final sibilant (*-as, -is, -us, -es, -Cs*), examining their inflectional patterns. Diachronically, she identifies four distinct origins for these s-stems, including Greek and Persian loanwords, ethnonyms, abstract denominal

nouns (*waz*(*z*)*is*-type), and marked singular nouns (*tuhes*-type). Vernet examines the Aramaic term *ʾḥwrnyš* in the trilingual Letoon inscription (Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic), traditionally interpreted as "other gods". Vernet proposes that this form is actually an Iranian loanword from the Avestan *Ahurānīš,* the name of water nymphs, and that *ʾḥwrnyš* would be equivalent to the terms *Eliyãna* (Lycian) and Νύμφαι (Greek). Through an epigraphic, linguistic, and comparative analysis, she also argues for the Median origin of the term and its link to *ḫštrpty* (Mithras/Apollo), reflecting echoes of Indo-Iranian mythology and questioning previous hypotheses such as that of a Carian origin. Arroyo-Quirce explores the cult of a club-wielding horseman god in southwestern Anatolia, who was represented as such in rock reliefs in rural sanctuaries (namely, in the ancient regions of Milyas and Kabalia). Votive inscriptions also show an active cult between the second and third centuries AD, linked to rural communities. This male deity was identified with Herakles because of his weapon, but he also retained indigenous names such as Kakasbos, Maseis, O(u)rdas, and possibly Kyrsas, reflecting syncretism and local adaptations. Finally, Seyer's chapter deals with the "Heroa" F, G and H at Xanthos in Lycia, dating to the early fifth century BC, which are commonly interpreted either as tombs or as sacred buildings also functioning as tombs, and which may have served as architectural models for Lycian "house-tombs" (so-called because of the similarities of these tombs with medieval and early modern domestic architecture in Lycia).

A final section deals with gods and religious traditions concerning other non-Luwian peoples in Anatolia. Starting with the Hellenistic Pontic Kingdom, Ballesteros' chapter examines the cult of Men Pharnakou, a variant of the cult of the Anatolian lunar god Men, linked to the figure of King Pharnakes I in the kingdom of Pontus. Although attested only by Strabo, this cult was linked to the coronation ceremony of the Mithridatic kings, symbolizing legitimacy and charisma through its association with the royal Tyche and the Iranian concept of *Khvarenah*. Ballesteros suggests that this divinity may have been a local adaptation of a Phrygian cult of Men, related to ancestral cults such as that of Zeus Stratius, in a political context of dynastic reaffirmation and territorial expansion. Martínez-Rodríguez's chapter addresses the long-debated question of the origin of the Greek theonym Bacchus by exploring its connection with Lydian Paki, offering not only a thorough linguistic analysis of the phonetic components of both theonyms, but also a reconsideration of the origin of the group κχ in light of the literary and epigraphic evidence (including Mycenaean Greek). Garnier's chapter attempts to demonstrate the remarkable continuity between Lydian curses and Greek curses from the Lydian region, based on the study of *SEG* 32:1612, the so-called "epitaph of Poseides" (ca. 300–350

BC). This epitaph contains a funerary curse invoking Persian Artemis (Anāhitā) and Artemis of Ephesus to punish anyone who desecrates the tomb. Garnier analyses the similarities between Lydian, and Greek curse formulas (such as the one prohibiting the introduction of other people's corpses inside the tomb and the divine punishment of blindness) highlighting the persistence of Anatolian traditions in Hellenistic times. Ruiz Montero focuses on the interpretation of the final episode of Xenophon of Ephesus's *Ephesiaca* (5.15.2), in which the protagonists consecrate a *graphé* to the goddess Artemis, recording "all they have suffered and done". Apart from exploring the meaning of the term *graphé* in Xenophon of Ephesus by comparing it with other *graphaí* in literary and epigraphic sources, the author also considers the possibility that the novel would be an aretalogy of Artemis of Ephesus, here assimilated to Isis. Sánchez Hernández deals with the god Apollo Kisauloddenos (Κισαλαυδηνός, Κισαυλοδδηνός, and Κισαυαλουδδηνός in the epigraphic records), who was originally venerated in a small rural sanctuary in Kisaloudda (or Kisalauda, Lydia) and later in the city of Smyrna (Ionia). This chapter discusses the iconographic representation of this Apollo in Lydia as an axe-wielding rider god, analyses a long inscription that records the founding of a sanctuary in honour of this god in Smyrna by Apollonios Sparos, proposes an etymology for this non-Greek cult epithet of Apollo (in connection with Luwian **kīšawalla-* "wool-comber"), and connects the ritual use of textiles and other objects with other cults in Caria and Phrygia. Michela Nocita studies the rural cults of Zeus within the territory of Hierapolis in southwestern Phrygia, focusing on three local epithets: Zeus Bozios, Zeus Mossyneus, and Zeus Trossou, their cult sites being Thiounta, Mossyna, and Atyochorion respectively. Using evidence from inscriptions, coins, and topographical studies, she demonstrates that these epithets reflect Anatolian influences and a strong connection to local communities, while also including associations with the imperial cult. Finally, the chapter by de Hoz and Obrador-Cursach analyses a bilingual inscription (Greek and Phrygian) found in Nacoleia (Phrygia) on a stone altar dedicated by Brogimaros, a priest of Zeus Megas. The inscription, dated to the third century AD, contains prayers, blessings, and curses in both languages, as well as references to personal cults and possible oracular practices linked to a funerary monument. The study examines literary, religious, and linguistic aspects, highlighting the integration of Greek and Phrygian traditions. It is proposed that Brogimaros established his own cult (he honoured the god with an epithet based on his own name) and that the inscription on the stone altar reflects beliefs about the protection of tombs, personal gods, and agricultural fertility, which appear to be particular to Phrygia Epiktetos and (in part) to eastern Lydia.

In sum, most chapters in this volume help us understand the survival of pre-Greek religious traditions and their adaptation to Greek ones (and vice versa) in local contexts in Anatolia during the Hellenistic-Roman period. In this sense, when understanding these processes of acculturation, it is worth highlighting the importance of studying Greek epigraphy in comparison with epigraphic traditions in other languages in Anatolia (as shown by Adiego, Garnier, de Hoz, Obrador-Cursach, etc.), as well as Anatolian archaeology and iconography (as shown by Seyer). Other chapters also highlight the importance of a historical approach to understanding certain cults, such as that of Men (in the chapter by Ballesteros Pastor), or the importance of Anatolian linguistics, with advances being applied to the interpretation of religious issues (as shown by Réveilhac or Melchert), or even to the reconstruction of the etymology of Greek theonyms (as shown by Martínez Rodríguez). Finally, it is interesting to observe how the Greek literature of the Imperial era (e.g., the novel by Xenophon of Ephesus) evokes indigenous Anatolian cults, reflecting the strong syncretism of the period and the relationship with other Eastern religious traditions.

I would not like to conclude without expressing my deepest gratitude to all the contributors for the high quality of their scholarly work. Also, I would like to thank the co-editors María-Paz de Hoz, Héctor Arroyo Quirce, Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Mariona Vernet and José Virgilio García Trabazo for their hard work that has made it possible to complete this volume.

Juan Pablo Sánchez Hernández
Madrid, April 21st 2025

Hunting bags (*kurša*) and Stag-gods as survivals of prehistoric sacral hunting[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Despite the many studies devoted to the nature and function of hunting bags (*kurša*-) and Stag-gods in the context of Anatolian religions, several fundamental aspects remain unsatisfactorily explained. Our approach takes into account the research on prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies and their sacral conception of hunting. Thanks to recent advances in research, it is now possible to approach the issue of the *Master of Animals* from the perspective of the hunter-gatherer cultures in which this figure arose. As such, the Anatolian Stag-gods can be reinterpreted as the survival of prehistoric Masters of Animals. Hunting bags, as deified cult objects associated with the Stag-gods can be understood, in turn, as the survival of the hunting amulets symbolising the well-being and prosperity of the social group. Anthropological comparisons with hunter-gatherer traditions can help to answer the following questions. 1) Why did the zoomorphic figure of the Stag-god survive in a strongly anthropomorphic religion like the Anatolian one? 2) Why were hunting bags (*kurša*-) associated with the Stag-gods? 3) Why are the Stag-gods 'tutelary

1. This article is part of the project "The gods of Anatolia and their names in the Hittite and Luwian sources of the second millennium" (PID2021–12635NB-C33), funded by the State Research Agency of Spain. I am very grateful for the comments received from the participants at the workshop held in Madrid (2024) and especially to Zsolt Simon and Ilya Yakubovich for their comments and corrections on an earlier version of the paper. Any remaining errors and shortcomings are the sole responsibility of the author.

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deities'? 4) Why do we find a relationship between the Stag-gods and the solar deities?

§ 2. The *kurša* as *numen* and as symbol

Since the 1970s, the character of the Hittite cultic object called *kurša* began to be defined with some precision.[2] Initially, the proposed translations were 'shield' —induced by the image of the *aegis*— and 'fleece', the latter becoming the most popular, especially after its representations were identified in 1989.[3] The most widespread view today still holds that the *kurša* was a fleece or pelt with the shape of a pouch, and that it could be made from the hide of at least three different animals: **oxen**, **sheep** and **goats**. The following two texts (Nr. **1** and **2**) mention *kurša* made from sheepskin and goatskin, animals that were also the origin of fleeces in Greek tradition:

[**1**]
Myth of Telipinu (CTH 324, KBo 17.10 iv 27–35):

(27) ^{D}*Te-li-pí-nu-uš-za* LUGAL-*un kap-pu-u-it* ^{D}*Te-li-pí-nu-u̯a-aš pí-ra-an*
(28) ^{GIŠ}*e-i̯a ar-ta* ^{GIŠ}*e-i̯a-az-kán* **UDU-*aš*** ^{KUŠ}***kur-ša-aš*** *kán-kán-za na-aš-ta*
(29) *an-da* UDU-*aš* Ì-*an ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da ḫal-ki-aš* ^{D}GÌR-*aš*
(30) GEŠTIN-*aš ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da* GU_4 UDU *ki-it-ta na-aš-ta*
(31) *an-da* MU^{KAM} GÍD.DA $DUMU^{MEŠ}$-*la-tar ki-it-ta* §
(32) *na-aš-ta an-da* **$SILA_4$-*aš mi-i-uš ḫa-lu-ga-aš*** *ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da*
(33) [*nu*]-*ú-uš tu-u-ma-an-ti-i̯a-aš ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da* ^{D}x-x KI.MIN
(34) [*na*]-*aš-ta an-da ku-un-na-aš u̯a-al-la-aš ki-i*[*t*]-*ta na-aš-ta* [*an*]-*da*
(35) [*šal-ḫa-a*]*n-t*[*i-i*]*š m*[*a-an-ni-it-ti-iš iš-pí-i̯a-tar-ra ki-it-ta*]

(27) Telipinu took care of the king, and before Telipinu
(28) an *eya*-tree was erected, and **a sheep's fleece** was hung on the *eya*-tree.
(29) Within is sheep's fat, within are grain, the god GÌR
(30) and wine, inside are (symbols of) cows and sheep,
(31) within there is longevity and offspring, §
(32) within is **the gentle message of the lamb**, within are

2. Popko 1978: 108–115; McMahon 1991: 250–254; Bachvarova 2016: 103, 246; Hutter 2021: 240–241.
3. Güterbock 1997.