

Article

Ἐνυάλιος ἀνδρεϊφοντης,
Poetical code-switching between Hurrian and Greek

Arnaud Fournet

Abstract: The paper first examines the occurrences of the theonym Ἐνυάλιος in Homer's *Iliad*, focusing on the formula Ἐνυάλιος ἀνδρεϊφόντης ‘the manslaying god *Enualios*’. It has already been noticed that some parts of Hesiod's *Theogony* are highly reminiscent of Hurrian mythology. The paper goes one step further and proposes to etymologize the theonym *Enu[w]alios* itself as a Hurrian compound of the name *eni* ‘god’ with the verb *uw-* ‘to kill, slay’, which both exist in Hurrian. Two other compound theonyms *En-hazizi* and *En-umašši* show the same structure as *Enuwalios*.

Keywords: Enualios, Hurrian, Greek.

1. *The issue of the cultural influence of Hurrian on Ancient Greek*

Since cuneiform was deciphered and a number of original texts dealing with Anatolian mythology written in Hittite or Hurrian languages were published it is generally agreed that Hesiod's *Theogony* contains clearly intriguing and near certain parallels with religious documents of Hurrian origin, particularly with the *Kingship in Heaven* and the *Song of Ullikummi*. Unfortunately the untranslated Hurrian originals are severely damaged and reduced to fragments. In better shape are the translations in Hittite unearthed in Hatti homeland. We are thus forced to investigate Hurrian mythology through the filter of Hittite. Among the foremost and ground-breaking works on these issues a paper written by Güterbock as soon as 1946¹ comes in mind. It can be underlined that the three successive gods of the Greek *Theogony*: *Ouranos*, *Kronos* and *Zeus* correspond faithfully to the Hurrian pantheon: *Anu*, *Kumarbi* and *Teššub*. Analogies such as castration themes, fertilized stones, monsters to be fought, swallowed children, etc. are abundant in both mythological corpora. Of course these similarities of structural and thematic nature do not mean that Hesiod's *Theogony* is not a genuinely Greek composition. It is by far not a mere translation of Hurrian songs and it must definitely be read and understood within the cultural framework of Ancient Greece in the first place. Ancient Greeks perceived Zeus as an almighty and unsurpassable god, in contrast with Teššub whose failure is possible in the Hurrian original but precluded in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Analogies are nevertheless pervasive.

2. *The Ancient Greek theonym Ἐνυ[F]άλιος*

The theonym Ἐνυάλιος is already attested in Mycenaean Greek as reminded by Chantraine² or Watkins³: (KN V 52) *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*. This kind of phonetics with digamma <F> [w] is confirmed by epigraphy: *[enuwalijjo] and attested as late as the 7th century BCE in Argos.⁴

¹ H. G. GÜTERBOCK, « The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod », in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1948), pp. 123-134.

² P. CHANTRAINE, (*DELG*) *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Histoire des mots*, 2. Vol., Paris: Klincksieck, 1968¹, p. 352: “nom d'un dieu de la guerre” [name of a war god].

³ C. WATKINS, *How to Kill a Dragon*, 1995, Oxford University Press, p. 384.

The theonym Ἐνυάλιος occurs four times in Homer's *Iliad* in association with the participle ἀνδρεΐ-φόντης ‘man-slaying’:

Iliad 2. 651

Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεΐφόντη
‘of Merion equal to Eualios [the] manslayer’

Iliad 7. 166, 8. 264, 17. 259

Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεΐφόντη
‘of Merion equal to Eualios [the] manslayer’

The formula Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεΐφοντη ‘[dative] Eualios manslaying’ appears four times as second hemistich of verses. As noted by Watkins the formula is metrically incorrect and must be restored as follows: *[ēnūālīōj ānrhōntāj]⁵ with syllabic *r*. The participle **anr-phont-* is attested in Mycenaean Greek as *a-no-ḡo-ta*, which stands for the phonetically archaic **a-nor-ghwon-tas*, and has an Old Indian equivalent *nr-hantas*, both being from **H_anr-g^{hw}ont-es* ‘man-slaying’, a compound of potentially Proto-Indo-European making and dating. In all cases it is attested since the Bronze Age and the mid-second millennium BCE, as Watkins rightly emphasizes.

3. Etymologizing the Ancient Greek theonym Ἐνυ[F]άλιος

Chantraine suggested that this theonym was “probablement préhellénique”⁶ [probably Pre-Hellenic]. Frisk was not more helpful: “Vorgriechischer Name with unklarer Bildung und unbekannter Etymologie”⁷ [Pre-Hellenic word with unclear formation and unknown etymology]. It can be noted that the masculine Ἐνυ[F]άλιος has a feminine equivalent Ἐνυώ. My proposal is to analyze both words as compounds of Hurrian *eni* ‘god’ and the verb *uw-*, *ub-* ‘to kill, slay’⁸ attested in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual of Boğazköy. For example Kbo 32 13 Vo I 15 reads <ú-wu_u-u-um nu-ú-bi GU₄-ri^dIM-ub-wa_a> *uwum nubi pedari Teššubwa* ‘were slaughtered ten thousand pieces of cattle for Teššub’. Ἐνυώ is based on the bare stem **en-uw-* whereas Ἐνυ[F]άλιος has a suffixed stem **en-uw-al-*. At first glance it would seem that Hurrian does not have such a compound in the available documents. But Laroche⁹ lists a theonym left without translation: ^d*Uwalli*, attested in Ugaritic script <uwln> and Cuneiform <^dú-wa-al-li>. Apart from the absence of translation it must be noted that the reading proposed by the *GLH* is most probably false in light of Ἐνυ[F]άλιος. The sign AN = *dingir* ‘god’ cannot be a determinative and must be assigned a full lexical value: AN-*uwalli* ‘god of slaying’. It is highly probable that the geminated *ll* results from an assimilated article *-ni*: *AN-*uwal-ni*. Theonyms that are compounds normally take the article¹⁰. Greek provides the meaning of this theonym while Hurrian accounts for its morphemic structure. Incidentally that *AN-*uwal-* is pronounced [enu(w)al] with initial [e] vindicates my proposal that Hurrian *eni* ‘god’ is the same word as AN, with Hurrianized phonetics and morphology¹¹. Some forms listed by the *GLH* do not include the sign for ‘god’: AN = *dingir* ‘god’. It is therefore unclear whether they amount to the same word as AN-*uwalli* ‘god of slaying’.

⁴ Cf. W. VOLLGRAFF, « Une offrande à Enyalios », in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. 58, 1934, pp. 138-156.

⁵ C. WATKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 384. The way Watkins reconstructs vowel length is nevertheless a bit surprising. One would expect /a/ to be long.

⁶ P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, p. 352.

⁷ H. FRISK, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol 1, Heidelberg, 1960, p. 526.

⁸ Left untranslated in E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite (= Revue Hittite et Asiatique, 34/35)*, Paris, 1980, p. 276-277. (= *GLH*)

⁹ E. LAROCHE, *GLH*, p. 291.

¹⁰ Cf. A. FOURNET, “About some Features of Loanwords in Hurrian”, *Aramazd* 6, vol. 1 2011, p. 46.

¹¹ Cf. A. FOURNET, “About *eni*, the Hurrian Word for God”, *JNES* 7, vol. 1 2012, p. 94.

The formula Ἐνθάλιος ἀνδρεϊφόντης is extremely interesting on several counts. It combines a Hurrian compound *En(i)-uwali* and a Greek compound **H_anr-g^{hw}ont-*. In addition *eni* ‘god’ corresponds to **H_anr* ‘man’, and even more interestingly the Hurrian verb *uwal-* and the Greek verb of Indo-European origin **g^{hw}en-* both mean ‘to kill, to slay’. This formula is therefore both a kind of pleonasm and a form of code-switching between Hurrian and Greek: ‘god of slaying [in Hurrian] man-slayer [in Greek]’.

4. Hurrian compounds with en- ‘god, lord’ as first morpheme

Several words in Hurrian involve a first morpheme *en-*, which has two origins: Sumerian *an* ‘god’ and *en* ‘lord, master’. Because Hurrian often does not clearly distinguish the phonemes *a* and *e*, especially when the vowel is followed by *r*, *l* or *n*, both loanwords have fused into *en(i)*. A first compound involving *en* is *endan* ‘high priest.’ Originally *endan* was compared with Akkadian *entu* and Sumerian *enitu* ‘female priest’. This hypothesis has been dismissed. The modern interpretation is to analyze *endan* as a derivative of *en-* with the addition of *-dan*, which Wilhelm calls a *nomen agentis* suffix. A verbal interpretation of *-dan* naturally connects it with *tan-* ‘to do.’ Following this idea *endan* can be understood as meaning ‘god-doer’ “deifex” on the model of *pontifex*, which provides a Latin parallel to this construction.¹² In *endan* the morpheme *en-* obviously stands for ‘god’.

Another compound is *eni-hazizi* (KBo 2.9 iv 12, 18, 23). It is also attested in the Ugaritic alphabet, <i n h z z y> (RS.24.261 Ro 5), which Laroche correctly identifies with *eni-hazizi*.¹³ *Hazizi* is a loanword: from Akkadian *hasīsu* ‘wisdom, intelligence’ as observed by Laroche.¹⁴ This compound means ‘god (or lord) of wisdom’ and appears in Akkadian as in ^dÉ.A EN *ha-si₁₇-si₁₇* ‘Ea, Lord of Wisdom’ (KBo 1.3 obv. 23). According to the sumerogram EN in this Akkadian compound *eni* should preferably be considered to mean ‘lord’, not ‘god’.

Another form with *eni* as first element is *en-umašši* in KBo 5.1 ii 3 and <i n m t y> in RS.24.261 rev. 5. In contrast to *eni-hazizi*, Laroche did not provide any etymological analysis or parsing of *en-umašši* and considered the whole unsegmented form to be a (cultual) place.¹⁵ I have proposed to compare the second component with Akkadian *umāšu* ‘strength’.¹⁶ Hurrian *en-umašši* can be compared with Akkadian EN-*umāši* ‘lord of strength.’ It can be noted that the traditional transliteration of EN as Akkadian *bēl* is highly questionable in that kind of compounds. This transliteration seriously conflicts with two Hurrian words of Akkadian origin. It seems quite impossible to believe that Hurrian can have forms like *eni-hazizi* and *en-umašši* if the Akkadian words were ***bēl-hasīsi* and ***bēl-umāši*. Hurrian indicates that the Sumerogram EN is to be read [*en-*] not [*bēl-*] in Akkadian as well. From a philological point of view, it is noteworthy that *en-umašši* and *eni-hazizi* are used in the same line of RS 24.261 5 “Sacrifice to Astarte-Šauška”: [inmt_y : inhzzy] in Laroche.¹⁷ These two Akkadian compounds are solidly bound by a religious, formulaic, and etymological solidarity. Other attempts at etymologizing *en-umašši* (from Hittite, for example) cannot be accepted: EN-*umašši* cannot be parsed as a Hittite or Luwian verb *enuma-* suffixed by a Hurrian abstract formative *-šši*.¹⁸ It can be further noted that the final *-i* of *en-umašši* and *eni-hazizi* stands for the Akkadian genitive and that the similarity with the Hurrian absolutive is a chance coincidence.

¹² Cf. A. FOURNET, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 92.

¹³ E. LAROCHE, “Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra,” ed. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica 5: Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites, et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit, commentaires des textes historiques* (= *Mission de Ras Shamra 16 = Institut français de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 80), 1968, p. 502.

¹⁴ E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 502 and *GLH*, p. 100.

¹⁵ E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 502 and *GLH*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁶ A. FOURNET, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 93.

¹⁷ Cf. E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.*, 1968, pp. 499-504.

¹⁸ See references and discussion of alternative proposals in R. STRAUSS, *Reinigungsrituale aus Kizzuwatna: ein Beitrag zur Erforschung hethitischer Ritualtradition und Kulturgeschichte*, 2006, p. 115.

5. Conclusion

The paper has described three Hurrian theonyms which are compounds: *en-hazizi* ‘god of intelligence’, *en-umašši* ‘god of force’ and *en-uwali*, originally of unknown meaning but which certainly means ‘god of slaying’ on account of the Greek borrowing Ἐνθ[α]λίος. The Homeric formula Ἐνθάλιος ἀνδρεϊφόντης is an interesting instance of code-switching between Hurrian and Ancient Greek as shown above. And it can be noted that the components of this formula are as old as Mycenaean Greek *e-nu-wa-ri-jo a-no-qa-ta*.

Ἐνθάλιος is a near transparent borrowing and Ancient Greek is phonetically faithful to the Hurrian original. This raises the issue of a direct flow of cultural influences of Hurrian people on Ancient Greece. Not only does Hesiod's *Theogony* contain a number of Hurrian-looking features, but some words present in Ancient Greek are borrowed from Hurrian: Ἐνθάλιος stands for Hurrian *en(i)-uwali*. It can be further noted that the verb *uw-(al-)* is also attested with no suffix in the feminine counterpart of Ἐνθά < **en-uw-* and a Greek suffix -ώ. The verb *uw-, ub-* is potentially attested in another Greek word ὕβρις, -ιος (f.) ‘extreme unrestrained violence’, of unknown origin¹⁹ and potentially from Hurrian *uwari, ubri* ‘repeated slaying’ with a well-documented iterative suffix *-ar*. A word *ú-wa-ri* exists in Hurrian²⁰ but its meaning is unknown. The regular case-marker for Hurrian Absolutive is final *-i*. Greek has three grammatical genders but Hurrian has none. It can be observed that *uwari* was transferred to the feminine declension -ις, -ι(δ)ος on account of its final *-i*.

Incidentally the existence of these borrowings of Hurrian origin raises issues as to how direct cultural and lexical interactions might have happened between Greece and Hurrian lands, located in eastern Anatolia.

¹⁹ P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, p. 1150.

²⁰ E. LAROCHE, *GLH*, p. 291.