Hrozný and Hittite
The First Hundred Years

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The Hittites and Their Neighbors

Lycian *Erimñnuha*

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Abstract

The article takes a closer look at the Lycian name *Erimñnuha*. The analysis of this name is the basis for the study of several other Lycian names, all containing the element *Mñnu-*.

Keywords

Anatolian onomastics – Lycian language – Anatolian religion

1 Introduction: The Names *Erimñnuha* and *Mñnuhe*[1]

In his review of Parker's 2013 volume on personal names in Anatolia, Ilya Yakubovich (2015: 3) rightly remarks that personal names in Anatolia have basically been studied by two groups of scholars: on the one hand there are classicists specializing in Greek onomastics, on the other hand specialists in Indo-European languages (especially in Anatolian languages) and Ancient Near Eastern studies studying indigenous Anatolian names. Yakubovich also observes that 'the onomastical systems of individual languages or groups have rarely been holistically investigated.'

   Both of these statements are true. With regard to the second, the first collection and study of Anatolian anthroponyms was produced by Johannes Sundwall in 1913. Sundwall concentrates on Lycian names, but also includes a larger corpus of Anatolian personal names. Another general study was published by Emmanuel Laroche in 1952. This 'Recueil d'onomastique hittite' was the forerunner of his major work *Les noms des Hittites* (Laroche 1966). More recently,

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Marie-Claude Trémouille has set up the 'Répertoire onomastique' on the website http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html. This database contains supplementary names that can be added to the corpus of Anatolian anthroponyms established by Laroche. Anatolian indigenous names in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia have also been investigated by Philo Houwink ten Cate (1961), Louis Robert (1963a), Ladislav Zgusta (1964 and 1970) and, more recently, by Wolfgang Blümel (1992), Anne-Valérie Schweyer (2002: 95–128) and Nicola Cau (2003, 2005a and 2005b).

Despite all of these efforts, however, the historical and linguistic analysis of these personal names is still in its preliminary stages. Most previous analyses must be regarded as superficial, and a large 'Anatolisches Namenbuch', such as exists for the Iranian languages ('Iranisches Personennamenbuch'; see Schmitt 2006 for a general introduction to this project), has not yet been developed. The lack of such a reference work constitutes without doubt one of the most important lacunae in the field of Anatolian studies. The only general publication offering more detailed analyses of personal names is the monograph of Thomas Zehnder (2010) on Hittite feminine names. Although this article cannot make more than a small contribution, it is our intention to make some progress in the study of Anatolian onomastics in discussing and studying a specific anthroponym attested in a Lycian inscription dating from the Achaemenid period (c. 550–330 BC).

The anthroponym studied here, *Erimñnuha*, is attested in the text TL 86 from Myra. The text runs as follows:

(1)   ebẽñnẽ : prñnawã : mẽ ti prñnawatẽ : Erimñnuha
(2)   Semuteh : tideimi : hrppi : atli ehbi : sejẽni : ehbi

Erimñnuha, the son of Semute, has constructed this funerary monument for himself and for his mother.

It is clear that this is a typical Lycian funerary inscription, and also that the form *Erimñnuha* is a nominative singular. The anthroponym has been discussed for the first time by Schmidt (1876: 13), who connected it with the name *Mñnuhe*, son of *Tm̃peime*, attested in TL 112:1,2,3 (from Limyra) and also a nominative singular. This connection is now generally accepted (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173, Zgusta 1964: 320 no. 939, Neumann 1969: 382, Neumann and Tischler 2007: 222).

In addition, there are other possibly related Lycian proper names. The first one is *Ada[m̃]mñna-*, attested in its dative form *Ada[m̃]mñnaje* in the same text (TL 112:2). In fact, the latter is the son of *Mñnuhe*, which strengthens the

link between both elements, even if *mñnu-* belongs to the *u*-stems and [*m̃*]*mñna-* to the *a*-stems.

A second possibly related form is ***mñnãtahi*** (TL 26:15, from Tlos; cf. Gander 2014: 394–396), attested in an interesting context, more precisely in a list of payments:

> […] upahi : adaijẽ : malijehe : ˹1˺ […] arailise : 103 ½ : haqaduwehe : 52 ½
> t[…] ppebẽnti 22 : pagda : 18 ½ : purθ[…] mñnãtahi : 13 ½ : winbẽte : 13 ½.

Neumann and Tischler (2007: 222) considered *mñnãtahi* to be an adjective derived from **mñnãta/i-*, which they consider an extension in *-ant-* of *mẽñna/e-* 'city'. Nevertheless, this idea is not very plausible, as the context clearly indicates that one is dealing with proper names. In fact, Neumann and Tischler do consider the other words (e.g. *Winbẽte*) as personal names (Melchert 2004: 108; Neumann and Tischler 2007: 426). It should not therefore be surprising that other scholars (e.g. Melchert 2004: 99) have also expressed the idea that personal names are enumerated here. More recently, however, Schürr (2009: 107; 2014: 749–750; also Gander 2014: 396–397) has convincingly argued that toponyms situated in the territory of Tlos are involved in this inscription. He thereby confirms the suggestion by Arkwright (1915: 103) that these names probably belonged to demes.

The fact that *Mñnãtahi* is a toponym and not an anthroponym, however, does not pose any threat to a connection with our name *Erimñnuha*, as toponyms often derive from personal names. Such a link is proven by the connection between this toponym and the anthroponym Μνανδρασις (Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, no. 79: 2; cf. Sundwall 1913: 150 and Zgusta 1964: 320 no. 936). This name was identified by Schürr (2009: 107; 2014: 150; cf. Gander 2014: 397 n. 144) with Lycian *Mñnãtahi*, a plausible identification, the more so as the personal name is attested in an inscription from Oinoanda, a place also mentioned in the list of payments in TL 26 (Winbẽte; Schürr 2009: 105–107; Gander 2014: 394). The name behind both the Greek and Lycian forms is likely to be **Mñnãt(r)ahi-* (Schürr 2014: 150), i.e. *Mñna-* extended with *-tr(a)-*, followed by the possessive suffix *-ahi-*.

The third possibly related Lycian form to be discussed here is ***Mñnusama-***. This personal name can easily be linked to the names *Mñnuhe* and *Erimñnuha* and could be composed of the stem *Mñnu-* followed by the suffix *-ama-*, which is also attested in the names *Xpparama* and Περλαμος (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 222). If so, the element *Mñnus-* might be an archaic nominative form that has kept its ending *-s*, despite the usual phonological development in Milyan (the original *-s* was not retained in *Auslaut* after a vowel). If not, the name must

be split up into *Mñnu-* and *sama-*, but the etymology of these two elements is not very clear.

Alongside the possible Lycian connections, various names attested in Hittite, Babylonian and Greek sources may also be related to the name discussed here:

(1) *Manusis* (spelled ᶠMa-nu-ši-iš; Laroche 1966: 113 no. 753): Hittite feminine name, attested in a list of cult singers (HT 2 v 8; Taggar-Cohen 2006: 142–143; Zehnder 2010: 20). The name *Manusi-*, belonging to a woman originating from the town of Ankuwa, may well be connected to our Lycian name (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 222).

(2) *Mennâ* (spelled ᵐMe-en-na²; Tavernier 2015: 171): name attested in a promissory note from Babylonia (Dar. 458:8), dated to the reign of Darius I. Mennâ is a messenger from a certain Megimaššu, in whose name he must receive an indebted sum of money. His master and various witnesses are labelled 'Imbukean' (Im-bu-ka-a-a).

(3) *Menâ* (spelled ᵐMe-na²; Tavernier 2015: 171): name attested as a witness in a learning contract from Babylon (Dar. 457:14), dated to the reign of Darius I. Menâ, just like Negamaršu in line 13, is called an 'Imbukean' (Im-bu-ka-a-a).

(4) *Minnâ* (spelled ᵐMi-in-na²; Tavernier 2015: 171): name attested in a Babylonian text (PBS 2/1 53:2) from the Murašû Archive, dated to the reign of Darius II (Cardascia 1951: 91–92). His son Tilapa is explicitly called a Lycian, so the chances are that Minnâ too is of Lycian origin.

(5) *Minâ* (spelled ᵐMi-na²; Tavernier 2015: 171): name attested as witness in a legal text from Babylon (Dar. 260:30),[2] dated to the reign of Darius I. He too is labelled an 'Imbukean' (Im-bu-ka-a-a).

(6) Μενέας: attested in Caria (4th c. BC–Imperial Period; LGPN V.B, 289), Cilicia Tracheia (3rd c. AD; LGPN V.B, 289), Ionia (1st c. BC–1st c. AD; LGPN V.B, 289), Lycia (2nd c. BC–Imperial Period; LGPN V.B, 289), Lydia (Imperial Period; LGPN V.B, 289) and Pamphylia (2nd c. BC–2nd c. AD; LGPN V.B, 289–290).

(7) Μέννης: attested in Aiolis (date not known; LGPN V.A 300), in Bithynia (1st–2nd c. AD; LGPN V.A 300), on Lesbos (Hellenistic period; LGPN I, 309), in Scythia Minor (2nd–3rd c. AD; LGPN IV, 231) and in Thrace (2nd c. AD; LGPN IV, 231).

(8) Μέννις: attested in Caria (4th c. BC; LGPN V.B, 290) and on Delos (3rd–2nd c. BC; LGPN, 309).

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2 Transliterations of the Babylonian texts Dar. 260, 457 and 458, all three belonging to the Egibi Archive, can be found on the website www.achemenet.com (accessed 02.11.2015).

(9) Μέννυς: this name is mentioned by Robert (1963a: 187). Research in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* confirms that the name is attested in Thessaly (1st c. BC; LGPN III.B, 281), Macedonia (2nd–3rd c. AD; LGPN IV, 231) and Bithynia (128 AD; LGPN V.A 300).

(10) Μένυς: attested in Locris (2nd c. BC; LGPN III.B, 282). Bechtel (1917: 312) believes that we are dealing with a hypocoristic of a name which contains the element -μένης. In any case, it is most likely identical to the preceding name.

(11) Μέννουλα: attested in Thessaly (1st c. BC; LGPN III.B, 281).

(12) Μενοκαμις: attested in Pisidia (Sundwall 1913: 150).

(13) Μένουα: attested in Pisidia (Zgusta 1964: 310 no. 899, dating from Imperial Roman times; cf. Zgusta 1957: 570). Although the script of this text is Greek, its language is Pisidian. Here we have a nominative of a masculine name (Zgusta 1957: 604). Brandenstein (1950: 1793; also Gusmani 1958: 866) explains Μένουα as composed of Gr. *μήν* 'moon' and Luwian *uwa*- 'son', in which case it would be a hybrid Greek-Luwian name.

(14) Μένουσα; attested in Mysia (2nd c. BC; LGPN V.A, 300).

(15) Μίννα: attested in Caria (1st–2nd c. AD; LGPN V.B, 297).

(16) Μινναιος: attested in Pamphylia (303–305 AD; LGPN V.B, 297).

(17) Μιννᾶς: attested in Caria (3rd–2nd c. BC; LGPN V.B, 297) and Mysia (1st c. AD; LGPN V.A, 318).

(18) Μίννη: attested in Ionia (4th c. BC; LGPN V.A, 318) and Caria (2nd–1st c. BC; LGPN V.B, 297).

(19) Μιννίας: attested in Caria (3rd c. BC; LGPN V.B, 297).

(20) Μίννιον: attested in Ionia (230–220 BC; LGPN V.A, 318).

(21) Μιννίς: attested in Caria (320 BC–1st c. AD; LGPN V.B, 297), Ionia (1st c. BC; LGPN V.A, 318) and Pamphylia (Roman Empire; LGPN V.B, 297).

(22) Μιννίων: attested in Caria (4th c. BC–1st c. AD; LGPN V.B, 297–298), Ionia (c. 340–1st c. BC; LGPN V.A, 318) and Lydia (165 AD; LGPN V.A, 318).

(23) Μίννος: attested in Ionia (325 BC–2nd c. BC; LGPN V.A, 318), Caria (325 BC–2nd c. BC; LGPN V.B, 298) and Mysia (2nd–1st c. BC; LGPN V.A, 318).

(24) Μνιεσυτης: attested in Caria (Sundwall 1913: 150).

The names attested in Babylonian texts are certainly Anatolian, as one of the individuals is explicitly called a Lycian. The names attested in Greek texts were considered to be purely Greek by Robert (1963a: 187, 226 nn. 6–7; 1963b: 7, 10–11; also Zgusta 1964: 317–318), the main argument being the occurrence of the regular Greek suffix -υς, implying that all other elements of these names must also be Greek. Earlier, however, Sundwall (1913: 150–151) had recognized some of these names as being Carian or Lycian: Μιννίς (*Mñna-), Μιννίων (*Mñna-; cf. also Cau 2005a: 371), Μνανδρασις (**Mñn(a)-ẽtre-ezi*-; cf. also Cau 2005a: 372

and supra), Μενοκαμις (*Mñnu-kami-) and Μνιεσυτης (*Mñn(a)-ije-ezi-). Certain place names also contain the same element, at least according to Sundwall.[3]

An important argument in favour of an Anatolian etymology is the fact that Anatolians most probably did not adopt Greek names in the Achaemenid period, but would rather have adopted Iranian names. In addition, it must be noted that a search in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* reveals that the great majority of names attested in Greek actually belong to persons living in Anatolia (esp. in Caria, Ionia and Mysia) and that these are among the earliest attested ones.[4] Also, it is true that the suffix -υς is frequently used in Greek names, but even then the name need not be Greek, as it would be strange for the Lycians to translate a Greek name with a genitive form.

For the sake of completeness, one should also mention the name Εκατομνως (Blümel 1992: 13; Cau 2003: 301), frequently attested in Caria, which is usually explained as a Greek name, but which Adiego (1994), Blümel (1994: 85 n. 16) and Cau (2005a: 368) analyse as being of Anatolian origin. In that case, the second element could very well be a Greek rendering of Carian/Lycian *mñnu-*.

Without expressing an opinion on the possible links between these names attested in Lycian, Babylonian and Greek texts, one may safely assume that the Lycian names *Erimñnuha* and *Mñnuhe* are related and that there is also a plausible connection with *Ada[m̃]mñna-*. Furthermore, if one recognizes the second part of the name discussed here, *Mñnuha*, as a genitive singular of *Mñnu-*, the name *Erimñnuha* must mean 'Eri of *Mñnu-*'. The name *Mñnuhe* is then a hypocoristic of *Erimñnuha*.

2   The First Element: *eri-*

We may now proceed to the study of the first element of this name, *eri-*. Generally, *eri-* is considered as the Lycian counterpart of the Hittite preverb *arḫa* '(away) from' (Laroche 1958: 177; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 172; Neumann 1996: 517 n. 13; Melchert 1999: 75 n. 3). If this were true, the name *Erimñnuha* would have to mean 'away from *Mñnu(ha)*', which, however, seems a bit bizarre. Moreover,

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3   The question may be asked here if the name Μιμνασος (Cau 2005b: 398) also contains the element *mñna-*.

4   4th c. BC (cf. Corsten 2010: 318).

names beginning with *arḫa* are not (yet) attested in Hittite or Luwian (no such names occur in Laroche's or Tremouille's lists).

An alternative solution is to see **eri-* as a substantive that is not directly attested in Lycian, but which may serve as an element in Lycian compounds (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 69).[5] It would then be the equivalent of Hitt. *ara-* 'companion, friend'. In addition, it appears often as a second element in personal names. The best example is the Hieroglyphic Luwian royal name *Yariris* < **Yarri(y)-ari-s* 'companion, friend of Yarri (War God)'. The Hittite name *Mu-ul-li-ia-ra* (*Mulli-ara-*; Laroche 1966: 120 no. 818) could be a contraction of **Muwalli-ara-* 'mighty companion' (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 67).

In Lycian itself there are two possible examples of compounds with *eri-*:

(1)   The proper name *Ijeri* (TL 21,3) is composed of *Ija-* and *eri-* 'companion of the god Iya' (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 150).

(2)   *Uwihairi*[6] (TL 138,2): According to Neumann and Tischler (2007: 414), this name consists of *uwihi*, a genitive of an adjective whose final vowel was changed to *-a*, and *eri-* 'companion'. The adjective would then be *uwi-*, but its meaning and etymology are still unexplained.

Other examples are attested in Greek (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 67):

(1)   Νεναρις 'companion of his brother' (Cilicia; Roman Empire; LGPN V.B 312).

(2)   Πεδετερις 'companion of Pedeta(?)' (Lycia; Hellenistic period; Zgusta 1964, 423 no. 1229-2).

(3)   Ταρκυ-αρις 'companion of *Tarku* (= *Tarhunt*)' (Cilicia; 3rd–2nd c. BC; LGPN V.B 400).

(4)   Τεδιαρις 'companion of his father' (Cilicia; 2nd c. BC; LGPN V.B 404).

(5)   Τροκοαρις 'companion of *Tarku* (= *Tarhunt*)' (Cilicia; 3rd c. AD; LGPN V.B 400).

There are also anthroponyms having *eri-* 'companion' as their first element. Examples are:

(1)   Αρμοας (Lycia; 1st c. BC–3rd c. AD; LGPN V.B 59): **Ari-muwa-* (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173).

(2)   Αρμοασις (Lycia; Hellenistic Period; Zgusta 1964, 94 no. 97–14): **Ari-muwa-zi-*[7] (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173).

(3)   Ερμοας (Lycia; 2nd c. BC–2nd c. AD; LGPN V.B 151): **Eri-muwa-* (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173).

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5   Houwink ten Cate (1961: 173) also postulates another nominal element *eri-*, next to the adverbial *eri-*.

6   The Greek equivalent of this name is attested in the form Ουαρις (Cilicia; 2nd–3rd c. AD; LGPN V.B 334).

7   This suffix is often found in Luwian and Lycian names (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 61–62; Laroche 1966: 333).

(4)   Ερβιγεσις (Lycia; 2nd c. BC–2nd c. AD; LGPN V.B 143): *Eri-piḫa-zi- (cf.
       Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173).
(5)   Ερπιας (Lycia; 1st–3rd c. AD; LGPN V.B 155): possibly *Eri-piya- (cf. Hou-
       wink ten Cate 1961: 173).
(6)   Ερπιγρης (Lycia; 2nd–1st c. BC; LGPN V.B 155): *Eri-piḫra-, cf. Milyan Piχre
       (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 173).

Accordingly, it may be safely assumed that the element *eri-* 'companion, friend'
is firmly integrated in the onomastics of 2nd- and 1st-millennium Asia Minor.
This automatically leads to an analysis of the name in question as *Eri-Mñnuha*
'companion of Mñnu' (if *Mñnuha* is a genitive) or 'companion of Mñnuha'.

3   The Second Element: *mñnu-* or *mñnuha*?

The only thing left to do is to study the second element of the name, *Mñnu*(*ha*).
In order to come closer to the right meaning of this element, various ideas and
possible cognate lexemes should be discussed.

   The first word which at first sight seems to be a very suitable basis for Lycian
mñnuha is Luwian *manuḫa*, frequently attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian
(cf. http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/ for references; accessed
22.10.2015). Meriggi (1935–1936: 121), Hawkins (1975: 136 and 2000: 534–535) and
the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (L-N, 176) consider this an adverb, to be trans-
lated as 'ever, (with negation) never' (Meriggi), 'by no means, not at all'
(Hawkins).[8] If this is right, the name would then mean 'forever a friend' or 'not
at all a friend'.

   However, it is also possible to read *mñnu-ha* (so already Sundwall 1913: 151)
and to consider the second element a genitive form of *mñnu-*. In this context,
new possibilities come to mind. It could for instance be linked to the already
mentioned name Manusi, as Luwian *manuha* could easily develop into Lycian
mñnu-. Unfortunately this name has not yet been convincingly explained, al-
though various possibilities do exist.

(1)   The name could refer to the Luwian noun *mannu* (attested in Cuneiform
       Luwian in nominative, accusative and dative-locative), but the etymolo-
       gy of this noun is not known (Melchert 1993: 138; HHw: 111).
(2)   The Luwian language has a name element *uzzi-* 'desire, wish' (logogram
       IR; Zehnder 2010: 101–103). This element is exclusively attested as a second
       element in female names. Moreover, it often occurs after a divine name:

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8   The Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/)
     gives the translation 'anyhow'.

Arma-uzzi- 'fulfilled wish of the Moon God' (Laroche 1966: 39 no. 132; Zehnder 2010: 124–125), *Massana-uzzi-* 'fulfilled wish of the gods' (Laroche 1966: 115 no. 775; Zehnder 2010: 218), etc. Hence one could analyse *Manusi* as *Manuzzi-* 'fulfilled wish of the god Man(u)'. Unfortunately, a god with this name is not (yet) attested in Anatolia. In addition, the spelling with /s/ poses problems for such an analysis. On the other hand, it would also prove that Hitt. *Manusi* and Lyc. *mñnu-* (if connected with *Manusi-*) are of Luwian origin.

(3)   One should not forget about the toponym *Manuz(z)iya* (del Monte and Tischler 1978: 259–260; CHD L-N: 179), frequently attested in Hittite texts, but situated in the land of Kizzuwatna, a land with a Luwian-speaking population. If one could establish a secure connection between the anthroponyms Manusi and Manuziya, then it would be certain that Manusi is a Luwian, not a Hittite name. The name could then be composed of *manu-* and the suffix *-zi*. Again a connection with the Lycian element *mñnu-* remains possible, but the meaning of *manu-* is not known. It could also be identical with the aforementioned Luwian noun *mannu-*.

(4)   One should finally take into account the possibility that Manusi is simply not Indo-European. In this sense, Zehnder (2010: 217) proposes a link with the Hattian anthroponym Hudusi (cf. Laroche 1966: 340), the author of a Hattian ritual. If this is correct, Manusi is of Hattian origin and has nothing to do with the Lycian name discussed here.

Thirdly, Hittite has a verb *minu-* 'to make mild; to heal' (CHD L-N: 291). If a link between this verb and *mñnu-* turns out to be correct, we have a name meaning 'friend of him who heals'. The second element could then be an epithet of some unspecified divinity.

Finally, Lycian has a lexeme *meñna/e-* 'city, town' (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 207), to be connected with Luwian **mina-* 'city, town' (Hieroglyphic Luwian URBS-*mi-ni-*). A problem, however, with this connection is the morphological affiliation of the two words, *meñna/e-* belonging to the *a/e*-stems and *mñnu-* belonging to the *u*-stems. Moreover, their graphic renderings are different: *meñna/e-* and *mñnu-*. Therefore, I would rather propose a clear distinction between the two Lycian forms. As a result, I believe the name cannot mean 'friend of the city'.

There is still one possibility which has not yet been discussed. Nevertheless, it is a bold possibility, which remains unproven and is, as a matter of fact, very difficult to prove. The question may be asked if one is not dealing here with the original Lycian name of the well-known deity Men (Greek Μήν), belonging to the *u*-stems? It is indeed tempting to analyze the name in question as 'companion of Men' (a naming type attested in various languages), but it must

be stressed that this hypothesis cannot be verified due to a lack of sources. If, however, it were true, the names discussed here would constitute the oldest attestations of Men[9] and would confirm the assumed Anatolian origin of this deity (cf. Labarre 2009: 391–396).

One may even go further. If this name really contains the theophoric element *Mñnu-* (Greek Μήν), it may be connected with Hittite *minu-* 'to heal', as obtaining a healing was an important aspect of his cult (Labarre 2009: 403). An objection to this idea, however, is that Men was basically a lunar god. Nevertheless, one could argue that Greek Μήν is a folk etymology of the original name *Min-* 'he who heals'. Note in any case that the Hittite-Luwian word for 'moon' is *arma-*, not *men-* or *min-*. In Lycian this becomes *erma-*, implying that the Moon-god would not have been named after the moon itself, which is indeed strange.

To summarize, Men could be an original Anatolian healing divinity which was later transformed into a lunar god, partly because of the folk etymology the Greeks attached to him. One possible objection to the presence of this deity in Lycia and Caria is that Men was originally a Phrygian lunar god (as claimed by Drexler 1894–1897: 2688), a widespread opinion. Nevertheless, even if this is true, it does not weaken the idea formulated here, as divinities and their veneration for the most part were not limited to just one specific region. Moreover, the Phrygian origin of Μήν has been rightly questioned by Lane (1967–1968: 81 and 84), who argues instead for an origin in Western Anatolia.

Another problem with the analysis of *Mñnuha* as a genitive (strangely ending in *-ha* instead of regular *-he*) is that Anatolian onomastics do not have certain examples of the use of cases in anthroponyms, with the possible exception of Lycian *Uwihairi*. Nevertheless, such use does occur in other Indo-European languages, for example Iranian. There, names such as **Bagam-kāma-* 'desiring Baga' (with accusative of *Baga-*; Tavernier 2007: 136 no. 4.2.266), **R̥tam-bara-* 'carrying **R̥ta-*' (with accusative of **R̥ta-*; Tavernier 2007: 298 no. 4.2.1485), **Vaum-isa-* 'desiring the good' (with accusative of *vau-*; Tavernier 2007: 21 no. 1.2.33) and **Xšaϑrē-zāta-*, the monophthongized equivalent of **Xšaϑrai-zāta-* 'born in the kingdom' (with locative of **xšaϑra-*; Tavernier 2007: 359 no. 4.2.1976) are attested. Nonetheless, this problem can be solved if one considers the suffix *-ha/he* not to be a genitive, but the Lycian continuant of the older possessive suffix **-(V)ssV-* (H.C. Melchert, pers. comm. 15.04.2016; on the possessive suffix itself, see Melchert 2012). Although the usual form of this suffix in Lycian is *-ehe-,* a form *-ahi* (with retention of the stem vowel *-a-*) is

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9   The oldest attestation for his cult is an offering table from Attica, dated to 340 BC (Labarre 2009: 397).

attested in *qlahi* (Neumann and Tischler 2007: 304). The final *a* of the name *Erimñuha* could be the individualizing suffix (cf. Hajnal 1994: 152 and 166) or could reflect an abstract formation. The meanings of the names *Erimñuha* and *Mñuhe* would then be 'having the quality of being a Mnuhian friend' and 'pertaining to *Mñnu-*', whereby it is left open whether *Mñnu-* can be identified with the deity Men mentioned above.

4   Summary

In light of all these unclear aspects of the analysis, it is hard to draw any convincing conclusions concerning the name *Erimñuha*. It may be accepted as reasonably certain that the name is composed of two elements, *eri-* 'companion, friend' on the one hand and *-mñnu* or *-mñnuha* on the other hand.

With regard to the second element, several possibilities come to mind. If it is to be analyzed as *mñnuha*, one may think of a connection with Luwian 'ever' and the name would then mean 'forever a friend'. If, however, *mñnuha* is a genitive in *-ha* of a lexeme *mñnu-*, there are several possible explanations:

(1)   It is related to Lycian *meña/e-*, which may mean 'city, town'. This element may occur in names attested in Greek and Babylonian and perhaps in the Hittite name *Manusi-*. The name *Erimñuha* would then mean 'friend of the city'. As already demonstrated, however, this idea is not plausible.

(2)   *Erimñuha* is related to the Luwian noun *mannu* (attested in Cuneiform Luwian in the nominative, accusative and dative-locative). Unfortunately, the etymology of this noun is not known. It could also be the continuant of the element *Manu-* attested in a personal (*Manusi-*) and a place name (*Manuziya*).

(3)   *Mñnu-* is the original Anatolian name of the healing god Men (Greek Μήν) and may be related to Hitt. *minu-* 'to heal'. Greek Μήν is then a folk etymology based on his lunar character. If this is correct, the name *Erimñuha* means 'having the quality of being a Mnuhian companion'. The Carian equivalent is *Mñna-*.

(4)   *Mñnu-* is the Lycian representation of Hitt. *minu-* 'to heal' and as such is a hitherto unknown healing divinity, not identical to Μήν. The name *Erimñuha* then means 'having the quality of being a Mnuhian companion'.

It thus seems very likely that the names *Erimñuha*, *Mñuhe*, *Ada[m̃]mñna*, *Mñãtahi* and Μνανδρασις contain the element **mñna-* (Carian) or **mñnu-* (Lycian). The other names attested in Babylonian and Greek texts, as well as

the names attested in Hittite texts, are doubtful in this regard and may be composed of another lexical element.[10]

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10   During the edition of this article, volume V.C (Inland Asia Minor) of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* has appeared. In this volume, many attestations of the Greek names mentioned above on pp. 385–386 are listed on pp. 283–285 and 296.

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