

# **MINOAN LINEAR A**

## **VOLUME I**

### **HURRIANS AND HURRIAN IN MINOAN CRETE**

#### **PART 2: TEXT, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDICES**

*To Jan M. Veldhuizen-van Soesbergen  
and in remembrance of  
Anna M. van Soesbergen-Jurriaans  
and Petrus J. van Soesbergen*

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**MINOAN LINEAR A - VOLUME I:  
HURRIANS AND HURRIAN IN MINOAN CRETE  
PART 2: TEXT, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDICES**

by

**Peter George van Soesbergen**

BRAVE NEW BOOKS - Amsterdam 2016

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THE MAIN LINEAR A PHONETIC SIGNS ARRANGED  
ACCORDING TO THE LINEAR B SYLLABARY

	a	e	i	o	u
	𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃	𐀄𐀅𐀆	𐀇 𐀈	𐀉𐀊	𐀋𐀌𐀍
d-	𐀎	𐀏𐀐	𐀑𐀒𐀓	𐀔𐀕	𐀖𐀗𐀘
j-	𐀙𐀚𐀛	𐀜𐀝		𐀞𐀟	
k-	𐀠	𐀡𐀢	𐀣𐀤𐀥	𐀦	𐀧𐀨
m-	𐀩𐀪	𐀫𐀬	𐀭𐀮𐀯		𐀰
n-	𐀱𐀲𐀳	𐀴𐀵	𐀶𐀷	𐀸𐀹𐁀	𐁁𐁂
p-	𐁃𐁄		𐁅𐁆𐁇	𐁈𐁉	𐁊𐁋
q-	𐁌𐁍𐁎	𐁏𐁐𐁑	𐁒		
r-	𐁓𐁔𐁕	𐁖𐁗	𐁘𐁙𐁚	𐁛𐁜	𐁝𐁞
s-	𐁟𐁠	𐁡𐁢	𐁣𐁤	𐁥𐁦	𐁧𐁨𐁩
t-	𐁪𐁫𐁬	𐁭𐁮𐁯	𐁰𐁱𐁲	𐁳	𐁴𐁵
w-	𐁶𐁷	𐁸𐁹	𐁺	𐁻𐁼𐁽	
z-	𐁿	𐂀		𐂁	

# LINEAR A IDEOGRAMS



After J. Raison - M. Pope, *Index transnuméré du Lineaire A (BCILL 11)*, Louvain 1977, 54: Signes du deuxième groupe.

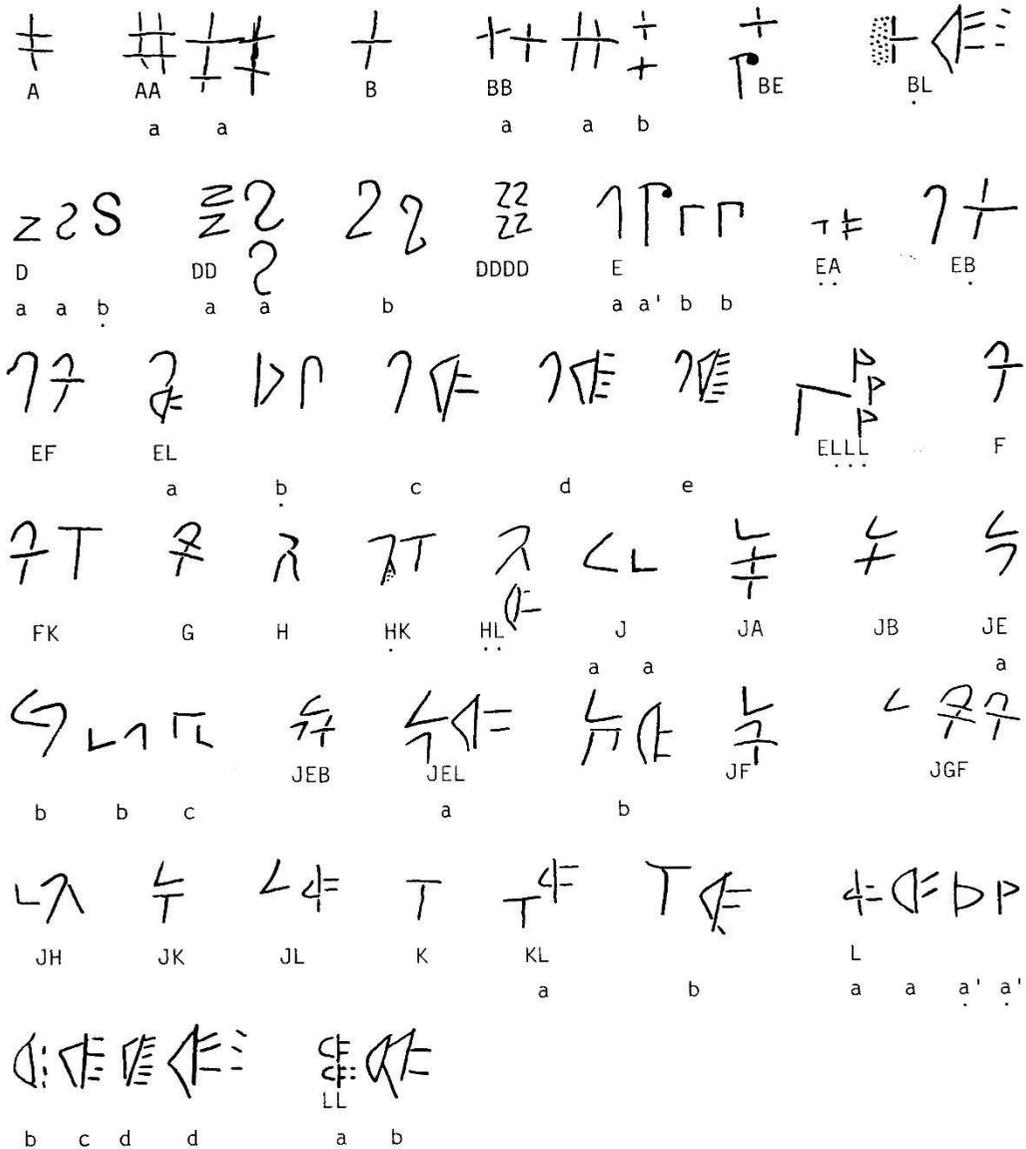
J. Raison - M. Pope (*Index transnuméré du Lineaire A, BCILL 11*, Louvain 1977, 48-53) provide sub 'Signes du premier groupe' the whole range of primarily syllabic signs and their variants. Some of these signs (e.g. 8, 35, 42, 82a, 82b, 85, 87) are probably ideograms and some might be both syllabogram and ideogram, e.g. 27, 29, 48b, 60, 66, 99, 103. Sign 29 is usually the syllabic sign *ka*, but in solitary position it probably indicates the ideogram ROTA 'wheel', and in combination with the ideogram VIR it may well indicate a round shield (PARMA), so that the whole combination could represent a VIR PARMATUS, 'man armed with a round shield'.

Sub 'Signes du troisième groupe' J. Raison - M. Pope (*ibidem*, 55-57) provide the 'ligature signs'. Some of these consist of ideograms with additions of syllabograms indicating varieties of the commodities in question, e.g. 501, 503, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 524, 525, 528, etc.

Others consist of ideograms with additions of signs indicating dry measures: sign 502, for instance, shows the GRA(num) ideogram with the addition of double Linear A signs 'L', which probably is equivalent to Linear B sign V, possibly the classical  $\chi\omicron\tilde{\nu}\iota\zeta$ , whereas sign 504 shows the GRA(num) ideogram with the addition of a single Linear A sign 'L'. Sign 511 shows the GRA(num) ideogram with the addition of a single Linear A sign 'L' and a single Linear A sign 'K', which probably is equivalent to Linear B sign T. From Linear B we know that the smallest dry and liquid measures are the signs Z (probably the  $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ ) and V (the  $\chi\omicron\tilde{\nu}\iota\zeta$ ). In Linear B the dry measures have the following values:  $Z \times 4 = V$ ;  $V \times 6 = T$ ;  $T \times 10 = \text{GRA}$ . According to J. Chadwick the wheat ideogram may indicate the highest unit of the dry measures, representing the maximum load an average man could carry. He also considers the wine ideogram the highest unit of the liquid measures, again representing the maximum load an average man could carry (cf. J. Chadwick, *Reading the past, Linear B and related scripts*, British Museum Publications, London 1987, 32). There is no reason to assume that the values of the Linear A measures differed very much from those in Linear B.

Other 'ligature signs' may be a combination of two ideograms. Sign 536 is probably a combination of sign 35 (CAPSUS of a chariot) and 87 (framework of a chariot). Sign 672 may be sign 87 combined with the sign of another part of the chariot.

# LINEAR A SIGNS INDICATING FRACTIONS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES



After J. Raison - M. Pope, *Index transnuméré du Lineaire A (BCILL 11)*, Louvain 1977, 58: Signes du quatrième groupe.

LINEAR A SYLLABIC SIGNS RESEMBLING LINEAR B  
SIGNS (ACCORDING TO J. RAISON - M. POPE)

30	22	2	92	39	26	51	52	77	97	21	7	84a
da	ro	pa	te	to	na	di	a	se	u	po	so	me
101	(71/89)	62	23				10	48b	(140,178)	27	84b	
do/79	mo	qa	za	18	19	zo	qi	22		mu		
61		55	54	100a	100a'	34	60	31				
ne	a <sub>2</sub>	ru	re	i	i	pu <sub>2</sub>	ni	sa	qo			
ra <sub>3</sub>	34	35	88	78	44	56a	28	57	99			
			jo	ti	e	pi	wi	si	wo	ai		
24	102a	81a	102b	114	120	64	93	100b	100b'	100b'		
ke	de	je	47	nwa	49	pu	du	no	no			
72	75a	25	1	32	59	74	53	80				
ri	wa	nu	56	ja	su	ta	ra	o	pte	63		
43	96	86	103	6	45		76	(16)	94			
64	65	ta <sub>2</sub>	ki	ro <sub>2</sub>	tu	ko	dwe	pe	mi	ze	we	
58	29	91	Cf.101	95	98	208	(113)	35	66			
ra <sub>2</sub>	ka	qe	79	ma	ku	82	83	au	86	twe	dwo	two

After J. Raison - M. Pope, *Index transnuméré du Lineaire A (BCILL 11)*,  
Louvain 1977, 60: Ressemblances A – B.

LINEAR A IDEOGRAMS, IDEOGRAMS WITH ADDED  
VALUES, SIGNS FOR MEASURES AND WEIGHTS  
RESEMBLING LINEAR B SIGNS

							
60	16	44	99	126	126		
FIC/ni ZE 134			VIR and VIR ARMATUS				
							
48b	633	597	140	627	626	113	27 etc
OVIS		OVIS <sub>f</sub>	OVIS <sub>m</sub>	CAP	CAP <sub>f</sub>	CAP <sub>m</sub>	SUS BOS
							
42	60	49	116	82a	82b	184	
GRA	FIC	OLIVA	ARB	VIN <sub>a</sub>	VIN <sub>b</sub>	*164	
							
8	185	541	542	146	531	87	
AES	*158	TELA+ku	TELA+zo	*180	*161	*189	
							
545	564	565	544	571	103	543	630
TRIPUS	*202	*203	*212	*216	*218	*219	*227
							
L	T			AA	DD	85	
V	T			N	M	L=TALENTUM	

This chart is partly after J. Raison - M. Pope, *Index transnuméré du Lineaire A* (BCILL 11), Louvain 1977, 61: Ressemblances A – B. I have, however, rearranged the order in such a way that the ideograms of domestic animals, those of agricultural commodities, those of other commodities, those of various vases, and the signs for measures and weights are put together in their own groups. In my view sign 126 is not the ideogram MUL(ier) ‘woman’, but VIR ARMATUS ‘armed man’. Especially the second example of sign 126 shows close resemblance to both Linear B sign \*100 = VIR and Linear B signs \*162 and \*163 = LORICA ‘a leather cuirass or corselet’. Linear A sign 116 ARB(OR) may be the ideogram of AURUM (B \*141).

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since the size of MINOAN LINEAR A, Volume I, *Hurrians and Hurrian in Minoan Crete*, would otherwise have become too large, it appeared to be inevitable to divide it into two parts, Part 1: *Text*, and Part 2: *Text, Bibliography and Indices*. It would have been logical and preferable, if the complete text could have been published in Volume I, Part 1, but due to technical limitations it was not possible to exceed the number of 522 pages per manuscript, so that *Chapter 12* (Linear B onomastica) and the *Conclusions and summary* had to be transferred to Part 2.

After the general bibliography the reader will also find a list of bibliographical abbreviations referring to frequently cited annuals, magazines, periodicals, series, dictionaries, lexica, glossaries and monographs.

I have preferred not to provide one general alphabetical list of indices, but to group them under various headings such as ‘Linear A’, ‘Linear B’, ‘Hurrian’, ‘Greek’, ‘Hittite’, ‘Script and language’, ‘History and culture’, etc. A complete list of these headings is mentioned in the contents on page IV. Mr. J. Bellis has kindly instructed me how to feed the different computer codes into the main text in order to generate the various groups of indices. I have not always confined myself to references to the pages where a word, name or notion can be found in the main text, but have provided extensive explanations for the reader’s convenience.

I am also grateful to Mr. J. Bellis for his excellent help and advice with respect to solving various IT-problems I had to face, Mr. R. Petrie for designing the covers of my manuscripts, Mr. I. Haank of Brave New Books and his colleagues for their support and technical advice.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my partner J.M. Veldhuizen, who took so much work out of my hands enabling me to make this publication possible.

Peter G. van Soesbergen  
Château Belkmer

## CHAPTER 12

### LINEAR B ONOMASTICS

The names discussed in this chapter do not have a Greek etymology and are to be considered adstrate forms in the wide sense in Mycenaean Greek. Most forms may also be regarded as adstrate names in a limited sense, possibly with *e-ra* as an exception, since this theonym and toponym may well be taken as a substrate name. Although the forms *pi-we-ri-ja-ta*, *pi-we-re*, *pi-we-ri-si*, *pi-we-ri-di* have a perfect Greek and Indo-European etymology (cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 898-899, s.v. *πῖαρ*), they are also discussed here, since a relation of the names in question with Thrace and Macedonia seems feasible as well.

In this chapter I shall first discuss some data which appear to be particularly relevant to the subject of this monograph. Subsequently, I shall move on to those names that may be of interest for Thracian studies in general. Finally, I intend to pay attention to the significance of some theonyms.

To start with, it may be useful to stress a point of methodology. Although ancient sources used the term ‘Thracian’ without reservation when referring to those peoples and tribes who dwelled in the northern Balkans and on the Greek mainland itself in a very remote past and who were considered the ancestors of those whom the Greeks knew as ‘the Thracians’ in historic times, it may be preferable to use the term ‘proto-Thracian’ when we refer to the Bronze Age, since the Thracians just as the Greeks themselves had not yet passed the threshold of history in Mycenaean times.

Linear B *pu-zo* (KN Ap 5748+5901+5923+8558.2) has been recognized as the Thracian personal name *Buzo* by P.Hr. Ilievski, ‘Myc. PU-ZO’, *Živa Antika* 19 (1969), 149. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 94-95, has previously suggested a Thracian origin for personal names such as *Bύζος*, *Bύζας*, *Bύζης*. P. Kretschmer, ‘Das -nt- Suffix’, *Glotta* 14 (1925), 94-95, assumed on the basis of occurrence of the name *Beuzas* in Dalmatia that Byzantium was founded by an Illyrian *Bύζας*, but the *Etymologicum Magnum* tells: *Βυζάντιον· ἡ πόλις, διὰ τὸν Βύζαντα τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα.*

Actually, it is a very common mistake, also often made by H. Krahe and A. Mayer, to attribute an Illyrian origin to names that were in fact Thracian. C. Patsch demonstrated already in 1907 in his article on ‘Thrakische Spuren an der Adria’, *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 10, 169-174, that there was a Pre-Illyrian substrate of Thracian onomastica in Dalmatia and Epirus. Moreover, isoglosses of substrate words in Albanian, Bulgarian and Rumanian can probably best be explained as relics of Thracian and cognate Dacian. Thracian *Bύζος* and *Bύζας* may be compared with Avestian *buza* ‘billy-goat’, Persian *buz* ‘goat’ and ‘billy-goat’ and Armenian *buz* ‘lamb’, from I.-E. \**bhug-yo-s*, cf. I. Duridanov, ‘Die Stellung des Thrakischen im Kreise der indoeuropäischen Sprachen’, *Thracia I (Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum)*, Serdicae 1972, 242.

Although I am convinced that the toponym *Βυζάντιον* is derived from Thracian *Bύζας*, I am now less certain about the same origin of the Linear B name from Knossos, since also at Nuzi the name *Pu-ú-za* is attested, cf. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 248, s.v. *puza*, whose verdict is ‘unidentified’ and who agrees with L. Oppenheim in opposing the opinion of others who maintain that this personal name is Hurrian. He compares the Nuzi name with *Bu-zi* from Gasur, HSS X 190: 1, and with *Bu-za* from the Ur III period, cf. Schneider in *Orientalia* No. 23, No. 523, also cited by Meyer in *AOF XII* 368. Also *Bu-za* and perhaps *Bu-zi* from Anatolia, cf. Stephens, *PNC*, 28, former cited by Ungnad, *Subartu*, 150. See for more examples from Anatolia Gustavs in *AOF XI* 147 and Oppenheim in *RHA V, fasc. 33*, 16. References of *Bu-za* from Middle Assyrian texts are listed by Ebeling in *MAOG XIII.1*, 35. From Susa cf. perhaps [*Bu*]-*ú-zi*, *Mém. XXIII* 248:3. I conclude that the range of occurrences of *Bu-za* and *Bu-zi* is widely spread over Anatolia and the Near East as well, so that it would be unwise to point to only one source. The problem with these disyllabic names is also that there is always a chance that we are dealing with homographs derived from different origins.

Some personal names in Linear B appear to contain a root *διζ-*, e.g. *di-za-so* (KN Pp 493+ 500+5813; Dv 1505) = e.g. \**Διζασ(σ)ος*, *di-za* (KN Dv 1506) = e.g. *Διζας* (or perhaps also \**Διζασ(σ)ος*, since we do not know whether the name is complete or not) and *di-zo* (KN V(3) 479a.1; As(2) 1520.5; V(7) 1523.4b), \**Διζος* or \**Διζων* or \**Διζως* (with the same ending as *Τρώς* and *Μίνως*).

In historical times this root is frequently attested in Thracian personal names such as *Δίζας, Δίζα, Δίζης, Δείζας, Δείζης, Diszas, Disza, Diza, Dizza* (gen. *Δίζα, Διζαδος, Διζανος*), extended forms as *Διζαλας, Διζουλος, Διζαπης* and compounds as *Διζα-ζελμης, Diza-poris, Disa-centus, Disza-tralis, Δισα-τραλις*, cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 132-135 and 143; cf. also V. Beševliev, *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern*, Amsterdam 1970, 42.

We may see a parallel to Thracian *Δίζας* in the Lithuanian personal name *Dižas*, in the Latvian family name *Dižais* and in Latvian *dīža*, cf. I. Duridanov, ‘Die Stellung des Thrakischen im Kreise der indoeuropäischen Sprachen’, *Thracia I, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum*, Serdicae 1972, 239. P. Chantraine, *DELG I*, 281, accepted A. Fick’s correction of Hesychius’s gloss of *δίζα· αἶζ Λάκωνες* into *δίζα· αἶζ Καόκωνες*. He compared Thracian *δίζα* with Armenian *tik* ‘leather sack’ (< I.-E. \**digā*) and Old High German *ziga* ‘goat’, of which the dorsal stop may go back to I.-E. *k* or *gh*. *Kaukones* are mentioned by Herodotus *I*, 147; *IV* 118, in Homer’s *Odyssey* γ 366 and by Strabo *VII*, 7, 1-2; *VIII*, 3, 11; *XII*, 8, 3, as living in the Peloponnese west of Arcadia; in *Iliad* K 429 and Y 329, and by Strabo *XI*, 3, 2-5; *XIV*, 5, 23-28, and Ptolemy *Geog. V*, 1, 3, as a people in Paphlagonia in Asia Minor. Ptolemy *Geog. III*, 8, 3, mentions Dacian *Καυκοήνσιοι*, and in an inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis (*CIL VIII*, 9390) we read: [*d.*] *m. Saeci Cauce<n>sis [equitis] alae II Thracum*.

L.C. Meijer, *Eine strukturelle Analyse der Hagia Triada-Tafeln*, 134, reads Linear A [ ]*di-za-ke* on HT Ia.2-3. He erroneously mentions [ ]*L51-34-24* instead of [ ]*L51-23-24* on page 7 of his book, but this is probably a printer’s error, since he reads *di-za-ke* on page 134. This reading might, however, be a hoax, since L. Godart and J.-P. Olivier, *GORILA Vol. 1*, read *di-di-za-ke*, whereas J. Raison and M. Pope, *BCILL 18*, 33, and *BCILL 74*, 44, seem to waver between these readings. If [ ]*di-za-ke* is not a hoax, this sequence, which is probably a personal name, could perhaps be compared with the Thracian name *Dizzaca* in inscriptions from Worms (*CIL XIII*, 6231: *Aur. Dizzaca leg. II Part.*) and from Troesmis (*CIL III*, 6189: *Iulius Dizzace* (gen.)). But if *di-di-za-ke* is the correct reading, the first onomastic element *di-di-* may be compared with names from Cappadocia such as *Ti-ti-a* (CCT V 25 c 4; Garelli N° 63, 8; E. Laroche, *NH*, 186. n° 1342) and *Ti-ti-na-ri* (EL 1, 2; 284, 3; E. Laroche, *NH*, 186. n° 1343).

The latter name is also mentioned by P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 208, s.v. *titi*: “Hurrian. Cf. perhaps *ti-i-ti*, Tuš. iii 121, and *ti-i-ti-pa*<sup>[a]</sup>, VBoT 59 ii 8. Perhaps in personal name *Titinari/atal* from Anatolia, wr. *Ti-ti-na-RI*, TCL IV 67:2, cited as Hurrian by Götze, *Kleinasien*, 69, n. 4; Gelb, *IIV*, 14; and Ungnad, *Subartu*, 151. The personal name *Tette* adduced by Gustavs in *AOF XI*, 149, is probably not involved.” Single writing of the cuneiform intervocalic dental in *ti-i-ti-* proves that it is voiced. In certain personal names final *-a-RI* is read as *-atal* by Gelb and Purves, cf. e.g. Purves, *NPN*, 248, s.v. *-ri*.

The new reading *di-di-za-ke* by *GORILA* (HT Ia.2-3) seems preferable, since *di-di-* is legible. Consequently a Hurrian interpretation of *di-di-za-ke* seems more likely than a ‘Thracian’ or ‘Proto-Thracian’ of *di-za-ke*. If Linear A *-za-ke* is an onomastic element, the element *-zaḫi* in *Nula-zaḫi* (wr. *Nu-la-za-ḫi*, *Nu-ul-za-ḫi*), attested at Nuzi, seems *prima facie* comparable, cf. *nu-ú-ú-li*<sup>MES</sup> Tuš. iii 113 and 118, cf. also *Nul-tešup* (wr. *Nu-ul-te-šup*) at Nuzi, but if *-zaḫi* is to be equated with the element *-zaḫ*, it might be Kassite (cf. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 276, s.v. *-zaḫ* and *-zaḫi*), which would make *\*di-di-za-ḫe* a hybrid name, not impossible, but less likely. A more decisive argument against reading *\*di-di-za-ḫe* is that cuneiform *-ḫ-* (voiced velar spirant) is probably represented by a Linear A *q*-sign. So it seems preferable that Linear A *-za-ke* consists of the compound formatives *-za + -ke* or *-za + -kke*. Compare for *-za*: P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 276, s.v. *-za*: “Hurrian? Apparently a formative in *Haiza* and perhaps in *Kuliza*? Note also *fPetteza*.” Compare for *-ke*: P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 224, s.v. *-ke*: “Hurrian. With variant *-ki*, apparently a formative in *Arraki*, *Ḥatrake*, *Ḥerrike*, *Inniki/e*, *Irrike*, *Iuki*, *Kelke*, *Kirruke*, *Šatuke*, *Tenteke*, *Unniki*, *Unnuki*, *Uzzuke*, and perhaps *Turuke*, *Zapaki*, *Zi(?)make* and *Zirriki*.” Compare for *-kke*: P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 228, s.v. *-kke*: “Hurrian. Apparently a formative analogous to *-kka*. Found in *Apakke*, *Zizzakke*, and perhaps *Arikke* and the element *urekke*.” In the last examples *Zizzakke* (wr. *Zi-iz-za-ag-ge*) is interesting.

The ethnic *i-ta-ra-jo* (PY Jn 431.10), probably *Ἰσπραῖος*, used as a personal name, is derived from *\*Ἰσπρᾶ*, which can be compared with *Ἰστρος*, the name of the river Danube mentioned by Herodotus (*IV*, 48) as the greatest of all rivers we know: *Ἰστρος μὲν ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*. According to Stephanus of Byzantium (341, 3) *Ἰστρος* occurs not only as a toponym in Thrace, but also as one in Crete, in the area of Knidos in Asia Minor and in that of the Iapyges, a tribe in the east of Italy.

Stephanus Byzantinus, 341, 3, writes: Ἴστρος, πόλις Κρήτης, ἦν Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἴστρωνά φησι. δευτέρα πόλις Ἴστρος ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἴστριος καὶ Ἴστριεύς. Ἀρριανὸς δὲ Ἴστρίαν ὡς Ὀλβίαν αὐτὴν φησι. τὸ ἐθνικὸν ταύτης Ἴστριανός ὡς Ὀλβιανός, καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν Ἴστρινός λιμὴν καὶ Τριόπιον τῆς Κνιδίας. τετάρτη πόλις τῆς Ἰαπυγίας, ὡς Ἐφορος εἰκοστῶ ἐνάτῳ. Steph. Byz., 648, 5, also mentions a Thracian tribe called *Istroï*: Ἀπολλόδωρος [...] ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ “ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦς Ὑλλοῦς Λιβυρνοὶ καὶ τινες Ἴστροὶ λεγόμενοι Θραῦκες”. Although D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1957, 217-219, considers Ἴστρος Thracian on good grounds since the name and its derivatives are attested as Thracian in ancient sources, Stephanus Byzantinus already pointed out that the name occurs far beyond the Thracian area. The name of the river Ἴστρος is probably cognate with that of other rivers in Europe such as the *Isère*, *Isar*, etc., cf. A. Walde - J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1927-1932, 3 Vols., 299-300. The original meaning of the Indo-European adjectives \**H<sub>1</sub>isrós* > (Greek) *ἰρός*; \**H<sub>1</sub>iserós* > (Greek) *ἰερός*; \**H<sub>1</sub>eysrrós* > (Greek) *εἰαρός*, cf. Doric *ιαρός*, is ‘provided with supernatural power’.

So in fact the name of the Istros river in Thrace and Dacia may be considered a piece of evidence for the Indo-European character of the Thracian and Dacian languages. At the same time we must realize that these ancient Indo-European languages probably also contained many substrate words and names of (non-Indo-European) predecessors, just like the Greek and Anatolian languages did. The ethnic *Θραῦκες* ‘Thracians’ is probably inherited from a non-Indo-European substrate language just as the Greeks inherited the ethnic *Ἀχαιοί* from such a language, in the same way as the Anglo-Saxon British inherited their name from the Celtic *Britons*, inhabitants of South Britannia before the Roman conquest, cf. Middle English and Old French *Breton*, Latin *Britto*, *-onis*, Old Celtic \**Britto(s)*.

The place name from Knossos *o-du-ru-we* (KN C 902.6), probably dative-locative of \**Ὀδρυς*, and the ethnic *o-du-ru-wi-jo* (KN C 902.2), probably *Ὀδρύσιος*, and the feminine *o-du-ru-wi-ja* (KN Ai(3) 982.1), as well as *o-du-ru-wi-jo* on a stirrup-jar found in Thebes (TH Z 839), but imported from Crete (on the evidence of clay analysis), recall the tribal name of the Thracian *Ὀδρύσαι*, with the adjectival forms *Ὀδρύσιος* and *Ὀδρυσαιός*. Herodotus, *IV*, 92, tells that the river *Ἀρτησκός* (a tributary of the Maritsa) flowed through the area of the Odrysae: *Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ’ ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνόμα Ἀρτησκός ἐστί, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει*.

According to a gloss by Hesychius: ὄθρυν · Κρηῆτες τὸ ὄρος, the toponym Ὀθρυς is attested in Crete. It might well be considered a doublet of \*Ὀδρυς. A δ/θ alternation can be explained by the non-Greek origin of the name. M. Lejeune, ‘Doublets et complexes’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (ed. L.R. Palmer - J. Chadwick), Cambridge 1966, 140: “Dans certains emprunts ‘préhelléniques’ du grec, il a pu se produire des flottements entre (douces) aspirées et (douces) sonores; un exemple en est peut-être fourni par confrontation de la glose d’Hésychius ὄθρυν · Κρηῆτες τὸ ὄρος et du toponyme *oduru* de nos tablettes cnossiennes; s’il s’agit du même mot (ce qui est plausible, mais non démontrable), ce flottement entre δ et θ serait du même ordre que le flottement entre β et φ impliqué par une lecture \*Δαφύρινθος où  $pu_2$  (comme dans tous les autres exemples contrôlables) vaudrait φv.” F.M.J. Waanders: βv/φv may be derived from Lin. A  $pu_2 = bhu$ .

There is also a mount Ὀθρυς in Thessaly situated to the north of Phthiotis according to Herodotus *VII*, 129 and Strabo *VIII*, 3, 32; *IX*, 5, 8; *IX*, 5, 14, cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque III*, Paris 1974, 778, s.v. Ὀθρυς. In Homer’s *Iliad* N 363, 374, 772, Ὀθρυονεύς is mentioned as coming from Thracian Καβησσός or Καβησός to Troy in the hope of marrying Cassandra, but slain by Idomeneus instead (cf. Strabo *XIII*, 1, 40). Stephanus Byzantinus 344, 12, mentions: Καβασσός, πόλις ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, πατρις Ὀθρυονέως. Ὀμηρος “Καβησσόθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα”. Ἐκαταῖος δ’ ὁ Μιλήσιος Καβασσὸν πόλιν εἶναί φησιν ὑπερβάντι τὸν Θράκιον Αἴμον. καὶ συμφωνεῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ γάμου ἐλπίς τῶν Θρακῶν ἀκολασία. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ τῆς Λυκίας πόλιν Καβησσόν. Ἀπίων δὲ ἀληθέστερόν φησι κόμην εἶναί Καππαδοκίας μεταξὺ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Μαζάκων. Cf. also Eust. and *Scholium ad Iliad* N 363.

L.R. Palmer, ‘Mycenaean inscribed vases, II. The mainland finds’, *Kadmos XI* (1972), 27-46, examined the clusters of Cretan place names and ethnics mentioned by Linear B scribes at Knossos and established their interrelations discovering the patterns of Cretan geography. His hypothesis that the stirrup-jars found at Thebes, Eleusis and Mycenae, bearing Cretan toponyms or ethnics, were imported from Cretan centres to the mainland, was not only proved by the close contextual relations between e.g. *wa-to* and *o-du-ru-we* (c.q. *o-du-ru-wi-jo*) in the Knossos tablets, but also by archaeological and spectrographic research by H.W. Catling and A. Millett, ‘A study of the inscribed stirrup-jars from Thebes’, *Archaeometry* 8 (1965), 3-85; ‘Theban stirrup-jars: Questions and answers’, *Archaeometry* 11 (1969), 3-20.

I quote L.R. Palmer, *Kadmos XI* (1972), 45: “As for the pin-pointing of the exporting centres, the recent spectrographic analysis of the clay from some of the Theban jars has suggested the conclusion that *wa-to* is to be identified with Palaikastro and *o-du-ru-wi-jo* with Zakro. The factual basis for this is that the clay of the *o-du-ru-wi-jo* jar closely resembles samples taken from Zakro, while clay from the *wa-to* group bears a similar relationship to a sample from Palaikastro.”

J. Chadwick, ‘Linear B tablets from Thebes’, *Minos 10* (1969), 119, also regards the evidence as decisive. He compares *Odrus* with (the Thracian) *Ὀδρύσαι* in the same paragraph. Cf. M. Ventris - J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973<sup>2</sup>, 211-213 and 438. But C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, Amsterdam 1967, § 156, n. 439, finds a relation between *\*Ὀδρυς* and the name of the Thracian tribe of the *Ὀδρύσαι* more difficult to explain. Probably he refers to the intervocalic *-σ-* in *Ὀδρύσαι*, which is not found in the Linear B forms of the ethnics. Since names with the root *Ὀδρύ-* / *Ὀθρυ-* show connections with Crete, Thrace, Lycia and Cappadocia, it seems likely that the name of the Thracian *Ὀδρύσαι* was derived from a non-Indo-European substrate language just like the name of the *Θραῖκες* themselves.

The toponym *tu-ni-ja* = e.g. *Θυνία* on several Knossos tablets (KN Ap 629.1; Db 1246; Dv 1511+7193+7198+fr.; Le 641+fr.; X 7750.2; X 7633; Xd 149+8121.3); *tu-ni-ja-de* (KN Fh 373), acc. + *-δε*; and the ethnic *tu-ni-jo* = e.g. *Θύνιος* at Pylos (PY Cn 4.4; Xa 1419.2), are possibly derived from the Thracian ethnic *Θυνός*. Herodotus (*I*, 28) mentions: *Θρήικες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοί*, and Stephanus of Byzantium (320, 8): *Θυνία, χώρα τῶν Θυνῶν. τὸ ἔθνικόν Θυνός ὁμοφώνως τῷ οἰκιστῇ τῆς Θυνίας*. However, J. Chadwick now compares Linear B *tu-ni-ja* with *Ἐλτωνία* (now *Kunávi*) south of Knossos? (cf. M. Ventris - J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973<sup>2</sup>, 317, 588). Chadwick himself has placed a question mark after his equation. If it is correct, which seems doubtful, the toponym might have nothing to do with the Thracian Thynians.

L.R. Palmer, however, has argued from the Knossos tablets and the ‘Theban’ jar, imported from Crete, for a link between *tu-ni-ja* on the one hand and *o-du-ru-we* and *o-du-ru-wi-jo/ja* on the other. As we have just seen in the discussion on *\*Ὀδρυς* and its derivatives, L.R. Palmer has been able to establish certain groupings of toponyms in the Knossos tablettes.

In one of these groupings a close relationship between \**Ἰδρυς* and *tu-ni-ja* can be identified, cf. L.R. Palmer, ‘Mycenaean inscribed vases, II. The mainland finds’, *Kadmos XI* (1972), 37 and 41. The question is whether the close relationship between the two Cretan place names in Mycenaean times is just accidental or not. In historic times the Odrysian and Thynian tribes, the latter mentioned as inhabiting the region of Salmydessos in the first millennium B.C., lived close together. The Thynians even claimed *Odrysos* (eponymic hero of the largest Thracian tribe) as their ancestor, cf. A. Fol, ‘Thrako-Bithynische Parallelen im vorrömischen Zeitalter, II. Bevölkerungs- und Gesellschaftsstrukturen’, *Thracia I* (Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, Primus Congressus Studiorum Thracicorum), Serdicae 1972, 198.

If toponyms such as *o-du-ru-we* and *tu-ni-ja* in Crete may account for the presence of ancestors of the Odrysian and Thynian tribes on the island at some time during the Bronze Age, could they perhaps be identified with the *Πελασγοί* in Crete mentioned in *Odyssey* τ 177 ? We have unfortunately not the slightest idea of whether our ancient sources based their statements about *Πελασγοί* and, for instance, ‘Thracians’ on real traditions from centuries in the past or whether they just tried to figure out how similar names found in different places could be explained in the most logical way. I regard casual information in Homer about e.g. Thracian chieftains and tribes helping the Trojans as their allies as historically more reliable than the information provided by later scholars from antiquity. Authors like Dionysios of Halicarnassus, Pausanias, Strabo and Hesychius Alexandrinus resemble to a large extent philologists of our time. They only had potentially more sources at their disposal, sources lost to us. They could read Hecataeus and quote him themselves and in their time they were much closer to their past than we are to theirs. We have, on the other hand, better facilities for communication and can rely on an immense amount of data, easily accessible.

It remains difficult to pin-point our identifications, partly because the orthographic conventions of Linear B make more than one interpretation possible (e.g. τ or θ in *tu-ni-ja*). Apart from this ambiguity of orthography, even if we assume that \**Ἰδρυς*, *Ἰθρυς* and *Ἰθρυονεύς* are all related, it must be admitted that the scope of occurrences of these names is very wide: from Crete to Thessaly and from Cappadocia to Thrace. As far as toponyms are concerned, assignment of these names to the category of substrate names appears more likely than to that of adstrates in the narrow sense.

C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 144, n. 367, remarks: “À vrai dire, *Θῶνιά* est attesté plus tard comme nom du pays des *Θῶνοί*, c’est-à-dire d’une tribu thrace. Évidemment, s’il s’agit d’un nom d’origine thrace, il est difficile de l’admettre pour la Crète mycénienne. Cependant, il est possible qu’il s’agisse d’un nom préhellénique emprunté par des Thraces.” C.J. Ruijgh’s hesitation to accept presence of Thracian toponyms in Crete in the Mycenaean era is understandable, especially if they are regarded as adstrate names in the narrow sense. Doubt may even increase, if other feasible equations are compared. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 271, mentions a possible Hurrian connection s.v. *tuni*. “Attribut de divinités; le plus souvent avec *tabri*. Graphies *tu/du-(u)-ni*. Sg. nom. *tuni (tabri)*, KUB XX 93+ VI 7; XXV 44 II 4; 45, 7; XXVII 1 II 30-31; XV 37 II 6; XXXII 84 IV 18; XLV 2 II 6; etc., etc. Gén. du poss. *tu-ni-ib-bi-na*, KUB XXV 45, 3-4. Dir. *tu-u-ni-da*, KUB XLVII 29 Ro 5, Vo 3, 6. *tuniya (tabriya)*, IBoT III 148 II 64, IV 13; KUB XXXII 50, 21; KBo VIII 89 Ro 4.” Etc. The latter form *tuniya* also provides an exact equivalent to Linear B *tu-ni-ja* (KN Ap 629.1; Db 1246; Dv 1511+7193+7198+fr.; Le 641+fr.; X 7750.2; X 7633; Xd 149+8121.3). E. Laroche, *NH*, 257 and 270, also mentions a toponym *D/Tunna* (KBo IV 10 Ro 36; HT 2 VI 7; KBo XII 140 b.g. 3; Bo 595 III 15 = MIO 8, 195) in the ‘Pays-Bas’ of Asia Minor.

The feminine ethnica from Pylos *ka-pa-si-ja* (PY Vn 851.12), e.g. *Καρπασιά* (with a -σ- which we expect on phonetic grounds), and *ka-pa-ti-ja* (PY Eb 338.A; Ep 539.9; Ep 704.7; Un 443.3), e.g. *Καρπαθιά* (with -θ- restored on the analogy of the toponym), are both derived from Pre-Greek *Κάρπαθος*, a name which reminds us not only of the island *Κάρπαθος* between Crete and Rhodes, a toponym *Καρπασιά* on Cyprus (cf. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 500, s.v. *κάρπασον* ‘nom d’une plante vénéneuse’), but also of *τὸ Καρπάθιον ὄρος*, the Karpathian mountains in Rumania mentioned by Ptolemy *III*, 8, 1 and *III*, 5, 8 (cf. W. Pape - G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1884, reprint of the 3rd ed., Graz 1959, 627). These names establish, one may say, a firm link between the Aegean and the northern Balkan area. The root of *Κάρπαθος* may go back to Indo-European *(s)qerp-* ‘to cut’ (cf. Lithuanic *kerpù* ‘cut’). Since Bulgarian *karpa* and Albanian *karpë* both mean ‘rock’, *Κάρπαθος* could signify ‘rocky island’ and *τὸ Καρπάθιον ὄρος* ‘the Rocky Mountain(s)’. The formant -θ- in *Κάρπαθος* has a Pre-Greek appearance and may be observed in toponyms such as *Κάνηθος*, *Κικόνηθος*, *Πεπάρηθος*, *Σκίαθος*, *Σώπηθος* and *Υρνάθιον*.

We may consider whether *Κικόνηθος* might contain the same root as we find in the name of the Thracian Κίκονες mentioned in *Iliad* B 846 and P 73 and in *Odyssey* ι 165. Herodotus *VII*, 110, tells: - ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηϊκῶν δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι Ἡδωνοὶ Σάτραι. On the other hand names showing a reduplication or a quasi-reduplication are common in some languages, cf. e.g. E. Laroche, *NH*, 240: 'Lallnamen' Type II: base I redoublée: *Kaka/Gaga, Kiki, Kuku, Lala, Lili, Lulu, Mama, Μιμι(ς), Nana, Nini, Nunu, Papa/Baba, Tata/Dada, Tete/Didi, Tutu/Dudu, Zuzu*. Cas particulier du type II: la série en *A-*, *Aba, Ada, Aga, Aka, Aya, Αμμα, Ana, Apa, Ata*. (Les noms cunéiformes orthographiés selon l'usage cappadocien, sans la gémiation consonantique hittite. Par ex.: *Kuku* = capp. *Ku-ku-ú*, hitt. *Ku-uk-ku*; *Ana* = capp. *A-na-(a)*, hitt. *A-an-na*, etc.)

A reflection of the Pre-Hellenic ethnic name *Ἰαντες* may be found in the dative-locative *u-wa-si* (PY An 656.15), e.g. *Ἰανσι* serving as a topographic indication. Pausanias *X*, 35, 5, mentions Boeotian *Ἰάμπολις* as a city of the *Ἰαντες* who lived at Thebes before they had to flee from Kadmos and his army. Strabo *IX*, 2, 3, mentions them with Aones, Temmikes and Leleges as barbarian inhabitants of Boeotia before the coming of the Phoenicians with Kadmos who fortified the Kadmeia. Further on, in the same section, he seems either to associate the *Ἰαντες* with Thracians and Pelasgoi or to identify them as Thracians themselves. He also mentions that the Thracians were driven out of Boeotia to Parnassos and that the *Ἰαντες* founded a city *Ἰᾶ* in Phocis. Such stories about migrating and resettling peoples in our ancient sources point, of course, to the substrate character of these populations and their names. It is also clear that the authors in antiquity were fully aware of that character.

An expressive ethnicon derived from this toponym may occur in Linear B *u-wa-ta* (KN Dd 1286.B), probably *Ἰάτᾱς*. The patronymic *u-wa-si-jo* (KN Ai(1) 115) may be explained as either a derivative from this name, e.g. *Ἰάσιος*, or a derivative from *\*Ἰανς*, later attested as a personal name *Ἰᾶς*, e.g. *Ἰάνσιος*, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 126, n. 283. Cf. W. Pape - G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 1573.

Another tribal name containing the same formant as we find in *Ἰαντες*, is *Ἄβαντες*. They are mentioned in Homer's *Iliad* B 536 ff. as inhabitants of Euboea where they lived in Chalcis, Eretria, Histiaia, Kèrinthos, Dios, Karystos and Styra.

Strabo *X*, 1, 3, tells that the old name of Euboea was not only *Makris*, but also *Ἀβαντίς*. He also mentions that Aristotle says that Thracians setting out from *Aba* in Phocis, recolonised the island and renamed those who held it *Ἀβαντες*. In Eustathius's commentary on Dionysius *Periegeta* 520 we read: ὁ ποιητῆς .. τὴν Εὐβοϊαν Ἀβαντιάδα λέγει, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀβάντων, Θρακίου ἔθνους, ὡς φησιν Ἀρριανός. Cf. also *IG XII*, 8 no. 181 (from Samothrake): *Ἀβαῖος*. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, 530. Cf. also D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission XIV), Wien 1957, 1.

On Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos occurs the name *wa-na-ta-jo* (KN V(3) 466.2; PY Eb 369.A; En 609.15; Eo 211.2.3.5; Eo 224.5; Ep 301.3; Jn 832.7), probably *Φαρνᾶταῖος*, patronymic of *\*Φαρνάτᾱς*, expressive ethnic of *\*Fárnā* (cf. *Iliad* B 507: *πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην*). The Greeks themselves, following popular etymology, probably connected this name with (*φ*)*άρήν*, genitive (*φ*)*άρνός*, 'lamb', but phonetically this is impossible, because vocalisation of *-r-* resulted in Mycenaean *φορνός* or *φρονός* (< *\*wṛn-*), which is attested in Linear B *wo-ro-ne-ja* (MY Oe 111) *φρονέγα* 'lamb's-wool'. Thus *Ἄρνη* (< *Fárnā*), must contain a different, probably non-Greek or Pre-Greek root, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 191 and n. 68. There is still a town called *Varna* on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria.

The name *Ἄρνη* is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (123, 18) as a polis in Boeotia, Thessaly, Mesopotamia and Thrace. Ptolemy (*Geog. III*, 12, 17) mentions the town *Ἄρνισσα* near Dyrrhachium. D. Detschew (*Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 25-26) was unaware of the original digamma in *Ἄρνη*: "Vgl. den luvischen Ortsname *Arinna*, der Forrer, *GL. 26*, 1937, 193, als 'Quelle' deutet und zu ai. *riṇati* 'lässt fließen, entlässt', abg. *rinṇati* 'fliessen', gall. *Renos* 'Rhein', got. *rinno* 'Bach' stellt. Nach Kretschmer, *Gl. 28*, 1939, 115, wäre möglich, dass der luvische Ortsname mit Syncope des *i*-Lautes auch in den lykischen Ortsnamen *Arñna*, *Ἄρνα*, *Ἄρνέαι* (Steph. Byz. 123, 12) vorliege, während der griech. Ortsname *Ἄρνη*, m.E. sicher thrakischen Ursprungs ist, und der ital. Flussname *Arnus* (Liv. 22, 2,2; Tac. Ann. I, 79) von dem luvischen Worte ferngehalten werden soll." So Detschew opts for a Thracian origin of the toponym *Ἄρνη* in Boeotia, Thessaly and Thrace (I have omitted Mesopotamia, because a 'Mesopotamian' *Ἄρνη* could have been founded by Alexander the Great or an existing place could have been renamed by him or his successors, so that the attestation would be secondary).

The Mycenaean patronymic *wa-na-ta-jo* (KN V(3) 466.2; PY Eb 369.A; En 609.15; Eo 211.2.3.5; Eo 224.5; Ep 301.3; Jn 832.7), probably *Φαρνᾶταῖος*, patronymic of \**Φαρνάτᾱς*, expressive ethnic of \**Φάρνᾱ* (cf. *Iliad* B 507: *πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην*) shows that the toponym *Ἄρνη* originally contained a digamma, which is confirmed by the existence of the Bulgarian toponym *Varna*. The occurrence of the toponym in Greece and Thrace pleads for a substrate character of the name which is likely Pre-Greek and Pre-Thracian, or, if one prefers the ancient name, ‘Pelasgian’. The original *F-* in the Mycenaean name also proves that the toponym *Ἄρνη* in Greece and Thrace has nothing to do with the Luwian toponym *Arinna*, because Luwian, as Mycenaean Greek, faithfully recorded the *w*-sounds. Since Lycian is derived from Luwian, it is likely that Lycian *Arinna* is directly derived from Luwian *Arinna* and did not contain a *w*-sound either.

If E. Forrer’s etymology of Luwian *Arinna* as ‘well’ (German ‘Quelle’) is correct and if it is related to Sanskrit *riṇati* ‘let flow’, ancient Bulgarian *rinati* ‘flow’, Gallic *Renos* ‘Rhine’, Gothic *rinno* ‘brook’, then Detschew’s view that “der ital. Flussname *Arnus* (Liv. 22, 2,2; Tac. Ann. I, 79) von dem luvischen Worte ferngehalten werden soll” is evidently wrong and the name of the Italian *Arno* river (Latin *Arnus*) corresponds etymologically with Luwian *Arinna*. Since [w] and [b] are phonetically close, I may propose the hypothesis that \**Φάρνᾱ* > *Ἄρνη* may have survived in the element *-βερνα* / *-περνα* in *Μηκόβερνα*, *Μηκύπερνα*, *Mecyberna*, *Megyperna*, a town on the east coast of *Pallene* (cf. for toponym and ethnics Herodotus *VII*, 122; Thucydides *V*, 39, 1; Skylax 66; Steph. Byz. 450, 5; Strabo *VII*, fragm. 29; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia IV*, 37; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 302-303). If so, it is not inconceivable that there is also a correlation of *-βερνα* / *-περνα* with Hittite and Luwian *parna* ‘house’, which contains according to L.R. Palmer (*supra*) the same root as *Παρνασσός* in Greece and *Parnašša* in Anatolia.

The toponym *Πέρνη* in Thrace across the sea from Thasos (Steph. Byz. 517, 24: *Πέρνη, πόλις Θράκης ἀντικρὺ Θάσου. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Περναῖος καὶ Περναία*) is identical with the name of an island in Caria and may be compared with the personal name *Πέρνας* in Isauria, cf. J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (*Klio Beiheft XI*), Leipzig 1913, 288, 175; cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 364. Detschew, *ibidem*, 359, refers to the personal name *Πάρνος* from Olbia (*IPE 1*, 55), but adds that the name is according to Vasmer, *ISR* 48, related to the Iranian tribal name *Πάρνοι*. Detschew, *ibid.*, mentions a castle *Παρνοῦστα* in Thrace.

On a Linear B tablet from Knossos (KN C 902.11) was previously read *re-na-jo* (†), which could be interpreted as *Λερναῖον*, an ethnic used as a toponym derived from the toponym *Λέρνα*. The ethnic *Λερναῖος* is later attested, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 194 and n. 86. However, the reading *re-na-jo* must now be abandoned, for the corrected reading is *re-ri-jo*, possibly the ethnic *Λέριος*, derived from the name of the island of *Λέρος* (cf. J. Chadwick - L. Godart - J.T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier - A. Sacconi - I.A. Sakellarakis 1986, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos, Volume I (1-1063)*, Incunabula Graeca Vol. LXXXVIII, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, Roma 1986, 366).

In Anatolia we may refer to the Hittite texts for the *-rn-* cluster in toponyms: *Ašurnaš*, *Aṣarna*, *Gurna*, *Kaṣarna*, *Karna*, *Kurna*, *Zišparna*, cf. H. Ertem, *Boğazköy metinlerinde geçen coğrafya adları dizini (Çivi yazılı metin yerleri ve Bibliyografya ile birlikte)*, Ankara 1973. See the names s.v. in the alphabetical list with extensive references to the Boğazköy texts in question. Cf. also Hittite and Luwian *parna* ‘house’. In Pamphylia we find the personal names *Φαρνοπας* and *Φαρνις* (cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 177, § 373) and in Phrygia and Pisidia *Δαρνος* (*ibidem*, 143, § 253).

We find several names with the cluster *-rn-* in Greece, Anatolia and Thrace, e.g. *Πρόερνα* or *Πρόαρνα* (< \**Πρό-φαρνα* ?), a town in Phthiotis, *Τάρνη* (cf. *Iliad* E 44) a town in Lydia, but also in Achaia. Stephanus Byzantinus, 347, 20, mentions the Macedonian polis *Κάλαρνα*. It may be interesting to compare the name of the island *Κάρνος* along the Acarnanian coast and *Αλικαρνησός* in Caria with *Κόρνος* in Asia Minor and *Αλίκυρνα* south of the mountain *Arakynthos* in Aetolia. The cluster was productive in Thrace where we find beside *Μηκόβερνα* (*vide supra*), *Δίερνα* / *Dierna*, *Tierna*, *statio Tsiernensis*, *colonia Zernensis*, *Zernae*, *Ζέρνης* (cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 132).

We also find *Θέρνη*, *πόλις Θράκης*, *τὸ ἐθνικὸν Θερναῖος* (Stephanus of Byzantium 310, 7), *Κόρνας*, a personal name from Bithynia, to be compared with the Pisidian personal name *Κόρνος* and the Cappadocian and Lykaonian toponym *Κόρνη* (D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 254).

A toponym with the same *-rn-* cluster is *Ἐλευθέρνα*, a place in Crete. C.J. Ruijgh has been so kind as to draw my attention to this name which may contain the same ‘Pre-Hellenic’ root as the Mycenaean theonym *e-re-u-ti-ja* from Knossos (KN Gg(3) 705.1; *alibi*), dative of *Ἐλευθιά*. Compare also the toponym *Ἐλευσίς*, with ‘Pre-Hellenic’ suffix *-īv-*, *Ἐλευσ-ίv-* < *\*Ἐλευθ-ίv-*, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, §101. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 318, s.v. *Εἰλείθια*: “f. nom de la déesse des accouchements, souvent employé au pluriel (Hom. ion. -att.). Nombreuses variations orthographiques. .. Le mycénien fournit de façon certaine *Ereutija* = *Ἐλευθιά* à Cnossos, à côté de *aminiso* = *Ἄμισος* pour une offrande de miel, cf. J. Chadwick - L. Baumbach, 188. Étymologie: La forme ancienne, comme le prouve le mycénien, est *Ἐλεύθια*, d’où par dissimilation (et influence de *ᾠρείθια* ?), *Ἐλείθια*, cf. Kalén, *Quaest. Gramm. Graecae* 8, n. 1; l’hom. *Εἰλείθια* peut s’expliquer par un allongement métrique (Schulze, *Q.E.* 260 sq.). Deux voies sont ouvertes pour l’étymologie: ou bien on tire le mot du thème *ἐλευθ-* de *ἐλεύσομαι*, *ἦλυθον*, avec le même suffixe f. que dans *Ἄρπυιαι*: ‘celle qui vient’ ou ‘celle qui fait venir’. ... Ou bien terme indigène non grec (cf. p.-ê. le nom de lieu *Ἐλευθέρνα*), Wackernagel apud Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1, 313; le mot aurait pu être rapproché par étymologie populaire de *ἐλεύσομαι*, etc.”

If comparison of the theonym with the verbal forms *ἐλεύσομαι*, *ἦλυθον* is indeed due to popular etymology and the theonym is Pre-Greek, a Hurrian origin may well be feasible. Feminine names with the Hurrian onomastic element *-tija* are attested at Nuzi, e.g. *ḪApattuia* (wr. *ḪA-ba-ad-du-ia*, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 22, with double writing of the dental indicating its voicelessness), and *ḪUntuia* (wr. *ḪUn-tu-ia* and *ḪUn-du-ia*, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 165), which might explain the unusual ending *-θια* of the theonym. The first element *Ἐλευ-* / *\*Elew-* might be the result of metathesis < Hurrian *Elwi-*, e.g. in the feminine name *ḪElwi-kui* (wr. *ḪEl-wi-ku-i* and variant *ḪIl-mi-ku-i*, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 44). The name *\*ḪElwi-tija* can only be reconstructed from two separate Hurrian onomastic elements, which makes the identification less certain. If *Ἐλεύθια* (*\*Ἐλέφθια*) is derived from *\*ḪElwi-tija* (through metathesis), we must also accept that a feminine personal name was first used as an epithet of a deity in Minoan times, probably in the manifestation or function of the Goddess of Birth, to become the goddess *Ἐλεύθια* or *Ἐλευθιά*, *e-re-u-ti-ja* (KN Gg(3) 705.1; *al.*), in her own right in Mycenaean times. Incidentally, a (double) formative *-tija*, consisting of *-ti* + *-ja*, is attested at Nuzi in *Ikatiia*, *Intatiia*, *Kutatiia* and *Tampatiia*, cf. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 266.

A derivation of *Ἐλεύθωια* or *Ἐλευθιά* from Hurrian *\*Elwi-tuġa* / *\*Elew-tuġa* is only feasible, if an original division of the onomastic elements *Ἐλεύ-* and *-θωια* is admitted instead of the usual division *Ἐλεύθ-ωια*, which is based on an alleged Greek etymology. Those who may consider the Hurrian option plausible, could argue that the Mycenaean Greeks after their conquest of Crete, soon established their own language as a superstrate language on the island and soon lost all knowledge of the Minoan vernacular, which differed so much from their own. Loan-words and non-Greek names were adapted by providing them with Greek formants and case-endings, and sometimes the meaning was adapted with the help of popular etymology. They could also argue that the various orthographies of the name, mentioned by P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 318 (of which I have quoted only a few), may plead for a non-Greek origin, whether Hurrian or not. Though I have proposed the hypothesis myself, I am not yet convinced that an explanation of the theonym *Ἐλεύθωια* through Hurrian is preferable, partly because there are still too many unanswered questions and partly because a semantic connection between *Ἐλεύθωια* / *Ἐλευθιά* and the ancient adjective *ἐλεύθερος* ‘free’ is quite strong. *Ἐλεύθωια* (Hom. *Εἰλείθωια*) is the Goddess of Birth, who liberates mother and child from each other by her support during the delivery of a baby. Dutch ‘verlossen’ means ‘release, set free, liberate, deliver at childbirth’. Unfortunately the etymology of *ἐλεύθερος* is not easy either, cf. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 336-337.

The name of female demons *Ἄρπυιαι* (usually in the plural form) mentioned by P. Chantraine in his comparison of the suffix *-ωια* of that name with that of *Ἐλεύθ-ωια*, resembles the Hurrian personal name *Arpuġa* (wr. *Ar-pu-ja*), father of *Mu-uš-te-šup* at Nuzi, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 31; P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 205, s.v. *arp*. The name from Nuzi is masculine, so if *Ἄρπυια* is derived from that Hurrian name, the demon(s) had to become female, because names and words in *-α* are usually feminine in Greek, which is not necessarily the case in Hurrian. Comparison with Greek *ἐρέπτομαι*, alluded to in *Odyssey* ξ 371: *Ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο* (*ἀν-ερέπτομαι*), may be due to popular etymology, but may also indicate that the name *Ἄρπυια* originally missed initial *h-*. Comparison with *ἀρπάζω* (cf. Chantraine, *DELG*, 114-115, s.v. *Ἄρπυια*), may be due to popular etymology as well, but the *h-* of *Ἄρπυια* may yet have been caused by this comparison. Apparently [*h*] did not exist in the phonological system of Hurrian. O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the nature of Indo-European accent*, Naples 1964, 203-213, and probably P. Chantraine as well, consider *Ἄρπυια* (and variant *Ἀρέπυια*) a loan word.

Hesychius mentions the Carian polis *Ἰδάρνας* with the *-rn-* cluster, cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 455. This name may contain either the non-Indo-European root *Ida-* (or its possible variant *Eda-*) without initial digamma, discussed in chapter 10, or the I.E. root in Greek *φίδᾱ* ‘wood’, ‘forest’, which used to provide the popular etymology for the name of the *Ἰδᾱ* mountains in the Troas and Crete and possibly of the polis *Ἰδη* on the Thracian Chersonese, mentioned by Scylax 67: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἐστὶν ἡ Θρακία Χερρόνησος καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ αἶδε· Καρδία, Ἰδη, Παιών, Ἀλωπεκόννησος* (D.A. Hester, ‘Pelasgian - a new Indo-European language?’, *Lingua* 13 (1965), 372-373; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 214).

Linear B *wi-da-jo* (KN V(2) 60+151.3) may be a personal name *Fīδαῖος* with *F-*, derived from *φίδᾱ* > *ἴδη* ‘wood’, ‘forest’ (apparently confirmed by the second element of a Dacian plant-name *ῥαθιβίδα* ‘Schamkraut’, cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 558), reflecting ‘forester, woodman’, *not* ‘man or God of Mount Ida’, which is probably represented by Linear B *i-da-i-jo*, probably *Ἰδαῖος* (KN K 875,4; PY An 661,2), see chapter 10, possibly comparable with Linear A *i-da-a* (KO Za 1.b-c).

It seems justifiable to see in the Linear B anthroponym *wi-da-ma-ro* (KN V(3) 479,2; KN Do 919+921.B) the element *φιδᾱ-* combined with the element *-μαρος* occurring frequently in Thracian names such as *Βηρι-μαρος*, *Ἴσ-μαρος*, *Καρσι-μαρος*, *Κατο-μαρος*, *Ζμερτο-μαρος*, cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 289. It may be significant that in the first line of KN V(3) 479 the personal name *di-zo* occurs, identified as possibly ‘Pre-Thracian’ (*vide supra*).

For a better understanding of the formation of the apparently non-Greek anthroponym *wi-da-ka-so* (KN Dd 1402+1593+2007.B), e.g. *\*Fīδάκασος*, it may be useful to make the following equation: *\*Fīδακος* (a toponym *Ἰδακος* on the Thracian Chersonese is mentioned by Thucydides VIII, 104, 2) relates to *\*Fīδάκασος* as *Ἰμβρος* (name of an island of Thrace according to Stephanus of Byzantium 331, 14: *Ἰμβρος, νῆσος ἐστὶ Θράκης*) to *Ἰμβρασος* (cf. Stephanus of Byzantium 331, 12: *Ἰμβρασος, ἡ Σάμος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰμβράσιος καὶ Ἰμβρασία*. Cf. also the patronymic *Ἰμβρασίδης* in *Iliad* A 519-520: *βάλε δὲ Θρηκῶν ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν, Πείρωσ Ἰμβρασίδης, ὃς ἄρ’ Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει*).

The Linear A sequence *i-da-a* (KO Za 1.b-c) can be interpreted as either a divine epithet *Idaia* ‘God of Mount Ida’ or a personal name (with the Hurrian hypocoristic suffix *-ya*), derived from the name of the well-known *Ida* (*Ἴδη*) mountains in central Crete, mentioned twice in Linear A texts from Kato Zakro as *i-da* (ZA 21b.1 and ZA 27a.1), but also known from Phrygia and Mysia. If we take *i-da-a* as a divine epithet, it belongs to *a-ta-i-jo-wa-ja*, but if we take it as a personal name, it probably refers to a supplicant mentioned in the formula. Linear B provides *i-da-i-jo*, probably *Ἰδαῖος* (KN K 875,4; PY An 661,2) that may well be cognate with or equivalent to Linear A *i-da-a*.

*Ἰδαῖος* is an epithet of Zeus who has an altar on Mount Ida near Troy (*Iliad* Π 605; Ω 291). But Zeus is also *Κρηταγενής* ‘born in Crete’ and is called ‘*Zeus Idaios*’ in Euripides, *Cretans, Fragm. Trag. Gr.* No. 472. Here the priests in the cult of the *Kourètes* call themselves *mystai* of *Zeus Idaios* and *Bakkhantes* of the *Kourètes*, and say that they have accomplished the *omophagia* of *Zagreus* and brandished the torches of the Mountain Mother (cf. M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion*, Lund 1968, 578). There is also a charioteer of King Priamos called *Ἰδαῖος* (*Iliad* Γ 248; Ω 325) and a Trojan, son of Dares, saved by Hephaistos (*Iliad* E 11, 20). The root *Ida-* was apparently Pre-Greek or non-Greek. Incidentally, *Ζαγρεύς* reminds us of the *Zagros* mountains on the border of Iran and Iraq, but also of *Zakros* in Crete.

It is worth noting that in Linear B both the masculine form *i-do-me-ni-jo*, dative of *Ἰδομένιος* (PY Gn 428,5; PY Fn 324,7 mut.) and the feminine *i-do-me-ne-ja* (PY Eb 498,1; Ep 212,9), *Ἰδομένηια*, feminine form of *Ἰδομενεύς*, are attested (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 118 and 219). *Ἰδομενεύς* is, of course, also known as son of Deukalion, grandson of Minos and King of Knossos who joined Agamemnon’s army in the Trojan war and is mentioned as a hero in the *Iliad* several times.

The Linear B personal name *e-da-e-u*, e.g. *Ἐδαεύς* (PY Qa 1298), genitive *e-da-e-wo* (PY Eb 495.1; Ep 613.1), *Ἐδαῆφος* (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 280, n.121, and § 299), might well be of the same non-Greek origin as *i-da-i-jo*. C.J. Ruijgh has been so kind as to draw my attention to a possible *i/e* alternation in the non-Greek roots of these names, provided that *i/e* comprises a short vowel. A relation with *Ἰδομενεύς* (in Homer: -υυ-) is then only possible, if one assumes metrical lengthening for this form.

Possible examples of this non-Greek root may be found in anthroponyms mentioned by E. Laroche, *NH*, 82, no. 478. *Idari* 1. Cappadocia: *I-d[a]-ri-iš*, TCL XX 191, 7. 2. ‘Roi de montagne’: nom. <sup>m</sup> *I-da-ri-iš*, IBoT I 1 V 12; no. 479. *Itarzia*. Cappadocia: *I-da-ar-zi-a*, EL 186, 4. He mentions *Idahakab* in an Akkadian text (*NH*, 82, no. 477): Akk. <sup>m</sup> *I-da-ḥa-kab*, LS 28 Ro 2 = MIO 6, 375; cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 59, 4. He ranks it among ‘Les noms hourrites’ (*NH*, 352): *idḥi*, écrit *it-ḥi-*, dans *Idahakab*. Nom, d’après emprunt hitt. acc. pl. *ithiuš* (ABoT 28 + I 4, II 26).

Although P. Chaintraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 455, writes s.v. *ἰδῆ*: “dor. *ἰδᾶ* f. ‘bois, forêt’ (Hdt., Théocr.). Vieux mot qui fournit le toponyme *Ἰδῆ*, massif montagneux en Mysie occidentale (Iliade etc.) et en Crète (D.P., Paus.), d’où *Ἰδῆθεν*, *Ἰδαῖος* (Iliade etc.)”, he also adds: “Comme le confirme le toponyme, doit être un terme indigène préhellénique, donc sans étymologie établie.” Linear A and B attestations of all these names without *w-* and the fact that there is no trace of *f-* in these names in Homer prove conclusively that the root of *Ida*, *Idaia*, *Idaios*, *Idomeneus*, *Idomeneia* is Pre-Hellenic and has nothing to do with *ἰδῆ*, Doric *ἰδᾶ* < Indo-European *fṛdā* ‘wood’, ‘forest’. Apparently, Chantraine may have overlooked the possibility that we are dealing with two different roots, one Indo-European with digamma (*fṛdā* ‘wood’, ‘forest’) and one probably non-Indo-European without digamma. This observation is in fact confirmed by coexistence of the Linear B personal name *wi-da-jo* (KN V 60,3) = *Fṛδαῖος* with *w-*, which is derived from *fṛdā* > *ἰδῆ* ‘wood’, ‘forest’.

A perforated sealstone of black-green steatite in the form of a bobbin / reel (*CMX* XI, n° 96), donated by R.B. Seager to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (26.31.158), probably from Crete (exact provenance uncertain), bears a Linear A inscription (KT Zg 2): a. | <sub>2</sub> *te-ro-a* | (← as read from the sealstone), but | *a-ro-te* <sub>2</sub> | (→ as read from the seal-impression) and b. | *da-da-i* | (← as read from the sealstone), but | *i-da-da* | (→ as read from the seal-impression).

The form *i-da-da* probably consists of the name of mount *Ida* + the Hurrian directive suffix *-da* ‘to’ (cf. Greek *\*Ἰδαν-δε*) or the Hurrian ablative suffix *-dan* ‘from’ (cf. Greek *Ἰδῆθεν* < *\*Ἰδᾶ-θεν*). The scribe no doubt knew which of the two suffixes he meant, but we do not, because in Linear A a final consonant is not expressed as in Linear B.

As discussed in chapter 11, there are two feasible interpretations for Linear A *a-ro-te*. It may possibly be identified with the Hurrian personal name \**Allu-te*. The Hurrian anthroponym *Allu-teja* (wr. *Al-lu-te-e-a*) is attested at Nuzi (JEN 518:10; cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 20, s.v. *Allu-teja*; P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 199, s.v. *all, allu-*). Since *-teja* and *-te* are both very common hypocoristic forms of *-tešup* in Hurrian compound theophorous personal names, \**Allu-te* is equivalent to *Allu-teja*. Phonologically it is probably /*Allote*/.

Another plausible option, semantically and orthographically, would be the perfect form of the transitive verb *ar-*, with the tense marker and Speiser's agent-suffix *-uš-*, phonologically /-*oz-*/, cf. E.A. Speiser, *IH*, 196, § 225, sub 'suffixes with the verb', perfect *-oz-*; cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 27, sub 'suffixes temporels', Classe A, prétérit *-uš-*. Linear A *a-ro-te* could thus be interpreted as Hurrian *ar-uš-te*, phonologically /*arozte*/, 'Teš(š)ub has given'. In consonant clusters *s/z* preceding a dental occlusive would not be expressed in Linear A.

Some names might have a relation with both Macedonia and Thrace. In Pylos we find an expressive ethnic used as a personal name *pi-we-ri-ja-ta* (PY Jn 389.3), e.g. *Πῖφεριάτᾱς*, derived from \**Πῖφεριά*, itself derived from the toponym *Πῖφερος* of which the locative form is attested at Pylos *pi-we-re* (PY Aa 1182), probably *Πῖφερει*, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 167. The geographical names *Πῖπερος*, *Πῖερά*, *Πῖερίᾱ* and *Πῖων*, which are found later on, can be explained etymologically from the adjectives signifying the notion of fertility, *πῖερός* < \**πῖφερός* and *πῖων* < \**πῖφων*, respectively. The original forms, showing the *-f-*, can be compared with Old Indian *pivan-*, *pivari* and display a perfect Indo-European (c.q. Indo-Iranian) etymology, cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque II*, 898-899, s.v. *πῖαρ*; cf. also C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 167 and note 486.

Another explanation for *pi-we-re* might be the plural nominative of the ethnic *Πῖφερες* serving as a toponym on this Pylos tablet (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *ibidem*). However, since the toponyms in the Aa, Ab, Ad series of the Pylos tablets seem to appear in the locative or instrumental forms (cf. e.g. *po-to-ro-wa-pi*), the locative *Πῖφερει* (from athematic *πῖφερ-*) seems more likely than the plural nominative *Πῖφερες*. At Mycenae occurs *pi-we-ri-ši* (MY Fo 101,5), probably *Πῖφερίσ(σ)ι*, plural dative of the feminine ethnic *Πῖφερίς*, derived from *Πῖφερος*. The dative singular *pi-we-ri-di* (MY Oe 103,5) occurs as well, probably serving as a personal name, cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 167, n. 486.

C.J. Ruijgh has been so kind as to point out to me that J.T. Killen has convincingly demonstrated that *pi-we-ri-si* in MY Fo 101,5 is probably to be interpreted as ‘for Πῖφερίς and the person belonging to her (probably her daughter)’, as later Δημήτερσι means ‘for Demeter and her daughter’. This can be inferred from the portions attributed to the persons mentioned in MY Fo 101, which begins with *a-ne-a<sub>2</sub>* = dative of Ἀνέα, (nickname derived from \*ἄνος, neuter attested in ἀπηνής, προσηνής, αἰᾶνής, see Frisk s.v.) who receives V 3, then follow six women who each get V 1, then *pi-we-ri-si* who receive S 1 (= V 6), then again six women receiving each V 1. Ἀνέα receives thrice as much as the other women, because she is presumably a forewoman in charge of a group of women. Since \**pi-we-ri* (dative *pi-we-ri-di* in MY Oe 103,5), who probably has the same rank as Ἀνέα, receives twice as much as her (V 6), one may conclude that *pi-we-ri-si* means ‘for Πῖφερίς and the person belonging to her (probably her daughter)’.

The Thracian tribe of the Πίερες, mentioned by Herodotus (*VII*, 112) and Thucydides (*II*, 99, 3) as living in the area of the Pangaeian mountains beyond the Strymon, originally lived in Pieria on the Thessalian border near mount Olympus. Strabo, *VII*, frg. 11: Θρακῶν δὲ Πίερες μὲν ἐνέμοντο τὴν Πιερίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον, ... (*X*, 3, 17): Πιερία γὰρ καὶ Ὀλυμπος καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λεῖβηθρον τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Θράκια χωρία καὶ ὄρη, νῦν δὲ ἔχουσι Μακεδόνες.

According to Hesiod, *Aspis*, 205-206, ‘Pierides’ serves as epithet of the Muses: θεαὶ δ’ ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, λιγὴ μελομένης εἰκνῶαι. They were born in Pieria as the daughters of Zeus (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 50-62) and according to Homer, *Iliad* B 595, they found the Thracian singer and musician Θάμυρις ‘Thamyris’ in the kingdom of Pylos and stopped him singing and playing the cithar. The spelling of μοῦσα (Homer, Attic-Ionic, etc.), μοῖσα (Aeolic), μῶσα (Doric, Alkman, *passim*), shows that we are probably dealing with a seeming diphthong -oῦ- (probably representing a long close [ō] in Homer and Attic-Ionic), a real diphthong -oi- in Lesbian and a long open -ō- in Doric. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1296-1300, relentlessly mocks at the Laconian pronunciation, that sounded funny in the ears of the Athenian public. With some comic exaggeration he lets a Laconian recite: Ταῦγετον αὐτ’ ἐραννὸν ἐκλιπῶα, Μῶά μόλε Λάκαινα πρεπτὸν ἀμὶν κλέωα τὸν Ἀμόκλαις σιὸν καὶ χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν· (ἐκλιποῦσα, Μοῦσα, ἡμῖν κλείουσα, θεόν, χαλκίοικον Ἀθηνᾶν) ‘Come, Laconian Muse, after having left lovely Taygetos, praising for us the splendid god of Amyclae (Apollo) and bronze-domed Athana’.

P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 716, s.v. *μοῦσα*, rejects most etymologies discussed by him. The least sceptical he is about the etymology proposed by Ehrlich: “Ehrlich, *KZ* 41, 1947, 287, part de \**μόνθηγα*, ce qui lui permet d’évoquer *μενθήρη*, *μανθάνω*, lesquels pourraient être rattachés à la racine \**men-*, cf. s.v. *μανθάνω*, mais non à skr. *mánthati* ‘agiter, troubler’; cette analyse est peut-être possible. Dans une toute autre direction, on a voulu voir dans la Muse, \**montya* une ‘nymphé de la montagne’, cf. lat. *mōns* (Wackernagel, *KZ* 33, 1895, 571 sq.): cette hypothèse qui sémantiquement n’est pas absurde se heurte à la difficulté que la famille de lat. *mōns* n’est pas représentée en grec; cf. sur ce mot Ernout-Meillet.” Ehrlich’s Indo-European etymology, based on \**μόνθηγα*, can not be excluded on phonetic grounds, since the dialectal variation of *μοῦσα* (Homer, Attic-Ionic, etc.), *μοῖσα* (Aeolic), *μῶσα* (Doric), shows that the seeming diphthong *-oῦ-* (probably representing a long close [ō] in Homer and Attic-Ionic) and the long open *-ō-* in Doric, are probably caused by compensatory lengthening of vowel as a result of loss of following *-v-*, whereas the *-v-* changed into *-y-* before *-σ-* in Lesbian, cf. West-Greek *ἄγοντι* (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural), Arcadian *ἄγονσι*, Att.-Ion. *ἄγουσι*, Lesbian *ἄγοισι*; \**ἄγοντ-ya* (part. fem.) > Arc. *ἄγονσα*, Lac. *ἄγωσα*, Att.-Ion. *ἄγουσα*, Lesbian *ἄγοισα*. However, semantically a relation between *μοῦσα*, *μοῖσα*, *μῶσα* and *μανθάνω* seems less likely, which may well explain Chantraine’s hesitation to accept the etymology (“peut-être possible”).

If etymologies based on Indo-European roots are so unsatisfactory, the problem might be solved by derivation from a non-Indo-European source. Hurrian *muš*, *muša-*, *-muša*, ‘august, sublime, righteous, pure’ is epithet of divinities, especially *Ḫebat*, but also applied to road and river. It is an element in theophorous personal names. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 235, s.v. *muš*: “Hurrian. Cf. *mu-úš*, Mari 6: 11, 15, 19, and *mu-šu-un-na*, KUB XXVII 46 IV 24, translated ‘auguste, sublime’ by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA XXXVI* (1939), 22f. Adjectival and substantival roles are evident for *muša*. More common in Hurrian texts are occurrences of *muš(u)ni*, formed on *muš* and identical with the personal name element *mušni*.” The substantivated forms *mušni* with the suffix of the singular definite article *-ni*, and *mušna* with the suffix of the plural definite article *-na*, both occur at Boğazköy as *mu-u-uš-ni/na*, KUB XXXII 19 IV 43, 44. The Mycenaeans may have adopted the plural form *mušna* (wr. *mu-u-uš-na*), ‘the august ones’, phonologically /*mosna*/, into the Greek vernacular from Minoan Crete, but they may well have adapted the form to \**monsa* through metathesis, yielding the form which later developed into *μοῦσα*, *μοῖσα* and *μῶσα*, respectively.

Semantically ‘the august ones’, ‘the pure ones’ seems much more in accordance with the identity of the Greek divine Muses than the notion attached to *μανθάνω*. The Hurrian form *mušna* was probably not recognized as a plural form by most Mycenaean Greeks who were not familiar with the Hurrian language. Since the form with metathesis *\*monsa* < *mušna* was probably by most Greeks associated with their singular feminine forms in *-a*, they adapted the form to the Greek plural feminine case-ending *-αι*, thus completely hellenizing the adopted form. As a matter of fact the plurals *μοῦσαι*, *μοῖσαι* and *μῶσαι* are more common in later Greek than the singulars.

E. Laroche, *GLH*, 173, s.v. *muš(u)* ‘juste’: “Il faut noter maintenant l’équation de RS 21.62 Ro 7 (*Ugar. V 238*): sum. [D]U = akk. *qe-en-nu* = h. *mu-u[š-x]*. S’il s’agit bien d’une graphie pour akk. *kênu*, *kînu* ‘ferme, juste’, on obtient un sens applicable partout; le nom *Ibri-muša*, par exemple, serait la réplique hourrite de l’akkadien *Šarru-kînu*. Cf. aussi oug. *muš* = *kînu*.” The plural ‘nominative’ *mu-šu-un-na šiye-[na]* ‘pure rivers, waters’, KUB XXVII 46 + IV 24, with the suffix *-na* of the plural definite article, is attested at Boğazköy (*šiye* = river, water, cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 173 and 230-231). Since the Muses are divine, Hurrian forms with the divine determinative deserve attention. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 173: <sup>d</sup>*Mušuni*, forme de *Ḫebat*. <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-bat-mu-uš-ni*, KUB V 27 I 17; XXVII 1 II 37 = 3 III 19; KBo XI 28 V 25, etc. - <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-bat-mu-šu-(un)-ni*, KUB XII 12 V 33; XXVII 22 I 19; XXXII 52, 3, etc. - <sup>d</sup>*Mu-šu-ni*, VBoT 16 Ro 13. Erg. <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-bat-<sup>d</sup>mu-šu-un-ni-iš*, KUB XXIX 8 III 32. Dat. <sup>d</sup>*Mu-šu-u-ni-pa*, KBo XX 129 + III 23. – Onomastique: Nuzi, *NPN*, 236; Alalah *Arammušuni*; Hatti: <sup>f</sup>*Mušu-ḫepa*, *NH* N° 825. – Nom divin <sup>d</sup>*Ebri-muša*, v. *ewri*. To these names may be added *Mu-zu-um-a-dal* and <sup>f</sup>*A-we-eš-mu-zi* from Chagar Bazar, analogous to Nuzi <sup>f</sup>*Aweš-muše*, in *Iraq VII*, 40 and 36. At Nuzi occur *Muš-apu*, *Muš-tešup*, *Muš-teja*, *Muš-te*, *Muš-tilla*, <sup>f</sup>*Muša-teni*, <sup>f</sup>*Muša-til*, *Aki-muša*, *Enna-muša*, *En-muša*, *Muša-l-enni*, *Ir-muša*, *Tanni-muša*, *Danni-muša*, *Wanti-muša*, *Wandi-muša*, *Wadi-muša*, *Ari-muše*, <sup>f</sup>*Aweš-muša*, <sup>f</sup>*Awiš-muša*, <sup>f</sup>*Musu-p-šaja*, <sup>f</sup>*Musu-p-šaju*, *Muš-šen(n)i*, *Mušuš-šenni*, *Mušuš-še* (*-še* is hypocoristic of *-šen(n)i*), the hypocoristics *Muše-ia* and *Mušu-ia*, and with the suffix of the definite article *-ni*, *Akam-mušni*, *Šatam-mušni*, *Šehra(m)-mušni*, *Tiša(m)-mušni*, *Warim-mušni*, cf. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 235-236, with all variant writings.

According to Homer, *Iliad* E 225-226, the goddess Hera jumped down from mount Olympos to lovely Pieria and Emathia: “*Ἥρη δ’ αἰῖζασα λίπεν ρίον Οὐλύμποιο, Πιερίην δ’ ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ Ἡμαθίην ἐρατεινήν.*”

Is Hera's interest in Pieria, domain of the Muses, accidental or did the epic tradition preserve her relation with <sup>d</sup>*Hé-bat-mu-uš-ni* ? Anyway, reversing Homer's statement, it is not a big step either to move from the Pierian Muses up to the Olympian gods. Herodotus (*V*, 7) tells that the only gods worshipped by the Thracians were Ares, Dionysus and Artemis: *θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται (οἱ Θρήικες) μούνοὺς τοῦσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν*. The problem with such statements is how they should be interpreted. Since most peoples or tribes were used to waging war in antiquity, there is virtually none that did not worship some martial god. Did the Thracians have their own war god whom the Greeks could identify with their god Ares or did the Thracians have a theonym built on the same root as that of the Greek god's name ? D. Detschew, *Die thrakische Sprachreste*, 24, s.v. *Ἀρεύς, Ἄρης*: "Da aber die Thraker im Gegensatz zu den Griechen sich den Ares als reitenden Gott vorstellten, konnte er leicht mit dem Heros identifiziert werden, insofern die Widmungen an den letzteren in Thessalien und Boiotien mit Reiterreliefs verbunden zu sein pflegten. So erklärt sich, dass Widmungen an Ares in Thrakien selten sind, während die Verehrung des Reiterheros in einer grossen Zahl Denkmäler bezeugt ist."

Ares's name occurs in various forms in the Mycenaean texts. The epic flection of this non-Greek theonym is rather complicated, because it is built on three different roots: *Ἄρη-*, *Ἄρεσ-* / *Ἄρεh-* and *ἌρηF-*, all derived from 'Pre-Greek' \**Arē-*. To date no trace has been found of *ἌρηF-* in the Mycenaean texts (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 67). At Knossos we find *a-re* = *Ἄρη*, dative of *Ἄρης*, (KN Fp(1) 14+27+28+fr.2; Mc 462+5792+5808+5816+8450+fr.B), derived from the root *Ἄρη-*. At Knossos the personal name ]*a-re-jo* (KN Vc(1) 208) occurs, probably *Ἀρεῖος* 'the martial man', also derived from the root *Ἄρη-*. The doublet form *a-re-i-jo* occurring at Knossos and Pylos (KN Le 641+fr.1; PY An 656.6), probably *Ἀρείος*, however, is derived from the root *Ἄρεσ-* / *Ἄρεh-*. Likewise, on some Theban jars the compound personal name *a-re-me-ne* is attested (TH Z 852; al.), probably *Ἀρημένης*, besides *a-re-i-me-ne* (TH Z 849), probably *Ἀρείμένης*, derived from *Ἄρη-* and *Ἄρεσ-* / *Ἄρεh-*, respectively. The personal name *pa-na-re-jo* (nominative KN As 1516,15; KN U 4478,5,19; KN V 1004; al.; dative PY Fn 867,2), may be explained as *Παναρεῖος*, comparable with *Παναθήναιος* (cf. *Παναθήναια*). The combination *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> a-re-ja* (PY Tn v. 7) can be interpreted as singular dative *Ἐρμῶϊ Ἀρείᾳ* 'for *Ἐρμῶϊ Ἀρείᾳ*', 'for Hermes the Martial' (Hermes as protector on the roads and in war). *Ἀρείᾳς* may be considered a substantivated adjective placed in apposition to *Ἐρμῶϊς* (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 229).

M. Lejeune, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne*, 210, n. 20, regards *a-re-ja*, however, as a feminine theonym: une déesse ...dans une même offrande (à laquelle Hermès imprime un caractère dominant masculin). Interpretation of *Ἀρείᾱς* as ‘the Martial’ is in fact corroborated by an Arcadian inscription (*Del.* 665 C): τὸν Δία τὸν Ἄρηα, τὴν Ἀθάνᾱν τὴν Ἀρείᾱν etc., showing that the special domain of Ares is shared by Zeus and Athena the Martial (cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 229, n. 154).

The name of Dionysus is attested twice at Pylos in the genitive form *di-wo-nu-so-jo* (PY Xa 102) and *di-wo-nu-so* (PY Xa 1419.1), probably both to be interpreted as *Διφονύσοιο*. Since tablet PY Xa 102 is now joined with PY Ea 107, the new text offers the combination *di-wo-nu-so-jo, e-ka-ra* = *Διφονύσοιο ἐσχάρᾱ* = ‘altar of Dionysos for burnt offerings’. A Linear B text from Khania: 1. *di-wi-jo-de di-we*...2. *di-wo-nu-so*..., *Δίφγονδε Διφεῖ Διφονύσῳ*, points to ‘a sanctuary of Zeus (*Δίφγον* + directive suffix *-δε*, cf. *di-u-jo*, PY Tn 316 v. 8) for Zeus (dative *Διφεῖ*, cf. *di-we*, PY Tn 316 v. 9, *al.*) and Dionysos, showing that the two deities shared a cult and a sanctuary.

The theonym Dionysos was explained by P. Kretschmer as Thracian \**Διοσ-νύσοσ* ‘son of Zeus’, \**νύσοσ* ‘son’, the masculine equivalent to *νύση*, synonym of *νύμφη*. The meaning ‘son of Zeus’ seems very plausible and may be confirmed by the Linear B text *di-wo, i-je-we* = *Διφὸς ἰγέφει* (PY Tn 316 v. 10) ‘for the son of Zeus’. It is quite obvious that the etymology *Διόνυξος* (cf. *νύσσω* ‘to stab’, ‘to pierce’), coined by the *Etymologicum Magnum* 277.35, is to be considered a popular etymology (cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1896, 242-243; cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 141).

M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion*, Lund 1950, 567-568, tells that Kretschmer, *Aus der Anomia*, 1890, 17, also proposed the etymology of the name of Dionysos’s mother *Σεμέλη* ‘*Semelè*’ as ‘(Mother) earth’ on the basis of Russian *zemlya* ‘earth’. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 996: *Σεμέλη*: dor. *-ᾱ*, fille de Cadmos, mère de Dionysos qu’elle a eue de Zeus. On rapproche la formule du néo-phrygien *δεωσ ζεμελωσ κε* ‘aux dieux du ciel et de la terre’ et on admet qu’il s’agit d’une déesse thraco-phrygienne de la terre; cf. A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* 77; O. Haas, *Ling. Balk.* 10, 1966, 92-93.

About Kretschmer's explanation of the theonym Dionysos as 'Thracian' M.P. Nilsson (*ibidem*) is more sceptical: "Professor Kretschmer, to whom these important discoveries are due, presents them as evidence for the Thracian origin of Dionysos; but the inscriptions from which he draws his material are Phrygian, and this distinction is not to be lightly passed over. The Phrygians were a Thracian tribe, but they immigrated early, about 1200 B.C., to Asia Minor, where they overthrew the Hittite Empire. In the centuries after the migration the Phrygians and the Thracians had very different fates. The latter persisted in their savagery, the former were subjected to the influence of the old civilization and religions of Asia Minor. These they took over. The cult of the *Magna Mater*, for example, is often called Phrygian, but is of course native to Asia Minor. The question raised by the provenance of the inscriptions, whether the child Dionysos is really Phrygian and not Thracian, is therefore of more far-reaching importance than appears from a first glance. Phrygia was, at that early time, when the cult of Dionysos was imported, a highly civilized country, from which the Greeks received many impulses."

Since according to ancient sources the *Φρύγες* 'Phrygians' moved from Europe into Asia Minor after the Trojan War (they were called *Βρύγες* 'Briges', while they still lived in Europe, cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* VII, 3, 2), their migration probably took place at the same time as the southward migration of the Dorians from areas in north-western Greece, according to Thucydides (I, 12, 3) in the eightieth year after the Trojan War (cf. P.G. van Soesbergen, 'The Coming of the Dorians', *Kadmos* XX.1, 1981, 38-51). Whatever caused these migrations, it is very likely that the causes were correlated.

The name 'Dionysos' is attested everywhere in the Mycenaean world, now also at Khania. The adoption of the deity and his cult into Greek religion had already taken place before the migration of the Phrygians into Asia Minor. The suggestion of later Greek authors that the Greeks adopted the cult of Dionysos from the Thracians or Phrygians is probably based on an erroneous reconstruction. The Mycenaean Greeks could have adopted the cult either directly from Minoan Crete or from Asia Minor, but in the latter case from the civilizations preceding the arrival of the Phrygians. Kretschmer's etymology of the element *-nūs-* 'son' can be accepted, but his arguments for a Thracian origin are no longer valid. A designation of Pre-Greek is more appropriate for the element *-nūs-*. *Διφο-* can be a Greek translation of a Pre-Greek theonym.

In his search for the child Dionysos in the Phrygian religion M.P. Nilsson (*The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion*, 568) found a Phrygian god *Sabazios*, commonly identified with Dionysos, but he concluded that the Phrygian inscriptions call him *Zeus Sabazios*. His mysteries, which came to Greece in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., comprised purifications and other ceremonies, and the snake took a prominent place in them. Two inscriptions from the Maeonian district with a mixed Lydo-Phrygian population, are dedicated to *Mètēr Hipta* and *Zeus Sabazios*. *Denkschr. d. Akad., Wien, LIV, 1911, No. II, 96, No. 188: Μητρὶ Ἰπτα, καὶ Διεὶ Σα[βαζίω*; (on a round altar from Gjölda near Kula) *Denkschr., l.c., 85, No. 169: Με[λ]τίνη Μητρᾶ Μητρὶ Ἰπτα εὐχήν*. According to M.P. Nilsson, *ibidem*, 568, n. 22, P. Kretschmer (*Glotta XV, 1926, 76 f.*) connects the name *Hipta* with the element *-hepa* of some Mitannian feminine names, which he derived from a goddess *Hepa*, and thinks that this deity appears in the Boğazköy texts under the name of *Hebe* or *Hepit*. In *Hymn. Orph.*, 49, 1-4, *Hipta* is called the nurse of Bacchos and *χθονίη μήτηρ* (voc.). Proklos, in *Timaeum*, II, 124 C, relates that *Hipta* carried the child Dionysos on her head in a *liknon*, surrounded by a snake, cf. M.P. Nilsson, *ibidem*, 569 and n. 23.

The vocative *χθονίη μήτηρ* is a literal translation of the name *Semelè* (cf. Russian *zemlya* ‘earth’) into Greek. If *Hipta* is indeed to be equated with the Hurrian goddess *Ḫebat*, spouse of *Teš(š)ub*, Zeus Sabazios can be associated with *Teš(š)ub* or a later form of that god. Their son is *Šarru(m)ma*. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 218, s.v. *Šarru(m)ma*: Dieu d’origine hittite, formant triade avec *Tešub* et *Ḫebat* au Kizuwatna, importé en Syrie au 14<sup>ème</sup> siècle; Sarrumma a survécu en Asie Mineure sous les formes *Sarma* et *-zarma*; cf. Laroche, *Syria* 40, 277 sqq. – *Šarrumma* = LUGAL-*ma* ‘veau / garçon de *Tešub*. *Πῶθώ* is the ancient name of Delphi. At Delphi Dionysos is associated with the chthonic *Πύθων* ‘the snake Python’, killed by Apollo. Ancient etymologies of the toponym were already rejected by Strabo IX, 419; cf. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 953, s.v. *Πῶθώ*: toponyme sans étymologie.

Interesting are the so-called snaketubes found in Minoan peak sanctuaries, e.g. at Koumasa (M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 103, fig. 28) and Kato Symi Viannou, which no doubt played a part in the cult of the gods revered. *Hermes* and *Aphrodite* are the gods who were later worshipped at Kato Symi Viannou, but although there seems to have been a remarkable and rare continuity of a cult in the sanctuary, the character of the deities worshipped at the site may have changed in the course of time.

We have seen that e.g. *Hermes* appears to have been a *Martial god* in Mycenaean times. A martial aspect has at least been one of his features. M.P. Nilsson, *o.c.*, 515-516: “It is very likely that Hermes has appropriated some Minoan-Mycenaean elements, but he was, more than Artemis, an essentially Greek god.”

The question “What is essentially Greek about Hermes ?” is difficult to answer. He is certainly a god with many human aspects and features, but is that proof of his Greekness ? Is the Cave on Mount *Κυλλήνη* in southern Arkadia, where he was born, proof of his Greekness ? At the time of M.P. Nilsson many scholars still believed that the etymology of his name was Greek. Important is that his name is attested in the Mycenaean documents. At Knossos occurs *e-mi-ja-ta* (KN V 831,1), probably *Ἐρμιάτᾱς*, ethnic in *-ιάτᾱς*, used as a personal name. It is derived from a toponym *\*Ἐρμιά* (cf. the adjective *Ἐρμιος*, derived from the hydronym *Ἐρμος*. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 167, n. 482: “Il est possible qu’à ce nom préhellénique se rattache le théonyme *Ἐρμῆς* < *Ἐρμιάς* (*e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* PY Tn 316 r 7: dat.), dont la finale est visiblement non grecque; noter que le thème *Ἐρμο-* survit dans les anthroponymes composés du type *Ἐρμογένης* et du type *Εὔερμος* (Bechtel, *H.P.*, p. 164-166).”

The hypothesis that the theonym *Ἐρμῆς* < *Ἐρμιάς* < *\*Ἐρμιάς* may be derived from Hurrian *Ermi-*, variant of *Erwi-/Ewri* ‘Lord, King’, is corroborated by the fact that *ewri/erwi* could not only refer to a king of flesh and blood, but also to a deity as is confirmed by the divine names *<sup>d</sup>Eb-ri-muša*, KUB XXV 50 II 11 sq.; KBo XXIII 25, 2, 5; and perhaps also *<sup>d</sup>Ir-bi-ti-ig(a)*, provided with the divine determinative (cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 85-87, s.v. *ewri* ‘seigneur, roi’). Linear A *]]i-mi-sa-ra* (HT 27a.3), e.g. *Irimi-šarra* ‘The Lord is King’, is virtually equivalent to the Hurrian personal name *Erwi-šarri* at Nuzi, with 29 persons bearing that name, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 48; P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 211. Compare also the compounds of *<sup>d</sup>Hébat* and *<sup>d</sup>Muš(u)ni* with the divine determinative, mentioned by E. Laroche, *GLH*, 173: *<sup>d</sup>Mušuni*, forme de *Hébat*. *<sup>d</sup>Hébat-mu-uš-ni*, KUB V 27 I 17; XXVII 1 II 37 = 3 III 19; KBo XI 28 V 25, etc. - *<sup>d</sup>Hébat-mu-šu-(un)-ni*, KUB XII 12 V 33; XXVII 22 I 19; XXXII 52, 3, etc. - *<sup>d</sup>Mu-šu-ni*, VBoT 16 Ro 13. Erg. *<sup>d</sup>Hébat-<sup>d</sup>mu-šu-un-ni-iš*, KUB XXIX 8 III 32. Dat. *<sup>d</sup>Mu-šu-u-ni-pa*, KBo XX 129 + III 23. The title *<sup>d</sup>Ewri*, if used as a divine name, could refer to a limited number of prominent gods, just as the epithet *Allani* could refer to *<sup>d</sup>Hébat* or *<sup>d</sup>Ša-uš-ka (Ištar)*.

The number and variety of aspects and functions ascribed to Hermes surprised M.P. Nilsson, but the phenomenon may well be explained from the character of the divine name <sup>d</sup>*Ewri* ‘Lord’ that could in principle be epithet of any male deity. Tasks that would have been inappropriate for some specific gods could be attributed to him. At Kato Symi Viannou he could be *Hermes Dendrites*. His *κηρόκειον* (Latin *caduceus*) with two snakes may remind of the snakes seen on either side of the snaketubes found at the Minoan site of the sanctuary. He has features of a shepherd god, but could also be *Ἀργειφόντης* ‘killer of Argos’, *ψυχοπομπός* ‘companion of souls’ to the underworld, god of commerce and thieves and help gods, heroes and mortals at many occasions.

Which deities exactly were worshipped in Minoan times at different sites is as yet not known. *Teš(š)ub* and his spouse *Hebat* were mountain gods, and *Šarrumma* as well. *Teš(š)ub* and *Eni attanni* ‘God the Father’ may probably be equated as is suggested by the parallels of *\*Dyēu-s pətter* > *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, Sanskrit *dyāuḥ pitā*, Latin *Dies-piter* (Latin *Iuppiter* corresponds with the vocative *Zeῦ πάτερ*). *Eni attanni* appears at the top of lists of Hurrian divinities at Ugarit. In these lists *Teš(š)ub* is mentioned as well, but even if *Eni attanni* and *Teš(š)ub* are essentially the same, mentioning both may be due to a desire of the pious faithful not to forget any deity or divine power whose wrath may be expected, if he or she is denied. If there was any doubt which deity was the best to address, one could better keep on the safe side and address *Eni attanni* or *Ewri*, if the god was male, or *Allani*, if a female deity was involved.

V. Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen, Riten, Kulte und Mythen*, Mainz 1982, 10, Abb.1, shows in the middle of the picture: “Teššub und Hebat, die beiden obersten Gottheiten des hethitische Pantheons, nebst ihrem Gefolge; idealisierte Wiedergabe des Felsenreliefs von Yazılıkaya (s. S. 52), nach Charles Texier, *Description de l’Asie Mineure I*, Paris 1839)”. He writes *ibidem*, 30: “Die berühmteste, über drei Jahrtausende hindurch verehrte Göttin in Nordsyrien ist *Hebat*; sie ist bereits in dem frühesten Schrifttum Syriens, den Texten aus Ebla, des nahe bei Aleppo gelegenen Stadtstaats vom Ende des dritten Jahrtausends, in den Namensformen *Heba*, *Hapatu* und *Kapatu*, erwähnt. Sie ist die Urahnin der späteren *Μήτηρ Ἰππα* und findet sich noch auf lykischen Inschriften als *hba-ēni* ‘Mutter-*Hepa*’. Der Name wurde auch über die semitische Form *Hawwat* mit der biblischen *Eva* zusammengestellt. .... Wie wir später noch sehen werden, bildet sie mit dem kilikischen Berggott und Stier *Šarrumma* ein enges Paar”.

V. Haas reads *Ἰππα*; Kretschmer and Nilsson *Ἰπτα*; the Lycian inscription *ḫba-ēni* is translated as ‘*Ḫebat* (is) mother’, since Lycian *ēnē* = *annan* (cf. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic period*, Leiden 1965, 172). Hittite *anna-* and Luwian *anni-* = ‘mother’ (cf. e.g. E. Laroche, *NH*, 337; J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1952-1954, 21). Lycian *ēnē* should not be confused with Hurrian *eni* ‘god’ and *enni* ‘the god’.

*Teš(š)ub*, *Ḫebat* and *Šarru(m)ma* were not the only mountain deities. Haas, *ibidem*, 30-31, continues: “Als die Hethiter in der Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends unter ihrem erfolgreichen König *Ḫattušiliš I* erstmals Raubzüge nach Nordsyrien unternahmen, erbeuteten sie in *Ḫaššu(wa)* am oberen Orontes unweit von Aleppo die folgenden Götterstatuen: “Wettergott, Herr von *Armaruk*; Wettergott, Herr von *Ḫalap* (Aleppo); *Allatum*, *Adalur*, *Liluri*, zwei silberne Rinder, drei Statuen aus Silber und Gold, zwei *ḫamri*-(Kult)-Häuser. Die Tochter der *Allatum*, [*Ḫebat*, drei] Statuen aus Silber, zwei Statuen aus Gold.” (KBo X 1 Vs. 37-46.) .... “Die ebenfalls geraubte Statue der *Allatum*, deren hurritischer Name *allai* die ‘Herrin’ bedeutet, stellt eine Erdgöttin dar. Ein lokaler Berggott ist *Adalur*, dessen Name das hurritische Wort *adali* ‘stark’ enthält. Ausführlich werden uns noch die beiden göttlichen silbernen Rinder, die Göttin *Liluri* sowie *Ḫebat* beschäftigen.”

We may have encountered *Allatum* in Linear A *a-||ra-tu* (ZA 7a.1-2) at Kato Zakro, but due to the fact that the signs transliterated with *r-* in Linear A and B can be read as *l-* or *r-*, Linear A *a-||ra-tu* might also be equivalent to the Hurrian personal name *Arattu* from Nuzi (wr. *A-ra-at-tu(m)*), father of *Ta-i-qa*, *HSS V* 13:14, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 24, and P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 204, and see the discussion in chapter 10.

The Hurrian mountain goddess *Liluri* is very likely represented by Linear A *ra<sub>2</sub>-ro-re* (ZA 10b.5), with palatalized *l* (>*l'*) in the first syllable, = *L<sup>y</sup>aluri* = */L<sup>y</sup>alore/* or *Lialuri* = */Lialore/* (with Hurrian [*o*] and [*e*]). Linear A and B *ra<sub>2</sub>* = *ria/r<sup>y</sup>a* or *lia/l<sup>y</sup>a*, see the discussion in chapter 10. The Hurrian mountain god *Adalur* might be represented in Linear A as *a-da-ro* (AK 5.2) at Arkhanes. On a silver hairpin from the Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos we find *a-da-ra* (KN Zf 31), which may be a variant of this theonym.

However, another explanation of Linear A *a-da-ra* (KN Zf 31) is probably more feasible, since it may well be equivalent to the Hurrian personal name *Atalla* (wr. *A-ta-al-la*), cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 38. Single writing of the dental indicates voicing; so the phonological representation is /*Adalla*/. *Adalla* may well be the result of assimilation from < \**Adal-ya*, (with the Hurrian hypocoristic suffix *-ya*), hypocoristic of e.g. *Atal-tešup* (/Adal-tešub/), also attested at Nuzi (wr. *A-tal-te-šup*, *A-ta-al-te-eš[šup]*, *A-da-al-te-šup*, *A-da-al-te-šu-up*, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 38. See also the discussion in chapter 10.

I should like to put forward a hypothesis with regard to the origin of the name Hera which occurs both as a toponym *e-ra* at Knossos (KN Da 1333.A; al.), *Hpā*, and as a theonym *e-ra* at Pylos (PY Tn 316.9), *Hpα*, dative of *Hpā*. At Knossos occurs the ethnic *e-ra-jo* (KN Fh 1059; V(3) 431.1), *Hpaῖος*, derived from the toponym *Hpā*; the feminine form is *e-ra-ja* (KN Ap 639.5; Lc(1) 528.B; al.), cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 195. As regards the usage of the name Hera both as a theonym and as a toponym one may compare the names of Athena and Lato. C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 151: “*ra-ti-jo* (KN E 668,2; X 7754): ethn., pr. *Λάτιος*, dérivé de *ra-to* (KN Da 1191 al.). Il est probable que ce toponyme avait la forme de *Λᾱτός*, qui doit être rapprochée du théonyme *Λᾱτώ* (> ion. *Ἀητώ*). Il est vrai que plus tard on trouve le toponyme crétois *Λᾱτώς* (*SGDI* 5075) ou *Λᾱτώ* (Étienne de Byzance), mais à partir de *Λᾱτώ*, on attendrait comme dérivé *Λᾱτόϊος*, non *Λάτιος*. Après tout, il se peut que *Λᾱτώς* repose sur la contamination de *Λᾱτώ* avec *Λᾱτός*, dont le locatif *Λᾱτοῖ* et la forme *Λᾱτόθεν* sont encore attestés (*SGDI* 5149,6 al.; 5171,25). La forme *Λάτιος* présente le *τ* restauré.” In fact *e-ra* (PY Tn 316, 9), *Hpα*, dative of *Hpā*, occurs immediately after *di-we* (PY Tn 316, 9), *Διφεῖ*, dative of *Ζεύς*. What is more interesting, elsewhere on the same tablet we find the theonym *di-u-ja* in the dative form (PY Tn 316, 6), *Δίφυα*, which could mean either ‘for the wife of Zeus’ or ‘for the daughter of Zeus’. If the meaning of *di-u-ja* (PY Tn 316, 6), *Δίφυᾶ*, is ‘spouse of Zeus’, the close connection between *Διφεῖ* and *Hpα* on this tablet seems to imply that the so-called *ἱερός γάμος* ‘the sacred wedding’ between Zeus and Hera had already taken place by the time of the Mycenaean tablets, whereas Zeus’s former Indo-European wife *Δίφυᾶ* had moved into the background. On other tablets from Pylos we find *di-wi-ja do-e-ro* (PY Cn 1287, 6), *Δίφυᾶς δόελος* ‘male servant of *Δίφυᾶ* = *Diwia*’ (spouse of Zeus) and *di-wi-ja do-e-ra* (PY An 607, 5), *Δίφυᾶς δοεῖλᾶ* ‘female servant of *Δίφυᾶ*’. *Δίφυᾶς* is genitive of *Δίφυᾶ*. *Δίφυᾶ* ‘wife / spouse of Zeus’ has a short *-ᾶ* (cf. *λέαινᾶ* < \**λέφ<sup>o</sup>vyᾶ* ‘lioness’ : *λέ(φ)ων* ‘lion’). Mycenaean *δόελος* developed into > *δοῦλος*.

Instead of the theonym *Δίφϝ* (with short *-ǎ*) ‘spouse of Zeus’ one may also choose the patronymic form *Δίφϝᾶ* (with long *-ᾶ*) for the interpretation of *di-u-ja* (PY Tn 316, 6: dat.), ‘daughter of Zeus’. *Ἥβη*, daughter of Zeus and Hera, is qualified as *Διά* at Phlius and Sicyon by Strabo, *Geography VIII*, 6, 24: *τιμᾶται δ’ ἐν Φλιοῦντι καὶ Σικυῶνι τὸ τῆς Δίας ἱερόν· καλοῦσι δ’ οὕτω τὴν Ἥβην* (C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 108). The current etymology of the theonym *Ἥβη* is that the name of the goddess is derived from the Greek word *ἥβη* ‘youth, vigour, puberty’. In modern Greek it still has the meaning of ‘puberty’ (cf. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 404-405, s.v. *ἥβη* : dor. *ἥβᾶ*). In Pamphylian occurs *ἥβοτά* ‘youth’. Chantraine compares Greek *ἥβη* with forms in the Baltic languages, Lithuanian *jegà* and Latvian *jega* ‘strength’: “Bien que le baltique soit loin et qu’il n’y ait pas d’autre témoignage dans une langue indo-européenne, il n’est pas absurde de rapprocher, comme on le fait ordinairement, lit. *jegà* ‘force’, lette *jega*, même sens. Aucun rapport avec *ἄβρός*.”

Indo-European *Ζεύς* as ‘Weather God’ and as ‘Head of the Pantheon’ may well be the Greek rendering of Hurrian *Teš(š)ub*. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 399, s.v. *Ζεύς*: “Zeus est le vieux dieu i.-e. du ciel, de la lumière, bien connu en skr., en grec, en italique, également en hittite. S’il a fourni en latin le nom du jour *diēs*, on observe ce sens dans des termes grecs comme *ἔνδιος*, *εὐδία*. Étymologie: *Ζεύς* répond exactement au skr. *dyáuh*, comme gén. *Δι(φ)ός* à *diváh*, etc. Pour latin *Juppiter*, *Jovis* v. Ernout-Meillet s.v.; le hittite a *\*šiuš*, *šiu(n)i*. La flexion ancienne repose sur un thème *\*dy-ēu-*, au nom. sg. *Ζεύς* et anciennement à l’accusatif, *Ζῆν* de *\*dyē(u)m*, qui se retrouve dans lat. *diem*, skr. véd. *dyām*, alternant avec *\*diw-* de *Διφός*. Sur le plan de l’étymologie i.-e. il faut donc poser un thème I *\*dei-w-* qui a fourni le nom du ‘dieu’, lat. *dīvos*, skr. *devá-*, et avec le vocalisme zéro radical, le gén. grec *Δι(φ)ός*, skr. *diváh*, d’autre part un thème II: *\*dy-eu*, *\*dy-ēu-* avec l’allongement des monosyllabes de *Ζεύς*, *Ζῆν* et des forms skr. correspondantes. Cette analyse permet de retrouver la racine *\*dei-* ‘briller’ de skr. *dī-de-ti*, grec *δέατο* (v. ce mot).”

*Teš(š)ub*’s spouse *Ḫebat*, *Ḫebet* was also called *Allani* ‘The Lady’ (Hurrian *allay* ‘lady’, *allani* ‘the lady’, with the suffix of the definite article *-ni/-ne*). *Allani* was *Ḫebat*’s epithet, but she was also mentioned separately in lists of deities belonging to the Hurrian pantheon. The Mycenaean Greeks may have rendered the name *Allani* into a form with the same meaning *Ἥρᾶ* ‘mistress’, feminine form of *Ἥρως* ‘Lord, master’. *Ἥρᾶ* and *Ἥρως*, though originally Pre-Greek, had probably been adopted into the Greek vernacular before the Mycenaean Greeks started to use *Ἥρᾶ* as a theonym, equivalent to *Allani*.

Whereas the theonym *Allani* could be translated, the name *Hebat*, *Hebet* could not and may have been adapted to a form similar to Greek *Ἥβη*. After the Mycenaean conquest of Knossos the whole island of Crete was gradually hellenized and the original meaning of the theonym *Hebat*, *Hebet* was completely forgotten and associated with the Greek word *ἧβη* ‘youth, vigour, puberty’. No longer was it possible to associate *Ἥβη*, as she was now called, with a concept like ‘consort of Zeus (*Teš(š)ub*)’, because *ἧβη* ‘youth, puberty’ required a young goddess. So *Hèbè* became the daughter of Zeus and Hera.

On a tablet from Hagia Triada occurs Linear A *da-qe-ra*, *qe-pi-ta* (HT 6a.6), which may be explained as Hurrian *\*dahera* *\*Hebitta* ‘with a man for *Hépét* / *Hebat*’. Linear A *da-qe-ra* is the comitative form of *tahe* ‘man’ (wr. *da-ah-e*, KBo XIX 145 IV 43; KUB XLV 60, 3), with comitative suffix *-ra*, referring to a ‘man’ taking part in *Hebat*’s cult. I have compared this Linear A sequence with Linear B *di-wi-ja do-e-ro* (PY Cn 1287,6) on a tablet from Pylos, *Δίφϋᾶς δόέλος* ‘male servant of *Δίφϋᾶ* (consort of Zeus)’ or ‘male servant of *Δίφϋᾶ* (daughter of Zeus)’, *vide supra*. Linear A *qe-pi-ta* may well be equated with the Hurrian dative form of *Hépét* / *Hebat*, consort of *Teš(š)ub*, (Hittite Hieroglyphic *<sup>d</sup>He-ba-tu*, Yaz. N°. 43). P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 215-216, writes s.v. *hepet*: “Hurrian female deity mentioned frequently under form *Hé-pét* in rituals from Boğazköy, often followed in the Hurrian passages by the epithet *muš(u)ni*, *q.v.* under *muš*. For position of *Hepet* in this pantheon, where she seems to be the consort of *Tešup*, see Götze, *Kleinasien*, pp. 58, 123 f., 129. [...] In Ugarit wr. *hbt* [...] Outside of Nuzi *<sup>f</sup>Hebet-naia*, wr. *<sup>f</sup>Hé-be-et-na-a-a*, cf. for this element *Um-mi-<sup>d</sup>he-bi-it*, CT XXXIII 41:1, cited by Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 100, and *<sup>f</sup>Me-e-na-he-bi* from Nippur, Clay, *PNCP*, p. 106. The form *hepa*, commonly taken as variant of *hepet*, is found in many personal names; cf. e.g. *<sup>f</sup>Kelu-hepa*, *<sup>f</sup>Putu-hepa*, *<sup>f</sup>Tatu-hepa*, *<sup>f</sup>Keluš-hepa(š)* and *ERUM-hé/he-ba*. Etc.”

In chapter 10 I have explained Linear A *qe-pi-ta* as the Hurrian dative form *\*Hebitta* as a result of the process of assimilation < *\*Hebit-wa*, with the Hurrian singular dative suffix *-wa*. The comparable assimilated genitive form with the singular genitive suffix *-wi/-we* is attested at Boğazköy: *<sup>d</sup>Hé-pa-at-ti*, KBo XIX 129 Ro 33, cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 100-101, s.v. *Hebat*. E.A. Speiser, *IH*, 63, § 82, writes: “This assimilation of *w-* is not restricted to instances with a preceding labial. We find it again in *<sup>d</sup>Hé-bat-te/i* XXVII 1 ii 55, 38 iii 8 and *<sup>d</sup>Hé-bat-te-na* XXV 45.7, XXIX 8 ii 30, alongside the unassimilated forms [*<sup>d</sup>Hé*]-*bat-wi*, XXVII 4. 5, and with a following *-na* in XXV 44 ii 2, 4, XXVII 4. 4, 8 obv. 16, rev. 1, 4, 5, 7.”

Association of *\*Hrā* with *\*Hrōs*, already suggested by M.P. Nilsson and accepted by P. Chantraine, is attractive and probably correct. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 417, s.v. *ἥρωσ*: “Il ne s’agit pas d’un thème *ἥρωσ*- comme on l’enseignait souvent, puisque le mycénien *tiriserōe*, si l’interprétation qu’on en donne est correcte, écarte cette analyse. Un rapport avec lat. *servāre* est malaisé. Un rapprochement avec *\*Hrā* serait plausible. Peut-être racine *\*ser*-variante de *\*swer-* et *\*wer-*, cf. *servāre*. Ou emprunt.” Since the form *\*Hrōs* / *ἥρωσ* (vocative *ἥρωσ*, so root in *-ōs-* / *-ōh-*) reminds of Pre-Greek *Mίνωσ* and *Τρώσ*, the term ‘Pre-Greek’ seems also appropriate for *\*Hrōs* / *ἥρωσ*. The Greeks may have adopted these terms in their language, before they used the title *\*Hrā* as translation of Minoan / Hurrian *Allani*. L.R. Palmer has suggested that the formula *πότνια \*Hρη* contains both the Pre-Greek title *ἥρā* ‘mistress’ and the Greek translation *πότνια*. If the name of the god *Ἑρμῆς* < *Ἑρμάās* < *\*Ἑρμάās* ‘Hermes’ is indeed derived from Hurrian *Ermi* / *Erwi* / *Ewri* ‘Lord’, which is in fact the male counterpart of *Allani* ‘the Lady’, there was no need for *\*Hrōs* as equivalent to *\*Hrā* in the Greek pantheon.

*\*Hrōs* played a significant part as a ‘Horseman God’ in the Thracian religion according to both literary and iconographic evidence, cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, 200, s.v. *\*Hrōs*, *\*Hpoς*; G.I. Kazarov, *RE, Suppl.* 3, 1132 ff.; G.I. Kazarov, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien*, Dissertationes Pannonicae, ser. II, fasc. 14, Budapest 1938, passim; A. Fol - I. Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians*, London 1977, 13, 17, 110, 138.

In my paper “Thracian” onomastica in Mycenaean Linear B, *Ancient Bulgaria* (Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981), edited by A.G. Poulter, Part 1, Nottingham 1983, I expressed the view that the Greeks might have derived Pre-Greek *\*Hrā* and *\*Hrōs* / *ἥρωσ* from a ‘Proto-Thracian’ substrate. My position has changed, because it seems most likely that ancient Indo-European languages such as Thracian, Dacian, Macedonian and Illyrian, of which our knowledge is only fragmentary, contained many substrate words and names of non-Indo-European predecessors, probably to the same extent as can be detected in Greek and Anatolian languages. Comparison of *\*Hrōs* / *ἥρωσ* with Pre-Greek *Mίνωσ* and *Τρώσ* leads to the conclusion that *\*Hrōs* / *ἥρωσ* probably belongs to the same non-Indo-European substrate.

On two tablets from Pylos a compound of \**Ἡρωϝ* / \**ἦρωϝ* occurs in the form of *ti-ri-se-ro-e* (PY Tn 316.5 and PY Fr 1204), probably *Τρισ-ἦρωέι*. It may be interpreted as ‘Three times Lord’. *Τρισ-ἦρωϝ* seems to refer to a deceased gentleman enjoying a burial-cult, perhaps the ancestor of a royal or at least an aristocratic family. According to Homer *ἦρωϝ* ‘Lord’ may have been the title of aristocrats in Mycenaean times. Later the term was used for those who could boast on a pedigree and who enjoyed an ancestral burial-cult. Although the title \**Ἡρωϝ* did not acquire the same position in the Greek pantheon as its feminine counterpart \**Ἡρωᾶ*, the term *ἦρωϝ* was reserved for the epic heroes and the aristocrats in society who could prove at the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean or Isthmian Games that they were not only the *aristoi* ‘the best’ of their polis, but also of the Greek commonwealth and fully deserved their aristocratic status.

‘Pre-Greek’ *πύργος* corresponds with Germanic *Burg* and Pre-Greek *Πέργαμος* with Germanic *Berg*. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 958, s.v. *πύργος*: “Le mot fait penser évidemment à allem. *Burg*, got. *baurgs* ‘tour, château, ville’ et Kretschmer, *Gl.* 22, 1934, 100 sq., a supposé que le mot venait du germanique par l’intermédiaire d’une langue balkanique, p. ex. le macédonien. C’est d’autre part un des rares termes qui pourraient fournir quelque fondement à la théorie pélasgique. On rapproche ainsi *Πέργαμος*, -ον, -α, qui répondrait à l’allemand *Berg* (i.-e. \**bhr̥gh-o-*, \**bhergh-*), voir Heubeck, *Praegraeca* 63-65 sq. avec la bibliographie, selon qui le mot serait emprunté à une langue i.-e. d’Asie Mineur: il évoque hitt. *parku-* ‘haut’, *parkeššar* ‘hauteur’; en outre les gloses d’Hsch. *φύργος* · *τειχος* et *φ<ο>ύρκος* · *όχύρωμα*. Sur ce point, cf. aussi Pisani, *Rev. intern. étym. balk.* 3, 22, n. 1. Voir encore Hester, *Lingua* 13, 1965, 363.” The Linear A sequence *pu-ko* (HT 31.1), possibly the Pre-Greek toponym *Pyrgos*, is discussed in chapter 10.

According to M. Ventris - J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 126, *Apollo* does not appear in the Mycenaean texts. However, the incomplete theonym may be attested at Knossos in the form *]pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-[* (KN E 842, 3). C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 237: “Si on admet la lecture possible *]pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-ne*, il serait tentant de lire *[a-]pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-ne* et de voir dans cette forme le datif du théonyme *Ἀπέλων* (plus tard dor. *Ἀπέλλων*, chypr. *Ἀπείλων*). La forme *Ἀπόλλων* peut résulter de l’assimilation régressive de voyelles non contiguës. Une telle interprétation serait corroborée par *te-o-i θεοῖς* à la ligne 1. De même, *me-na* (ligne 2) peut être le datif de *Μήνᾶ* ‘Lune’.”

If Ruijgh's conjecture is correct, the Mycenaean form *Ἀπέλων* is of course the oldest, preserved in Cypriot *Ἀπείλων* and Doric *Ἀπέλλων*. The assembly of Spartan citizens was called *Ἀπέλλα*, probably because the citizens met in the assembly under the auspices or the patronage of *Ἀπέλλων*. A gloss by Hesychius tells: *ἀπέλλαι · σηκοί, ἐκκλησίαι, ἀρχαιρεσίαι*. The equation with *ἐκκλησίαι* obviously refers to the Lakonian *Ἀπέλλα*, but that with *σηκοί* 'sheds' may well indicate that *Ἀπέλων* was originally a shepherd god and perhaps also a hunting *\*πότνιος θηρῶν* 'master of wild animals' as his twin sister *Artemis* represented the *πότνια θηρῶν* 'mistress of wild animals'. The twins were both armed with bow and arrows. It is attractive to associate the root *Ἀπέλ-* with the word *apellu* 'arrow(head)' from Nuzi, which is suspected to be Hurrian according to V. Haas – H.-J. Thiel, 'Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah(h)i und verwandte Texte', *Alter Orient und Altes Testament 31 = Hurritologische Studien II*, Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, 262. Compare also T. Richter, *BGH*, 39. M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion*, 513-516, coined the notion *\*πότνιος θηρῶν* on account of iconographic evidence, arguing that there was no need for two deities with the same function, so that Apollo could move on to other areas that were important for Greek society. But his original features were never completely wiped out.

The name of *Ἄρτεμις* is represented in the genitive *a-te-mi-to* (PY Es 650, 5), *Ἀρτέμιτος* (with East Greek declension in *τ* instead of *δ*). and in the dative *a-ti-mi-te* (PY Un 219, 5), *Ἀρτιμίτει* (with *e/i* alternation) at Pylos. The form *]-mi-te* (KN X 7887, 1) at Knossos is likely to be completed to the dative of the same theonym. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 117, s.v. *Ἄρτεμις*: "À la différence du nom d'Apollon, le nom d'Artémis, quelle qu'en soit l'origine, semble bien attesté dans des inscriptions lydienes: *artimus ibsimsis* répondrait à *Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσία* à Larissa du Caystre, etc., cf. Heubeck, *Lydiaka*, 22-25. Il est bien vrai qu'Artémis peut être considérée comme une déesse asiatique (cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen 1*, 324; M.P. Nilsson, *Gr. Rel. 1*, 451, sqq.). Il est vrai d'autre part qu'elle joue un grand rôle dans le monde dorien, ce qui a conduit à chercher une étymologie illyrienne, d'un illyr. *\*artos* (M.S. Ruiperez, *Emerita 15*, 1-60, et *Zephyrus 2*, 89 sqq. avec bibliographie). Cette hypothèse qui s'accorde mal avec les données homériques se heurte maintenant à une difficulté, puisque la déesse est connue en mycénien. C'est l'explication par l'Asie Mineure qui semble la plus probable. Les étymologies par le grec reposent toutes plus ou moins sur des jeux de mots. Le rapprochement avec *ἄρτος* 'ours' se heurte à la difficulté que *ἄρτος* est en grec une forme secondaire. Celui avec *ἄρταμος* 'boucher' est retenue par Kretschmer, *Gl. 27*,

34, mais la graphie Ἄρταμις avec le second α doit reposer sur une étymologie populaire, cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr. I*, 256, ce que confirme le mycénien. Quant à un rapprochement avec ἀρτεμής, il consiste à expliquer *obscura per obscuriora*. Nous ne savons pas s’il existe un rapport entre ces deux termes, ni lequel des deux serait tiré de l’autre.” The Lydian form *Artimus* equated with Ἄρταμις may perhaps be compared with the Hurrian personal name *Ar-ta-mu-zi*, son of *Ut-ḫap-še*, attested at Nuzi HSS V 69: 22, 24; father of *Ta-a-a*, grandfather of *Ar-ti-ir-wi*, *AASOR XVI* 28:3, cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 33; P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 203, s.v. *ar-*, and 262, s.v. *tamuzi*. Gelb and Purves prefer to divide the name into the elements *ar-* ‘give’ and *tamuzi*, because Hurrian *tamuzi* (perhaps derived from Akkadian) is identical with the Nuzi month name *Tamuzi*. The name is cognate with Baby-lonian *dūzu*. The months so named are equated by Gordon and Lacheman in *AOr X* (1938), 55 and 60. In principle the division could also be between *arta-* and *-muzi*, because *arta-* and *-muš* are also feasible onomastic elements. At Nuzi are attested: *Ar-ta*, *Ar-ta-tal*, *Ar-ta-ta-al*, *Ar-ta-a-tal* (to be divided into *Arta-atal* or *Ar-tatal*), *Ar-ta-ḫu-ma* (to be divided into *Arta-ḫuma* or *Ar-taḫuma*), *Ar-ta-ḫu-pi* (to be divided into *Arta-ḫupi* or *Ar-taḫupi*), *Ar-ta-še-ni*, *Ar-ta-še-en-ni*, *Ar-ta-še-e-ni* (to be divided into *Arta-šenni* or *Ar-tašenni*), *Ar-ta-tab-bi* (to be divided into *Arta-tappi* or *Ar-tatappi*), and *Ar-ta-a-a*, *Ar-ta-a*, *Ar-ta-ia*. There is also an Indo-Iranian onomastic element *arta-*, but all relatives of the *Artaja*’s at Nuzi bear Hurrian names. Note also *Ar-ta-ia*, KBo I 1: 44 (twice) at Boğazköy. Compare also at Nuzi *Ari-muše* (wr. *A-ri-mu-še*). If the interpretation of the masculine personal name *Ar-ta-mu-zi* as ‘Tamuzi gives’ by Gelb and Purves is correct, we may infer that *Tamuzi* is not only the name of a month at Nuzi, but probably also a theonym. *Ar-ta-mu-zi* is a rare name and it is unknown whether it could also be used as a feminine name. The name could explain the ending *-muš* in Lydian *Artimus*, equated with Greek Ἄρτεμις. If the name *Ar-ta-mu-zi* consists of the elements *arta-* and *-muzi* and if *-muzi* may be equated with Hurrian adjectival *muš*, *muša-*, *-muša*, *-muše*, *mušu-* and substantival *-mušni*, we know that this element was feminine if connected with <sup>d</sup>*Hebat* and masculine if connected with <sup>d</sup>*Ewri*.

Linear A has not yet yielded an equivalent to the Hurrian name or to the Linear B theonym. The *e/i* alternation in the Linear B forms Ἀρτέμιτος and Ἀρτιμίτει make a Greek origin of the theonym unlikely. The second α in Ἄρταμις, already in the earliest Doric inscriptions, may be a matter of dialect. It is conceivable that a Hurrian personal name such as *Ar-ta-mu-zi* was first used as an epithet in Minoan Crete and could have developed into a theonym.

Even if the original division of onomastic elements was *Ar-tamuzi*, the Mycenaean Greeks were probably more familiar with the common element *muš* and divided the name into *Arta-muzi*, which made it easier to change *Arta-* into *Arte/i-*. Such a change may have taken place on the analogy of Hurrian *Arte*, hypocoristic of *Artešup* ‘Giving (is) Teš(š)ub’. The Lydian form *Artimus* could have come directly from the Near East to Western Anatolia, but the *-i-* in *Artimus* may well account for a Cretan provenance of the Lydian theonym in accordance with Mycenaean *Ἀρτιμίτει*. Even if a Hurrian etymology is not acceptable, the Mycenaean theonym is at any rate several centuries earlier than the Lydian inscriptions, which makes provenance from Crete more likely than from Anatolia. Since Apollo’s name is probably represented in the Linear B texts from Knossos and the name of Artemis in texts from Pylos and Knossos, they likely had a Cretan, possibly Minoan, origin as their mother *Lato*. Provenance from Anatolia is not impossible, but not necessarily preferable.

The theonym *Ἀθήνη* is to date unexplained. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 27: “*Ἀθήνη*: ép., poètes; *Ἀθάνᾱ* (attesté en mycénien, dial. non ioniens), déesse grecque que l’on suppose une ancienne déesse minoenne, qui serait issue d’une déesse au serpent protégeant le palais. C’est probablement d’après la déesse qu’a été dénommée la cité attique *Ἀθῆναι*. Le mycénien connaît le nom de la déesse dans l’expression *atanapotinija*, cf. Chadwick-Baumbach 167. Dérivé: *Ἀθηναῖος*, ‘athénien’, mais le fém. *Ἀθηναίη* sert aussi de nom de la déesse (88 ex. chez Hom.), att. *Ἀθηναία* et par contraction l’usuel *Ἀθηνᾶ*. Ét.: Théonyme inexpliqué, cf. Nilsson, *Griech. Rel.* 1, 405 sqq. *Lex. Ep.* 208.”

It is intriguing that the Linear B texts from Knossos provide both *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (KN V 52+52bis+[X] 8285 Olivier), the dative *Ἀθάνᾱ Ποτνία*, and *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (KN Gg 702,2), *δαβυρίνθοιο Ποτνία* ‘for the Mistress of the labyrinth’. If the hypothesis that these deities are the same is correct, the goddess *Ἀθάνᾱ* was the deity protecting the labyrinth, which may have been the name of the palace. She may have been the Minoan deity portrayed as the ‘goddess with the snakes’.

The daughter of king Minos, *Ἀριάδνη*, played a very peculiar role by helping the Athenian hero *Theseus* escaping from the labyrinth after he had killed the Minotaur. After Theseus had left her on the island of Naxos, Dionysos took her to Mount Olympos.

One can only conclude that the Minoan princess must have had some godlike features. She did not only play the part of a goddess by helping heroes as, for instance, Athena did several times with Odysseus and other heroes, but she also became the consort of a god. The element *ἀρι-* in her name was later probably understood as the augmentive particle which we find e.g. in Homer in *ἀριδείκετος* and *ἀρίζηλος*.

But if the name was originally Minoan, the element *ari-* may well represent the Hurrian verbal root *ar-* ‘to give’ (*ari-* is the present active transitive form in *-i-*, sometimes also with the root complement *-p/b-*), e.g. *Ari-p-ḫurra*, *Ari-p-šarri*, *Ari-p-šeriš*, *Ari-p-tešup*, *Ari-p-tilla*, and the hypocoristic *Arija*, etc. at Nuzi. The name of the princess *Ἀριάδνη* may be explained from the Hurrian prototype *\*Ari-attānā* > Minoan *\*Ari-at<sup>h</sup>ānā* ‘Athana gives’ > *\*Ari-at<sup>h</sup>nā* (syncope) > *\*Ari-adnā* (voicing of the dental under influence of nasal in Hurrian) > (Greek) *\*Ἀριάδνᾱ* > *Ἀριάδνη*. The name *Ἀριάδνη* may be interpreted as a theophorous personal name. Another indication of a possibly Hurrian origin of the Mycenaean theonym *Ἀθάνᾱ* is the parallel form *Ἀθηναίη*, Attic *Ἀθηναία*. Apart from the frequent suffix *-na* of the plural article, there is a Hurrian onomastic element *-na* occurring in feminine personal names, which may well be a shortened or hypocoristic form of *-naja* and *-nawar*, cf. at Nuzi: *ḫAru-na*, *ḫAweš-na* and *ḫAwiš-naja*, *ḫAze-na*, *ḫMinen-na* and *ḫMinen-naja*, cf. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 236-237, s.v. *-na* and *-naja*. Purves adds: Hurrian element apparently found exclusively in feminine personal names. See Speiser in *AASOR XVI* (1936), p. 75, n. 1, and Oppenheim in *AOF XII* (1937-39), 36.

P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 237, gives a long list of feminine personal names with the element *-naja* at Nuzi: *ḫAllai-naja*, *ḫAšmun-naja*, *ḫAštun-naja*, *ḫAwiš-naja*, *ḫAzun-naja*, *ḫHašun-naja*, *ḫHepet-naja*, *ḫHumer-naja*, *ḫIlim-naja*, *ḫImšen-naja*, *ḫIwin-naja*, *ḫMinen-naja*, *ḫNašmun-naja*, *ḫNupen-naja*, *ḫŠalḫun-naja*, *ḫŠatum-naja*, *ḫŠeltun-naja*, *ḫŠewir-naja*, *ḫŠinen-naja*, *ḫŠuḫur-naja*, *ḫŠunšun-naja*, *ḫTatun-naja*, *ḫTeḫeš-naja*, *ḫTeššen-naja*, *ḫTilun-naja*, *ḫTulpun-naja*, *ḫUššen-naja*, *ḫZilim-naja*, and with the variation *-naje*: *ḫAmmi-naje*.

It is unlikely that Mycenaean *Ἀθάνᾱ* and probably Minoan *\*Athānā* can be equated with the Hurrian personal name *a-ta-na*, phonologically /adana/, at Nuzi, since single writing of the dental indicates that it is voiced. The personal name *a-ta-na* seems identical with the toponym *Adana* in south-east Anatolia, cf. also *a-da/ta-(a)-ni*, KUB XXV 44 ii? 5; XXVII 1 ii 31 and 70; XXVII 6 i 31, cf. also P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 207, s.v. *atan*.

If the etymology of Mycenaean *Ἀθάνᾱ* (later *Ἀθήνη* with the doublet form *Ἀθηναίη*) and Minoan *\*Athānā / \*Athānāia* is Hurrian, the forms should probably be compared with the Hurrian onomastic element *att-*. P.M. Purves, *NPN*, 207, s.v. *att* (1): “Hurrian in view of association with *-kku*. If Hurrian, it probably is connected with *attai* ‘father’. Cf. Chagar Bazar *ᶜAt-ta-i-ni-ir-ze* and *ᶜAt-tap-ki-ia-ze*, *Iraq VII*, 36.”

In accordance with the meaning of *attay*, most personal names at Nuzi with the element *att-* are masculine: *Attaja*, *Attanu*, *Attija*, *Attuja*. The only exception at Nuzi is the feminine name *ᶜAttakku* (wr. *ᶜAt-ta-ak-ku*), but we may add the names from Chagar Bazar *ᶜAt-ta-i-ni-ir-ze* and *ᶜAt-tap-ki-ia-ze*. The masculine element *att-* in the feminine theonym *\*Athānā / \*Athānāia* can only be explained, if the element *-nāija* means ‘girl’, ‘daughter’ or the like. The myth about ‘*Athena born from her father’s head*’ may help to explain the meaning of her name as “father’s daughter”. Hephaistos’s axe certainly helped to cure her father’s headache.

Hurrian *Attana* (voiceless dental because of double writing) occurs at Nuzi and Alalah as the name of a month. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 64: *Attana*, *attanašwe*, nom d’un mois à Nuzi et à Alalah; cf. *CAD A II* 510; *AW* 87. It is a well-known fact that the names of months were often derived from theonyms (cf. e.g. Roman *mensis Martius* and *Iunius*). This may be regarded as a strong indication that the month *Attana* at Nuzi and Alalah was called after a deity *Attana* who may eventually have become the Cretan and Mycenaean goddess *Ἀθάνᾱ*. Hurrian *-tt-* may have sounded with aspiration as *th* (*θ*) in Greek ears.

The Pre-Greek name *Θησεύς* is attested at Pylos as *te-se-u* (PY En 74, 5; Eo 276, 4: *te-o-jo do-e-ro* ‘servant of a god’). The name is clearly Pre-Greek, because an Indo-European intervocalic *-s-* would have changed into *-h-* and ultimately have disappeared in Greek. To date an etymology of the name *Θησεύς* is failing, cf. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 436, s.v. *Θησεύς*: “Étymologie: Inconnue.” Was *Θησεύς* originally a Cretan name derived from the Hurrian hypocoristic theophorous name *Teššuja* (wr. *Te-eš-šu-ia*, *Te-šu-ia*, *Te-iš-šu-ia*, *Ti-iš-šu-ú-ia*), attested at Nuzi (cf. I.J. Gelb, *NPN*, 154), comparable to e.g. *a-pa-je-u* (PY Jn 845, 5), probably *Ἀφαιεύς* ‘celebrant of *Ἀφαιᾱ*’, and was the Minoan myth about Theseus and Ariadna later connected with the Greek mainland, so that Theseus could become an Athenian prince and hero with a name that contained an onomastic element referring to the head of the Hurrian pantheon ? Only Teš(š)ub knows: *Talmi-Teš(š)ub* ‘Teš(š)ub is Great’ !

The combination of *te-se-u* with *te-o-jo do-e-ro* ‘servant of a god’ (probably the description of a priest) in PY En 74, 5 and PY Eo 276, 4 is intriguing, because the ‘Greek’ word *θεός* is also suspected to be of ‘Pre-Greek’ origin. P. Chantraine, *DELG*, 429-430, s.v. *θεός*: “m., f. (Hom., ion.-att., etc.), béot., chypr., créet. *θιός*, lacon. *σιός*. Adjectifs dérivés: *θειός* ‘divin’... probablement de \**θέσ-γος*; le mycénien a le féminin *teija*; la forme *θήιος* chez Alc. et chez Balbilla n’est pas expliquée. ... Étymologie inconnue. Le rapprochement avec lat. *deus*, skr. *devá-*, est bien entendue impossible. D’une façon plus générale, la chute d’un *f* intervocalique dans *θεός* ne peut être supposée en raison du mycénien *teo* et de la forme crétoise *θιός*. Dans ces conditions, on a amené à admettre la chute d’un sigma intervocalique et à évoquer les composés d’ailleurs obscurs *θέσ-κελος*, *θεσ-πέσιος*, *θέσ-φατος*.” He also rejects two other hypotheses and concludes: “Finalement l’ensemble reste incertain.” C.J. Ruijgh (*EGM*, § 233) explains Mycenaean *te-o* as *θεός* (with intervocalic *h*) < \**θεσός*, mot d’origine probablement préhellénique, cf. *te-i-ja* (§ 175). In § 175 he writes: “*te-i-ja* (PY Fr 1202: dat. sg. f.): *θείος* ‘des dieux’, dérivé de *te-o θεός* (PY Ep 704, 5: acc. ? sg.; *al.*). Plus tard, on trouve la forme *θειός*. L’expression *ma-te-re te-i-ja Μᾶτρεϊ θεϊᾶ* (‘pour la Mère des dieux’ ou ‘pour la Mère divine’) rappelle *Μήτηρ = Δημήτηρ* (cf. aussi *Πέᾶ, Κυβέλη*) et, d’autre part, *Θείᾶ*, nom d’une soeur de Rhéa d’après Hésiode.”

We have discussed the correlation between *Ἥεβατ* in her appearance of *Allani* ‘the Lady’ and the goddess *Hera* and between the theonym *Ἥεβατ / Ἥεβετ* and the goddess *Hèbè* who had to become ‘daughter of Zeus and Hera’ instead of ‘consort of Teš(š)ub / Zeus’, because her name was later associated by the Greeks with the Greek term *ἡβη* ‘youth, vigour, puberty’. Remarkably the “goddess” *Θείᾶ* is mentioned by Hesiod in his *Theogony* as the sister of *Πέᾶ*, who is consort of Kronos and mother of Zeus. The struggle for power between *Ouranos*, *Kronos* and *Zeus* is a close copy of that between the Hurrian *Anu*, *Kumarbi* and *Tešub*. Tešub’s place in the Mycenaean pantheon had been taken by the Indo-European Zeus. But Hurrian and Cretan *Tešub*, possibly Linear A *te-zu*, survived in personal names such as Linear B *te-se-u Θεσεύς*. The Hurrian onomastic element *-teja*, hypocoristic of *-teš(š)ub*, may have survived as the deity *Θείᾶ* in Hesiod, but because the place of the Head of the pantheon had already been taken by Zeus and since most words and names in *-α* in Greek are feminine, *Θείᾶ* had to become a female deity and became sister of *Πέᾶ* instead of her son. *Teš(š)-* may also be the basis of \**θεσός* > (Mycenaean) *θεός* that was treated as if it was a common I.E. noun.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

In this monograph I have reviewed attempts to decipher the script of Linear A and have concluded that none could be accepted as presenting consistent phonological and morphological evidence necessary in the case of decipherment of a script when the idiom written with it is unknown. I have tried by linguistic methods, using phonological and morphological evidence, to show that Linear A might have been the notation of an idiom with very specific phonological features and with a morphology of agglutinative character. I have tried to identify this idiom as Hurrian or an idiom related to Hurrian. Finally, I have tried to identify Linear A sequences with both Hurrian lexical terms and Hurrian onomastics. If the path I have chosen to follow in approaching Linear A proves to be valid, further research may well show that Hurrian written with Linear A might show its own 'dialectal' features as compared to variations between second millennium Hurrian written at Boğazköy / Boğazkale (Ḫattuša), Tell Aḩana (Alalaḩ), Ras Shamra (Ugarit), Tell Hariri (Mâri), Kirkuk (Nuzi), Chagar Bazar, Dilbat, Tell Ta<sup>c</sup>annak in Palestine, the Tušratta letter, discovered at Tell el Amarna, and the bronze tablet of Samarra, *RA IX (1912)*, 1-4, which proved presence of Hurrians in Iraq even in the third millennium B.C.

If one takes into account that on the one hand the Hurrian language itself is still in a process of decipherment, that many features of its grammar can be recognized, though they are not yet all fully understood, that the number of words in the Hurrian vocabulary that can be recognized and understood is still quite limited, and that on the other hand the corpus of Linear A texts is still small as compared to the corpus of Linear B texts and that many Linear A sequences are not complete, it is quite remarkable how many words can be recognized as Hurrian in Linear A, and what is even more important, how many words can be recognized in a grammatical form characteristic of Hurrian. As regards the onomastics, which were the starting point of my research, the number of Hurrian personal, ethnic and topographic names turned out to be remarkably high as well. Here as well, especially the typical hypocoristic Hurrian personal names, which appear in great numbers in the Near Eastern archives, are attested in a high percentage of the names in Linear A. It appears to be a great advantage that the structure of Hurrian names, especially of theophorous personal names, is very clear and can easily be recognized. Therefore the identification of Hurrian names in Linear A attains a high degree of certainty.