

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-a₂* 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 *Ἐδερμος* (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 *^dEb-ri-muša*, KUB XXV 50 II 11 sq.; KBo XXIII 25, 2, 5; and perhaps also *^dIr-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 *^dḪébat* and *^dMuš(u)ni* with the divine determinative, mentioned by E. Laroche, *GLH*, 173: *^dMušuni*, forme de *Ḫebat*. *^dḪé-bat-mu-uš-ni*, KUB V 27 I 17; XXVII 1 II 37 = 3 III 19; KBo XI 28 V 25, etc. - *^dḪé-bat-mu-šu-(un)-ni*, KUB XII 12 V 33; XXVII 22 I 19; XXXII 52, 3, etc. - *^dMu-šu-ni*, VBoT 16 Ro 13. Erg. *^dḪé-bat-^dmu-šu-un-ni-iš*, KUB XXIX 8 III 32. Dat. *^dMu-šu-u-ni-pa*, KBo XX 129 + III 23. The title *^dEwri*, if used as a divine name, could refer to a limited number of prominent gods, just as the epithet *Allani* could refer to *^dḪébat* or *^dŠa-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 ^d*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 *ḥba-ēni* is translated as ‘*Ḥebat* (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, *Ḥebat* 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 *Ḥattušiliš I* erstmals Raubzüge nach Nordsyrien unternahmen, erbeuteten sie in *Ḥaššu(wa)* am oberen Orontes unweit von Aleppo die folgenden Götterstatuen: “Wettergott, Herr von *Armaruk*; Wettergott, Herr von *Ḥalap* (Aleppo); *Allatum*, *Adalur*, *Liluri*, zwei silberne Rinder, drei Statuen aus Silber und Gold, zwei *ḥamri*-(Kult)-Häuser. Die Tochter der *Allatum*, [*Ḥebat*, 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 *Ḥebat* 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 *ra₂-ro-re* (ZA 10b.5), with palatalized *l* (>*l'*) in the first syllable, = *L^yaluri* = */L^yalore/* or *Lialuri* = */Lialore/* (with Hurrian [*o*] and [*e*]). Linear A and B *ra₂* = *ria/r^ya* or *lia/l^ya*, 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.), *Ḥpā*, and as a theonym *e-ra* at Pylos (PY Tn 316.9), *Ḥpā*, dative of *Ḥpā*. At Knossos occurs the ethnic *e-ra-jo* (KN Fh 1059; V(3) 431.1), *Ḥpaῖος*, derived from the toponym *Ḥpā*; 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), *Ḥpā*, dative of *Ḥpā*, occurs immediately after *di-we* (PY Tn 316, 9), *Διφεῖ*, dative of *Ζεύς*. What is even 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 *Ḥpā* 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^ovyᾶ* ‘lioness’ : *λέ(φ)ων* ‘lion’). Mycenaean *δόελος* developed into > *δοῦλος*.

Instead of the theonym Δίφϣᾶ (with short -ᾶ) ‘spouse of Zeus’ one may also choose the patronymic form Δίφϣᾶ (with long -ᾶ) for the interpretation of *di-u-ja* (PY Tn 316, 6: dat.), ‘daughter of Zeus’. “*Hβη*, 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 ἀβρός.”

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, ἐνδία. 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 *ἥβη* ‘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 *ἥβη* ‘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 *Teššub*, (Hittite Hieroglyphic *^dHe-ba-tu*, Yaz. N^o. 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 *^fHepet-naia*, wr. *^fHé-be-et-na-a-a*, cf. for this element *Um-mi-^dhe-bi-it*, CT XXXIII 41:1, cited by Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 100, and *^fMe-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. *^fKelu-hepa*, *^fPutu-hepa*, *^fTatu-hepa*, *^fKeluš-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: *^dHé-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 *^dHé-bat-te/i* XXVII 1 ii 55, 38 iii 8 and *^dHé-bat-te-na* XXV 45.7, XXIX 8 ii 30, alongside the unassimilated forms [*^dHé*]-*bat-wi*_i 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 **Hṛā* with **Hṛōs*, 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 *tiriseroe*, si l’interprétation qu’on en donne est correcte, écarte cette analyse. Un rapport avec lat. *servāre* est malaisé. Un rapprochement avec **Hṛā* serait plausible. Peut-être racine **ser*-variante de **swer-* et **wer-*, cf. *servāre*. Ou emprunt.” Since the form **Hṛōs* / *ἥρωσ* (vocative *ἥρωσ*, so root in *-ōs-* / *-ōh-*) reminds of Pre-Greek *Μίνωσ* and *Τρώσ*, the term ‘Pre-Greek’ seems also appropriate for **Hṛōs* / *ἥρωσ*. The Greeks may have adopted these terms in their language, before they used the title **Hṛā* as translation of Minoan / Hurrian *Allani*. L.R. Palmer has suggested that the formula *πότνια *Hṛη* 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 **Hṛōs* as equivalent to **Hṛā* in the Greek pantheon.

**Hṛōs* 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. **Hṛōs*, **Hṛos*; 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 **Hṛā* and **Hṛōs* / *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 **Hṛōs* / *ἥρωσ* with Pre-Greek *Μίνωσ* and *Τρώσ* leads to the conclusion that **Hṛōs* / *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 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-ro₂-]* (KN E 842, 3). C.J. Ruijgh, *EGM*, § 237: “Si on admet la lecture possible *[pe-ro₂-ne]*, il serait tentant de lire *[a-]pe-ro₂-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 θεοίς* 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 form, 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 (local ?) 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 a bow. 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 same theonym in the dative form. 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 lydiennes: *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.* 1, 256, ce que confirme le mycénien. Quant à un rapprochement avec *ἄρτεμής*, 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 Ἄρτεμις 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 Babylonian *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 ^d*Hebat* and masculine if connected with ^d*Ewri*.

Unfortunately 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 *a* 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) Teššub’. 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-pu₂-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 Minoan **Ari-athānā* ‘Athana gives’ > **Ari-athnā* (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 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*, *ḫŠalhun-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 *ᶠAt-ta-i-ni-ir-ze* and *ᶠAt-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 *ᶠAttakku* (wr. *ᶠAt-ta-ak-ku*), but we may add the names from Chagar Bazar *ᶠAt-ta-i-ni-ir-ze* and *ᶠAt-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* 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 Μᾶτρει θεῖα* (‘pour la Mère des dieux’ ou ‘pour la Mère divine’) rappelle *Μήτηρ = Δημήτηρ* (cf. aussi *Πέα, Κυβέλη*) et, d’autre part, *Θεία*, nom d’une soeur de Rhéa d’après Hésiode.”

We have discussed the correlation between *Hebat* in her appearance of *Allani* ‘the Lady’ and the goddess *Hera* and between the theonym *Hebat* / *Hebet* and the goddess *Hèbè* who had to become ‘daughter of Zeus and Hera’ instead of ‘consort of Teššub / Zeus’, because her name was later associated by the Greeks with the Greek term *ἦβη* ‘youth, vigour, puberty’. Remarkably the “goddess” *Θεία* is mentioned by Hesiod in his *Theogony* as the sister of *Πέα*, 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 *Teššub*. *Teššub*’s place in the Mycenaean pantheon had been taken by the Indo-European Zeus. But Hurrian and Cretan *Teš(š)ub*, possibly Linear A *te-zu*, survived in personal names such as Linear B *te-se-u Θεσεύς*. The Hurrian onomastic element *-teja*, hypocoristic of *-teššub*, may have survived as the deity *Θεία* 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 *-a* in Greek are feminine, *Θεία* had to become a female deity and became sister of *Πέα* 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.