

Blažek, Václav

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Artemis and Her Family

Dedicated to the memory of Professor Antonín Bartoněk
(29. 10. 1926 – 30. 5. 2016)

Václav Blažek
(Masaryk University, Brno)

Abstract

The present contribution summarizes and analyzes the main etymological attempts to explain the theonym Ἀρτεμις. With regard to vacillation in the root vocalism, the Mycenaean records and the predominance of worship of this goddess in Asia Minor lend precedence to the hypothesis of non-Greek origin. Regarding epithets mediated by ancient authors, it seems that most were transferred from Artemis' brother Apollo. A new solution is based on her epithet *Tύχη* "Fortune", known especially from numismatic legends from various cities Peloponnese, Lesbos, and Asia Minor as well as Gerasa in North Jordan. The hypothetical compound *Artemi- would mean "giving omen" in Hurrian, where both components are attested and safely interpreted, and this type of personal name is very frequent. This could have been adopted into Greek in three ways: (i) from a hypothetical language of West Asia Minor related to Hurrian, (ii) from a hypothetical pre-Greek substratum related to Hurrian, or (iii) from Hurrian with Luwoid mediation. It is significant that the names of her brother Apollo and mother Leto are also etymologizable on the basis of Hurro-Urartian languages.

Keywords

theonym; epithet; compound; etymology; Mycenaean; Greek; Hurrian

The Greek theonym Artemis is well attested in both linear B and alphabetic sources, including specific dialect records:

Ἄρτεμις, gen. -ιδος, acc. -ιν (Il.), Delphes Ἄρτεμις, -ιτος, Argos dat. Ἄρταμι, Doric (Rhodes) Ἄρταμις, -ιτος, Boeotian Ἄρταμις, -ιδος, besides the Pamphylian personal name Ἄρταμίδωρος. The Mycenaean data, namely gen. *a-te-mi-to* [PY Es 6505] /*Artemitos/*, dat. *a-ti-mi-te* [PY Un 2195] /*Artimitei/* (Aura Jorro 1985: p. 115), confirm the old *t*-stem, but not the vowel *a* between *t* and *m*. It should be a result of *Volksetymologie* in Doric, perhaps caused by similar ἄρταμος "butcher, cook" (Schwyzer I: p. 256; Chantraine I: pp. 116–117). The corresponding theonyms in the Anatolian languages from the 1st mill. BCE confirm the Mycenaean vocalisation: Lydian *Artimus Ib̄simsis* Ἅρτεμις

Ἐφεσία, Carian *Artmi-*, Lycian *Ertemi-* (Gusmani 1964: pp. 63–65; Neumann 2007: p. 72; Oettinger 2015: p. 137).

The first etymological attempts were formulated already by ancient authors:

1.1. Plato [Cratylus 406b] sought a connection with ἀρτεμής “safe and sound” [ΙΙ.5.515: ζωόν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα]:

^{406a} δὲ πολύ, ὡσπερ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο, πασῶν ἐφαπτόμενον κεῖται τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεων, ἀπλοῦ, ἀεὶ βάλλοντος, ἀπολούντος, όμοπολοῦντος. τὰς δὲ ‘Μούσας’ τε καὶ ὄλως τὴν μουσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μᾶσθαι, ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ τῆς ζητήσεώς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπωνόμασεν. Λητὼ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πραότητος τῆς θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἔθελήμονα εἶναι ὅν ἂν τις δέηται. ἵσως δὲ ὡς οἱ ξένοι καλοῦσιν—πολλοὶ γὰρ ‘Ληθώ’ καλοῦσιν—ἔοικεν οὖν πρὸς τὸ μὴ τραχὺ τοῦ ἥθους ἀλλ’ ἡμερόν τε καὶ λεῖον ‘Ληθώ’.

^{406b} κεκλῆσθαι οὐπὸ τῶν τοῦτο καλούντων. ‘Ἄρτεμις’ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀρτεμές φαίνεται καὶ τὸ κόσμιον, διὰ τὴν τῆς παρθενίας ἐπιθυμίαν: ἵσως δὲ ἀρετῆς ἵστορα τὴν θεὸν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ καλέσας, τάχα δ’ ἀν καὶ ὡς τὸν ἄροτον μισησάσης τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐν γυναικί: ἢ διὰ τούτων τι ἢ διὰ πάντα ταῦτα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ὁ τιθέμενος ἔθετο τῇ θεῷ.

^{406a} “... Leto {is named} from her gentleness, because whatever is asked of her, she is willing. But perhaps her name is Letho, as she is called by many foreigners; and those who call her by that name seem to do so ^{406b} on account of the mild and gentle (*λεῖον*, *Ληθώ*) kindness of her character. Artemis appears to get her name from her healthy (*ἀρτεμές*) and well-ordered nature, and her love of virginity; or perhaps he who named her meant that she is learned in virtue (*ἀρετή*), or possibly, too, that she hates sexual intercourse (*ἄροτον μισεῖ*) of man and woman; or he who gave the goddess her name may have given it for any or all of these reasons.” (Transl. H. N. Fowler)

It is apparent that Plato offered other solutions as well, but they are already quite bizarre.

1.2. Van Windekkens (1986: pp. 19–20) tried to explain both ἀρτεμής “healthy” and Ἀρτεμίς from ἀτρεμής “unmoved, calm; stable, firm” via metathesis.

1.3. In recent time Peters (2002: pp. 371f., fn. 60) develops Plato’s idea trying to explain the theonym with help of ἀρτεμής “healthy”, if it also meant “intact”. This idea is based on the role of virgin (*Παρθένος*) ascribed to Artemis [Eur. *Hipp.* 17; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 110]. But the meaning “intact” of the word ἀρτεμής is not proven (Eichner, p.c.; cf. Obbink 2014: pp. 37, 40, who identifies this word appearing in a newly discovered papyrus called ‘Brothers poem’ and translates it traditionally as “safe and sound”) and the word itself is obscure (cf. Chantraine I, 117: *obscura per obscuriora* on etymology based on it). Oettinger (2015: p. 134, fn. 23) judges that the virginity of Artemis was only a later attribute added to her mythological curriculum to complete her role of ‘Lady of wild animals’. But with regard to Artemis’ role of a healer described in *Iliad* 5.445–448,

where Artemis (and her mother Leto) take care of injured Aineias,¹ the connection between ἀρτεμής “safe and sound, healthy” and Ἀρτεμις, is understandable.

2. Applying another ancient etymology, Liddell & Scott (1996: p. 248) concluded: Derivation uncertain, but more probably connected with ἄρταμος “butcher, cook” [X. Cyr. 2.2.4; Epicr. 6; IG 14.643], metaphorically “murderer” [S. Fr.1025; Lyc. 236, 797], than with ἀρτεμής. The word ἄρταμος is explained by them from *ἄρτι-τάμος “exactly cutting”, with respect to Eustathius, who in his comments to *Iliad* from the 12th cent. mentioned [577.40–46]: “Οτι ἐπὶ φίλω ἀνακομισθέντι ἔκ τινος κακοῦ εἴποις ἀν τὸ ὁ δεῖνα «έταροισι μεθίστατο, οὐδὲ ἐχάρησαν, ὡς εἶδον ζωόν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα καὶ μένος ἐσθλὸν ἔχοντα». Ἐστι δὲ τὸ μεθίστατο μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ συνίστατο, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὑπερφιάλοισι μετελθών ἀντὶ τοῦ συνελθών. Τὸ δὲ ἀρτεμέα ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑγιῆ, οἵνει ἀτεμέα τινὰ καὶ σῶον, ἢ ἄρτιον. ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρτεμις, φασίν, ἢ περιποιουμένη ὑγείαν, ὡς καὶ Απόλλων οὐλιος ὁ ποιῶν οὐλειν ἥτοι ὑγιαίνειν κατὰ τὸ «οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε». Ἀρταμος μέντοι ἐν δυσὶν ἄλφα ὁ εἰς ἀρτια τέμνων καὶ δαιτρεύων, ὃς ἐστι κρεουργός, μάγειρος, φονεύς, οὐδὲ ἡ χρῆσις καὶ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι.

But the semantic side of this etymological attempt is weak. According to her mythological curriculum Artemis had nothing in common with “butcher”, nor with “cook”. She is described as a “first-class archer”, but not “murderer”.²

3. Artemis’ skill in archery seems to be derived from her brother. Let us compare the epithets or attributes of Artemis and Apollo connected with archery:

1 ⁴⁴⁵Αἰνείαν δ' ἀπάτερθεν ὄμιλον θῆκεν Απόλλων ⁴⁴⁶Περγάμῳ εἰν ιερῇ, ὅθι οἱ νηός γε τέτυκτο. ⁴⁴⁷ἥτοι τὸν Λητώ τε καὶ Ἀρτεμις ιοχέαιρᾳ ⁴⁴⁸ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀδύτῳ ἀκέοντό τε κύδαινόν τε [*Iliad* 5.445–448]; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-grc1:5.416-5.459>.

“Aeneas then did Apollo set apart from the throng in sacred Pergamus where was his temple builded. There Leto and the archer Artemis healed him in the great sanctuary, and glorified him.” [Transl. A. T. Murray; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-eng1:5.416-5.459>].

2 Apollo with his sister Artemis are described as protectors of honour of their mother Leto in the passage of *Iliad*, where these twins are slaying by their arrows six sons and six daughters of Niobe respectively, when Niobe ridiculed their mother Leto for only two children: ⁶⁰³καὶ γάρ τ' ἡγκομος Νιόβῃ ἐμνήσατο σίτουν, τῇ περ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὅλοντο ⁶⁰⁴ἔξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἔξ δ' οὐέες ἥβωντες. ⁶⁰⁵τοὺς μὲν Απόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ' ἀργυρόειο βιοῖο 606χωρόνεος Νιόβῃ, τὰς δ' Ἀρτεμις ιοχέαιρᾳ, ⁶⁰⁷οὐνεκ' ἄρα Λητοῖ ιοάσκετο καλλιπαρήω: ⁶⁰⁸φῆ διοῶ τεκέειν, ἢ δ' αὐτὴ γείνατο πολλούς: ⁶⁰⁹τὰ δ' ἄρα καὶ διοῶ περ ἐόντ' ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσσαν. [*Iliad* 24.603–609; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-grc1:24.596-24.642>].

“For even the fair-haired Niobe bethought her of meat, albeit twelve children perished in her halls, six daughters and six lusty sons. The sons Apollo slew with shafts from his silver bow, being wroth against Niobe, and the daughters the archer Artemis, for that Niobe had matched her with fair-cheeked Leto, saying that the goddess had borne but twain, while herself was mother to many; wherefore they, for all they were but twain, destroyed them all.” [Transl. A. T. Murray; retrieved 18. 10. from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-eng1:24.596-24.642>].

Table 1. Epithets of Artemis connected with archery

epithet / attribut	literal meaning	source
ἀργυρέοιο ..τόξου	"of silver bow"	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Artemis</i> 119
ἐκάτη	"far-shooting"	Aeschyllus, <i>Supplices</i> 676
ἐκάτηβόλος	"far-shooting"	<i>Homeric hymn to Artemis</i> 6
ἐκηβόλος	"far-shooting"	Sophocles, <i>Fragmenta</i> 401
ἰοχέαιρα	"with arrows in the hand"	<i>Iliad</i> 5.53, 24.606; as subst. <i>Iliad</i> 21.480; <i>Odyssey</i> 11.198
τόξα	"archery"	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Artemis</i> 2
τοξοφόρος	"bow-bearing"	<i>Iliad</i> 21.483, Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i> 970; <i>IG</i> 7.53

Table 2. Epithets of Apollo connected with archery

epithet / attribut	meaning	source
ἀεὶ βιλῶν	"always striking"	Plato, <i>Cratylus</i> 405
ἀργύρειος βιός	"silver bow"	<i>Iliad</i> 1.49
ἀργυρότοξος	"that with a silver bow"	<i>Iliad</i> 1.37
ἀφήτωρ	"archer"	<i>Iliad</i> 9.404
ἐκάεργος	"far-working" = "-shooting"	<i>Iliad</i> 1.479
ἐκατηβελέτος	"far-shooting"	<i>Iliad</i> 1.75; Hesiod, <i>Shield of Heracles</i> 100
ἐκατηβόλος	"far-shooting"	<i>Iliad</i> 15.231
ἔκατος	"far-shooting"	<i>Iliad</i> 20.71
ἐκηβόλος	"far-shooting"	<i>Iliad</i> 23.872; Hesiod, <i>Theogonia</i> 94
εὐρυφάρετρος	"that with a broad quiver"	Pindarus, <i>Fragmenta</i> 115
ἰὰ πτερόεντα	"winged arrows"	<i>Iliad</i> 20.68
καλλίτοξος	"that with a beautiful bow"	Aristides, <i>Ars rhetorica</i> 56.1.14
καμπύλα τόξα	"curved bow"	<i>Homeric hymn to Apollo</i> 131
κῆλα θεοῖο	"divine arrows"	<i>Iliad</i> 1.53
κλυτοτόξος	"famous for the bow"	<i>Iliad</i> 4.101
κρατερός βιός	"strong bow"	<i>Homeric hymn to Apollo</i> 301
οἴστευτής	"archer"	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Apollo</i> 42
τοξευτός	"struck by an arrow"	Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i> 335
τοξοβέλεμνος	"arrow-shooting from his bow"	<i>Orphica Hymni</i> 34, 6
τόξον	"archery"	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Apollo</i> 42-46
τοξοφόρος	"bow-bearing" = "archer"	Pindarus, <i>Olympian Odes</i> 6.59
χρυσότοξος	"that with a golden bow"	Pindarus, <i>Olympian Odes</i> 14.10

Although these lists are not exhaustive, they are representative. From the quantitative point of view the share 7 : 22 between Artemis and Apollo need not mean anything, but 6 of 7 epithets devoted to Artemis are identical with the epithets characterizing Apollo and may have been transferred from him to his twin-sister. The only exception, *ἰοχέαιρα*, if derived from **ihuo-k^heharia* < **isuo-k^hesria* < *(H)*isuo-^gesr-iH₂*, meant "with arrow in the

hands” and corresponds to Vedic *iśu-hasta-* [RV 10.103.2] (Pisani 1947: p. 142; Heubeck 1956: pp. 275–279; Beekes 1969: p. 279). Traditionally the second member of the compound has been explained from the verb χέω “I pour”, leading to the rather strange meaning “arrow-pourer” (cf. Benveniste 1935: p. 27). All details of both etymologies are discussed by Peters (1980: pp. 223–228).

4. Similar conclusions may be formulated in the case of other characteristics:

4.1. “hunter”

Apollo	Artemis
Αγραῖος [Paus. 1.41.3]	Αγραία [Paus. Attic. frg. 13]
Αγρεύς [Aisch. Frg. 200]	Αγροτέρα [Paus. VII 26, 3]
Αγρευτής [Soph. O.C. 1091]	

4.2. “road-guardian”

Apollo	Artemis
Αγνιεύς [Eur. Phoen. 631]	Ἐνοδία [Hesych.]

4.3. “light”

Apollo	Artemis
Φοῖβος Απόλλων [Il. 1.43] & Απόλλων φοῖβος [Il. 20.68], Φοῖβος [Il. 1.443], lit. “bright, radiant, pure” φαεσφιβρότος “bringing light to mortals” [Epigr. Gr. 798] φᾶναιος “giving or bringing light” [Achae. apud Hesych.] Αἰγλήτης [Ap. Rh. 4.1716], from αἴγλη “light of the sun”	Φοίβη [Virg. G. 1.341] φαεσφορίη & φαεσφόρος “light-bringing” [Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Artemis</i> 11 & 204] φωτφόρος θεά “light-bringing goddess” [Eur. I.T. 21]

4.4. “healing”

Apollo	Artemis
ἀκέστωρ “healer” [Eur. Andr. 900] ιατρόμαντις “physician & seer” [Aesch. Supp. 263; Ar. Pl. 11] Πιαύν “physician” [A. Ag. 146; BCH 11.94]	Ἀρτεμις .. ἀκέοντο “Artemis .. healed” [Il. 5.448].

4.5. “prophecy”

Apollo	Artemis
μάντις “diviner, seer, prophet” of Apollo [A. Ag. 1202; Ch. 559; Eu. 169] χρησμωδός “prophesying, prophetic” [Epigr. Gr. 1023.2]	Τύχη “fortune, providence, fate” [Orphic hymn 72 to Tycē ³].

3 72. Τύχης, θυμίαμα λίβανον.

Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ’, ἀγαθὴν κράντειραν, ἐπ’ εὐχαῖς, | μειλιχίαν, ἐνοδῖτιν, ἐπ’ εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσιν, | Άρτεμιν ἡγεμόνην, μεγαλώνυμον, Εύβουλήος | αὔματος ἐκγεγάδωσαν, ἀπρόσμαχον εὖχος ἔχουσαν, | τυμβιδίαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀοιδψον ἀνθρώποισιν. | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ βίοτος θνητῶν παμποίκιλός ἐστιν. | οἵς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πλήθος πολύολβον, | οἵς δὲ κακήν πενίην θυμῷ χόλον ὄδημάνουσα. | ἀλλὰ, θεά, λίτομαί σε μολεῖν βίωι εὐμενέουσαν, | ὅλβοισι πλήθουσαν ἐπ’ εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσιν.

The identification of Artemis with Tyche appears e.g. in the legend from the red jasper gem *αγαθητυχη* → Αγαθή Τύχη accompanying the depiction of Artemis of Ephesus.⁴ The corresponding coin legend Ἀρτεμις Τύχη Γεράσων, i.e. Artemis Fortune of Gerasa, is known from the North Jordan city Gerasa, today Jerash (Lichtenberg 2008: pp. 142–144). Similar identifications occur in coin legends unearthed in some other cities, namely in Ephesus (Ionia); Acrasus (Lydia); Perge (Pamphylia); Mytilene (Lesbos), where in one inscription Ἀρτεμις Θεομία is introduced as Μεγάλη Τύχη Μυτιλήνης; Amyclae (Laconia); Messene (southwest Peloponnese) [Pausanias 4.31.10 mentioned the statues of Tyche and Artemis were situated besides themselves in Messene⁵] (see Wernicke 1895b: c. 1369). The oracles of Artemis were situated e.g. on the island Delos, one of the Cyclades archipelago, where the birthplace of the twins Artemis and Apollo was situated; further Didymaion near Miletus; Adrasteia in Propontis [Strabo XIII 587]; Pylai in Kilikia, where the oracle of Artemis Sarpedonia was located [Strabo XIV 5.19]; Seleukeia in Pamphylia [Strabo XIV 676]; at a later time also in the temple of Artemis Pergaia in Perge in Pamphylia [Strabo XIV 4. 2; cf. Callimachus, Hymn to Artemis 187] etc. (Wernicke 1895b: c. 1353; <http://www.theoi.com/Cult/ArtemisCult4.html>). There is at least an indirect witness documented by the epithet χρυστλάκατος “with golden spindle” [Il. 20.70; Soph. Tr. 637], that Artemis had something in common with Μοῖραι, spinning fates of all mortals. Another witness to this connection was mediated by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Artemis*,⁶ vv. 20–23.

72. Tyche (or Fortune) The Fumigation from Frankincense.

“Approach strong **Fortune**, with propitious mind | And rich abundance, to my prayer inclined: | Placid, and gentle Trivia, mighty named, | Imperial **Dian**, born of Pluto famed; | Mankind’s unconquered, endless praise is thine, | Sepulchral, widely-wandering power divine! | In thee, our various mortal life is found, | And some from thee in copious wealth abound; While others mourn thy hand averse to bless, | In all the bitterness of deep distress.

Be present, Goddess, to thy votery kind, | And give abundance with benignant mind.” [Transl. T. Taylor; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B5oS3sKmDYfwT0FpWkxVVXdhVIU/view>].

- 4 Amulet(?) gem: Artemis of Ephesus. In *The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database*. Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/cbd/2245>.
- 5 πλεῖστα δέ σφισι καὶ θέας μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἔξια τοῦ Ασκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ιερόν: χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παΐδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Απόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους: πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμηδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἀρτεμις Φωσφόρος. [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0525.tlg001.perseus-grc1:4.31.10>]. “The most numerous statues and the most worth seeing are to be found in the sanctuary of Asclepius. For besides statues of the god and his sons, and besides statues of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the city of Thebes is represented and Epaminondas the son of Cleommis, Fortune, and Artemis Bringer of Light.” [Transl. W. H. S. Jones & H. A. Ormerod; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0525.tlg001.perseus-eng1:4.31.10>].
- 6 ²⁰ούρεσιν οἰκήσω, πόλεσιν δ’ ἐπιψείσομαι ἀνδρῶν ²¹μοῦνον ὅτ’ ἔξείησιν ὑπ’ ὀδίνεσσι γυναῖκες ²²τειρόμεναι καλέουσι βοηθόν, ήσι με Μοῖραι ²³γενομένην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεκλήρωσαν ἀρήγειν [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0533.tlg017.perseus-grc1>]. “On the mountains will I dwell and the cities of men I will visit only when women vexed by the sharp pang of childbirth call me to their aid even in the hour when I was born the Fates ordained that I should be their helper...” [Transl. A. W. Mair; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://www.theoi.com/Text/CallimachusHymns1.html#3>].

5. The present six characteristics, archery, hunting, road-guardian, light, healing, prophecy, are more or less common to the twins Apollo and Artemis. They do not cover their mythological *curricula* exhaustively, but significantly. If some of them agreed with functional semantics of their names determined *via* etymological analysis, such a solution would be more probable than others. If the theonyms Artemis and Apollo are not etymologizable in Greek, it is necessary to seek their etymologies in other languages used in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd mill. BCE, which could represent a cultural impact on the Mycenaean world.

5.1. Taking in account the role of Artemis as Fortune, the theonym Ἀρτεμίς < *Artemit^o may be analyzed with help of Hurrian, the language with a cuneiform epigraphic tradition from the 2nd mill. BC. The Hurrian cuneiform inscriptions were unearthed in Eastern Anatolia, Northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Some of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions from Cyprus (e.g. from Enkomi) may also be written in Hurrian. The theonym is explainable as a compound of the Hurrian verb *ar-* “to give” and the noun *tem(m)i* “signe omieux” (Laroche 1980: pp. 52, 262), together perhaps “giving omen”. The root *ar-* forms frequently the first member of Hurrian personal names (cf. Nozadze 2007: pp. 79–85):

Ar-kanta, Ar-kapi & *Ar-kapinni, Ar-nanta, Ar-naphi, Ar-nawar, Ar-nupar, Ar-nupatal, Ar-nuzu* : ^{URU}Nuzue ‘city Nuzi’, *Ar-papa* : *paba* “mountain”, *Ar-puruša, Ar-siluni, Ar-šahalu, Ar-šali, Ar-šalipe, Ar-šanta* & *Ar-šatna, Ar-šarri* : *šarri* “king” < Akkadian, *Ar-šatuya, Ar-šawa, Ar-šawuška* : ^dŠawuška ‘goddess’, derived from *šau-* “weapon”, *Ar-šeħala* & *Ar-šeħli* : *šeħal-* “pure, clean”, *Ar-šelli, Ar-šenni* : *šeni* “brother”, *Ar-šikiya, Ar-šimika* : ^dŠimigi “sun(-god)”, *Ar-šulihe, Ar-tae, Ar-tahuma, Ar-tahupi, Ar-tamuzi, Ar-tarpašhe, Ar-tašenni* : *tašenni* “present”, *Ar-tatal, Ar-tatappi, Ar-teya, Ar-temtue* : *temmi* “omen”, *Ar-tešše, Ar-tešup* : *Tešub* “storm-god”, *Ar-timaluk, Ar-timuri, Ar-tiranna, Ar-tirwi, Ar-titi, Ar-tuki, Ar-tunni, Ar-tura, Ar-durubla, Ar-watiya, Ar-zarwa, Ar-zikari, Ar-ziluk, Ar-zizza*.

The Hurrian compound *Ar-tem(m)i* would mean “giving omen”. The fact that the Greek theonym Ἀρτεμίς, gen. -ιτος/-ιδος belongs to the dental stems should be explained already from the donor-language. It seems, it could be explained with the derivational suffix *-t/di-* formed abstract nouns in Hurrian, e.g. *kel=di* “health” vs. *kel-* “to be healthy”, or *eman=di* “Zehnerschaft” vs. *eman-* “ten” (Wegner 2007: p. 59). There is perhaps a parallel anthroponym *Ar-temtue*, where *-tu-* is a formative occurring in proper names and *-e* is the thematic vowel of nouns, identified e.g. in *tahe* “man”, *arde* “city”, *eše* “earth”, *tive* “word” (Nozadze 2007: pp. 109, 382–383; Wegner 2007: p. 52).

5.2. Taking in account the dominant characteristics of Apollo as an archer (see §3), a promising key to the etymology of the theonym Απόλλων, with regard to Cypriotic Απείλων, and Doric Απέλλων, reconstructible as *Απέλιων,⁷ could be identified in the Hurrian

7 In Mycenaean the theonym is not securely attested, only the incomplete form *]pe-rjo[* known from Knossus [KN E 842.3], may reflect the dat. [*a*]-*pe-rjo-[n̩]*, leading to the starting-point *Απελιών (cf. Ruijgh 1967: p. 274; Heubeck 1987: p. 180; Aura Jorro 1993: p. 113; Beekes 2010: p. 118). But there is also an alternative interpretation [*u*]-*pe-rjo-n̩* of Ventris & Chadwick (1973: p. 571), leading to the divine name Υπεροίων [Il. 19.398 etc.].

(see *CDA* 20) word for “arrow”, borrowed into Akkadian of Nuzi as *apellu* “kind of arrow” (*AHw.* 57) or “arrowhead” (*CAD I*, 169). Let us mention that the final *-u* is the Akkadian nominative. The original Hurrian form might probably have been ended in *-i*, if it was a derivative of a verbal root, cf. Hurrian *fur-i* “view” vs. *fur-* “to see”, *han-i* “child” vs. *han-* “to give birth”, *mad-i* “wisdom” vs. *mad-* “to be wise” (Wilhelm 2004: p. 102). Concerning the word-formation of a hypothetical source of the Greek theonym, it is possible to think about a parallel structure as in Hurrian *mād(i)=o=nni* “wise” vs. *madi* “wisdom”, *pīc=o=nni* “joyful” vs. *pico* “joy” (Wilhelm 2004: p. 106; Wegner 2007: p. 55). In this case the original Hurrian archetype could be reconstructed as **apell(i)=o=nni* ± “characterized by arrows”. In the process of adaptation into Greek the final *-i* could have been reinterpreted as the dative, cf. Απόλλοντι. In Hurrian perspective the question of a connection between proto-Greek **Apeljón*, the protector of (W)ilius, and ^d*Ap-pa-li-u-na-aš*, one of the deities of Wiluša mentioned in Hittite annals [*KUB XXI 1 iv 27*] (cf. García Trabazo 2007: pp. 52–53), may be interpreted in a way other than a Hittite adaptation of the Greek theonym – both theonyms could represent independent adaptations of a primary Hurrian theonym or an epithet of some Hurrian deity (details are discussed in Blažek 2015).

5.3. If the theonyms Artemis and Apollo are of Hurrian origin or represent adaptations from a language related to Hurrian, one would expect a similar origin for the name of their mother Λητώ, Doric Λᾶτώ, maybe also reflected in the Mycenaean place-name *ra-to* [KN D²] (Aura Jorro 1993: 226–227; Beekes 2010: 858–859). Her characteristics are summarized by Hesiod in his *Theogony*:⁸ “mild”, “kind” and “gentle”, and further “dark-gowned”. None of these attributes offer any solution to explaining her name.⁹ It seems, though, that a key may be found in her role of “wife” of Zeus (probably preceding Hera), expressed by the words ἄλοχος¹⁰ [*Il.* 21.499] or παράκοιτις¹¹ [*Od.* 11.580],

8 ⁴⁰⁴φοίβη δ' αὐδ Κοίου πολυήρατον ἥλθεν ἐς εύνήν: ⁴⁰⁵κυνσαμένη δὴ ἔπειτα θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότητι ⁴⁰⁶Λητώ κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, μείλιχον αἰεὶ, ⁴⁰⁷ηπιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, ⁴⁰⁸μείλιχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀγανάτωτον ἐντὸς Όλύμπου. [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0020.tlg001.perseus-grc1:404-452>].

“Again, Phoebe came to the desired embrace of Coeus. Then the goddess through the love of the god conceived and brought forth dark-gowned Leto, always mild, kind to men and to the deathless gods, mild from the beginning, gentlest in all Olympus.” (Transl. H. G. Evelyn-White; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0020.tlg001.perseus-eng1:404-452>).

9 Peters (2002: p. 371, fn. 40) seeks origin of the theonym in the noun **láH₂-to-* “Verborgenheit” (cf. Pokorny 1959: p. 651; LIV 401). Alternatively he thinks about a connection to λήμη “humour in the corner of the eye”. Besides semantic problems of his solutions, Oettinger (2015: p. 134, fn. 22) mentions the *to*-formations usually extend the zero-grade of the root.

10 ⁴⁹⁷Λητώ δὲ προσέειπε δάικτορος ἀργειφόντης: ⁴⁹⁸Λητοῖ ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μαχήσομαι: ἀργαλέον δὲ ⁴⁹⁹πληκτίζεσθ’ ἀλόχοισι Διὸς νεφεληγεόταο: ⁵⁰⁰ἀλλὰ μάλα πρόφρασσα μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν ⁵⁰¹εὔχεσθαι ἐμὲ νικῆσαι κρατερῆφι βίηφιν. [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-grc1:21.468-21.501>].

“But unto Leto spake the messenger Argeiphontes: ‘Leto, it is not I that will anywise fight with thee; a hard thing were it to bandy blows with the **wives** of Zeus, the cloud-gatherer; nay, with a right ready heart boast thou among the immortal gods that thou didst vanquish me with thy great might.’ [Transl. A. T. Murray; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-eng1:21.468-21.501>.]

besides *λεχώ*¹² “woman in child-bed” [Call. *Del.* 56]. In this perspective a hypothetical source of the theonym **Lātō* may be related to the predecessor of Urartian *lulu* “woman” (probably with the plural suffix *-tu*, which could cause the change **lad+tu* > *lulu*). Urartian *lulu* “woman” is probably related to Daghestanian counterparts such as Avar *λλάdi* “wife”, pl. *λλud-bí*, Agul *xir*, Chiragh *xade* “woman” etc. (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986: p. 27; NCED 764–765; Hüsing 1918: pp. 267–271; he added Lycian *lada* “uxor” – see discussion by Neumann 2007: pp. 180–183). It should not be surprising that the most probable etymology of the name of the usual first lady of the supreme god Zeus, namely *“HQā*, Cypriotic dat. *e-ra-i*, Mycenaean dat. *e-ra* [PY+TH]/*Hērāi*/, leads to the starting-point **sérā* “lady/woman”, cf. Latin *Iūnō Sorōria*, Avestan *hāirišī* “female” (Willi 2010).

6. Conclusion

Summing up, all members of the theonymic triad **Artemitō*, **Apeljōn*, and **Lātō*, are etymologizable on the basis of Hurro-Urartian languages. Three ways of borrowing are possible: (i) From a hypothetical language of West Asia Minor related to Hurrian. (ii) From a hypothetical pre-Greek substratum related to Hurrian. (iii) From Hurrian with mediation of some Luwoid language preserving the vowel *e*, which was eliminated from both the epigraphic variets, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Abbreviations: KN Knossus; KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*; PY Pylus; RV *Rgveda*; TH Thebae.

Note: The abbreviations of the Greek authors and their texts follow Liddell & Scott (1996).

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11 ⁵⁸⁰Δητὼ γὰρ ἔλιησε, Διὸς κυδοὴν παράκοιτιν, ⁵⁸¹Πινθώδ’ ἐρχομένην διὰ καλλιχόου Πανοπῆος. [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg002.perseus-grc1:11.567-11.600>].

“For he had offered violence to Leto, the glorious wife of Zeus, as she went toward Pytho through Panopeus with its lovely lawns.” [Transl. A. T. Murray; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg002.perseus-eng1:11.567-11.600>].

12 ⁵⁵οὐδ’ Ἡοῖν κοτέουσαν ὑπέτρεσας: ή μὲν ἀπάσαις ⁵⁶δεινὸν ἐπεβρωμάτῳ λεχωίσιν αἱ Διὶ παῖδας ⁵⁷ἔξεφερον, Λητοὶ δὲ διακριόν, οὔνεκα μούνη ⁵⁸Ζηνὶ τεκεῖν ἥμελλε φιλαίτερον Ἄρεος υῖα. ⁵⁹τῶ δὰ καὶ αὐτῇ μὲν σκοπήψην ἔχεν αἰθέρος εἴσω ⁶⁰σπερδομένη μέγα δή τι καὶ οὐ φατόν, εἰργε δὲ Λητῷ ⁶¹τειρομένην ὡδῖστ: [Retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0533.tlg018.perseus-grc1>].

“And thou didst not tremble before the anger of Hera, who murmured terribly against all **child-bearing women** that bare children to Zeus, but especially against Leto, for that she only was to bear to Zeus a son dearer even than Ares. Wherefore also she herself kept watch within the sky, angered in her heart greatly and beyond telling, and she prevented Leto who was holden in the pangs of childbirth.” [Transl. A. W. Mair; retrieved 18. 10. 2016 from <http://www.theoi.com/Text/CallimachusHymns2.html>].

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Prof. RNDr. Václav Blažek, CSc. / blazek@phil.muni.cz

Department of Linguistics & Baltic Studies
Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts
Arna Nováka 1, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic