

# THE ORIGIN OF THE KABEIROI

BY

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## ABSTRACT

It is argued that *Kadmilos*, one of the *Kabeiroi*, has a typical (non-IE) Anatolian name. And further that the name *Kabeiroi* itself is a variant of *Kabarn-oi*. New insight in Pre-Greek shows that this word is a typical Pre-Greek name, and that the original form is \**Kabar*(<sup>o</sup>)-. This shows that the old connection with Semitic (*kabīr*- 'great') must be definitely given up.

In recent years more and more attention is being paid to the influence of the Near East on ancient Greece. Obviously, each of the proposed instances must be evaluated for its individual merits. The two probably oldest instances where Semitic (Phoenician) influence was suggested, the *Kabeiroi* and *Kadmos*, ought to be abandoned. In this paper I will discuss the *Kabeiroi*, the other complex I hope to discuss elsewhere. I shall begin with (the name) *Kadmilos*, as it is relevant for both words.

### 1. *Kadmilos*

*Kadmilos* is a god connected with the *Kabeiroi*, but, as so often in this field, our understanding is rather limited. There was a connection between the *Kabeiroi* and a goddess, the Great Mother, and with two gods (Hemberg 1950: 274), an older and a younger one; *Kadmilos* is the latter. He is equated with *Hermes* by *Dionysodoros*, an equation ascribed to the Etruscans (Hemberg 87 n. 1, 95 f., 165 f.). The young god is also presented as the servant of the other gods (Hemberg 95 f.). *Akousilaos* called him the son of *Hephaistos* and *Kabeiro*, and father of the *Kabeiroi* (Hemberg 165 f.).

A survey of forms and references is given by Hemberg (: 316 f.). We here discuss the form of the name only.

The name occurs in several variants. We find instead of *-dm-* also *-sm-* and single *-m-*; we find single and double *-l-*; the word is differently accentuated. The forms can be presented as follows:

1	2	3	4
a. Καδμίλος	Κάσμιλος	Κάμιλλος	<i>ca(s)millus/a</i>
b. Κάδμιλος			
c. Καδμίλος			

- 1a. is the most frequent form. 1b. once (St. Byz.). 1c. once (Eustat.).  
 2. occurs twice.  
 3. Akousilaos *FGH* 2 F 20. The form is also given by Plutarch (*Numa* 7c), which is the Latin form. The form κάμιλοι in D.H. 2.22.2 is a transcription, in Greek characters, of Lat. *camilli*; he ascribes to the Etruscans the form κάδμιλοι (a well established emendation for κάδωλοι), but this may just be the normal Greek form.  
 4. The Latin forms have *-s-* only in Varro (*L.* 8.3.34) and Vergil; they may be due to antique scholarship, not to the tradition.

Perhaps 1b. and 1c. are unreliable, as they occur only once. The Latin form was taken over from Etruscan; see Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet s.v. So it seems that the oldest forms are: 1. Καδμίλος, 2. Κάσμιλος, 3. Κάμιλλος. Note that the accents of 2. and 3. agree; we do not know whether the *-i-* was long or short in 2. (As the Etruscans will have brought the form with *-ill-*, this may be very old. Unless *-il-* became *-ill-*; the history of this problem is still unsolved; Sommer-Pfister (1977: 156). The variation *-ill-/-il-* may point to a Pre-Greek *-il<sup>h</sup>-* (as in Achil(l)eus); see section 2. on Pre-Greek.)

Kretschmer already compared the name with Hitt. *Mursilis*, and identified the suffix *-il-* in both words (1927-8: 75 ff.).<sup>1)</sup> This seems correct to me, and it proves that the word originated in Asia Minor. (Speculations about the accent are therefore probably irrelevant.) Μυρτίλος is probably another form of this name. (It is also the name of the son of Kadmilos; Hemberg 316).<sup>2)</sup> Neumann recently analysed Τρωίλος in the same way (1999: 17). Kammenhuber (1969: 460 ff.) thinks that the suffix *-il-* is of Hattic origin.

It is difficult to evaluate the variant forms. One may think that *-δμ-/-σμ-/-μ-* is typical of the interchanges found in the Pre-

1) Kretschmer thought that Hitt. *Mursilis* had a long *-i-* (which would agree with that of Καδμίλος), but that is not correct.

2) Pape-Benseler mentions a Μυρτίλος κόλπος in Crete (*An. st. mar. magn.* 338). Note that it has a long *-i-*.

Greek/Anatolian substratum-language. Other examples are given by Furnée (1972: 248 ff.) (some of them are doubtful). I reconstructed a phoneme *c* (= *t'*) to explain this interchange (Beekes, 2003), on which see below. However, a development *dm* > *sm* is also supposed in inherited Greek words. See Schwyzler (: 208), whose discussion leaves the matter quite unclear (one of his examples is Κάδμος/Κάσσομος). As part of the material is analogical (after forms where a dental followed, cf. ἴσμεν after ἴστε), one might think that Κάσσομος was analogical after e.g. κεκαδμένος : κεκασμένος, but I doubt such an explanation.

It is generally accepted that Kadmilos is 'he, i.e. the son of Kadmos'. In the case of the god Kadmilos there is, however, no further indication for a connection with (a) Kadmos. (Kadmos and Harmonia would have been initiated in the mysteries of the Samothracian Gods, and they are said to have married on Samothrake; yet many scholars think that these events were placed there secondarily, exactly because of the name Kadmilos.)

It has been suggested that 'Kadmilos' continues the name of the Hattic god *Hasammil*, in Hittite known as *Has(s)amili/a-*. This is a house-god. Haas (1994: 259 with n. 60 f.) mentions that *Hasammil* protects children, which is reminiscent of the fact that the Kabeiroi are thought of as children. In n. 61 Haas mentions that people put statues of him in front of the window, which is reminiscent of the puppets made of Kabeiroi-like entities, and of the German *Kobolde*, of which the older meaning, in Middle High German, was "aus Holz geschnittene oder aus Wachs gebildete Figur" (Hemberg 327). So this god fits quite well with the Kabeiroi. As to the name, we know that Hitt. *ḫ* was often rendered with *k* (e.g. *Hilakku*—Κιλικία). As to the *d/s*, it shows that the *s* is very old. Yet, as the *d* cannot come from an *s*, we must probably assume an affricate (*t'*) for the original form (see above). For Pre-Greek the existence of such a sound must be assumed (Beekes 2003; see below).

We saw that the suffix *-il-* was of Anatolian origin. One wonders, then, whether there is also a Hattic form of Kadmos. There is a name *Hasammiu*; Popko (1995: 72) speaks of "*Hasammiu*, also called *Hasam(m)ilal/i-*".<sup>3)</sup>

3) I would consider the possibility that *Hassamiu* was in Pre-Greek *\*Hacm<sup>3</sup>-u*

Though not everything can as yet be solved with certainty, it is clear that the name Kadmilos is of Anatolian origin.

## 2. *Kabeiroi*

This group of gods belongs to the Μεγάλοι Θεοί, the Great Gods. For this reason Scaliger already proposed that the name derived from Semitic *k(a)bār* ‘great’. While in DNP, F. Graf calls this (and the connection with the Phrygian mountain Kabeiron) doubtful (but no more), in the *OCD*, A. Schachter states: “The name is of Semitic origin.” Frisk and Chantraine, in their etymological dictionaries, call the word uncertain, but the latter adds that it is probably a word from Asia Minor. West (1977: 58) calls the Semitic origin “hard to resist”.<sup>4)</sup>

In the most comprehensive treatment of the Kabeiroi (in Hemberg 318-25) all etymologies proposed are given.

1. One is the Semitic theory, which I discuss below.
2. The second claims that it comes from Anatolian, which I will also discuss below.
3. is Wackernagel’s (1907) suggestion that the name is cognate with Skt. *Kūbera-*. This would stand for *\*Kabera-*, but his argument does not hold, and a transition  $a > u$  is not acceptable either; see Mayrhofer (1986, 1: 366 s.v.). *\*Kūbera-* can hardly be Indo-European (which has no *a*), though  $h_2e$  is theoretically possible; *b* is rare in IE. Kretschmer still suggested that the word originated in Asia Minor but reached Sanskrit from there. Though one might point to a possible parallel like πέλεκυς ‘axe’—*paraśú-* ‘id.’, this construction remains highly hypothetical and can now be safely abandoned.
4. is the idea that the word is of Phrygian origin, but no actual etymology is proposed.

(noting *c* for the affricate), with palatal *m<sup>y</sup>* and ending *-u*; this form could have been rendered in Greek as Κάδ/σμη-ος, with ignoring of the palatal feature of the *m*, and the Greek ending *-os*.

4) West’s (1997: 58) connection of κο(ι)ης ‘priest’ with Hebrew *kōhēn* etc. is incorrect. It is a Lydian word of Indo-European origin; Gusmani (1964: s.v.).

5. derived the word from *Habiru*, the name of a semi-nomadic people in Amurru, north of Byblos. As it is not the name of (a group of) gods, it is no real candidate.
6. is a number of Greek etymologies, which are not worth discussing (καίω, κνέω); Hemberg nr. 5.
7. is on a possible (Caucasian) Iberian origin. It mentions Georg. *γμεrt<sup>h</sup>i* ‘god’; the resemblance is not striking; Hemberg nr. 9.
8. Hemberg’s nr. 4 is entirely phantastic.

Thus only the Semitic (1.) and the Anatolian theories (2.) remain. To my mind, the choice is not difficult, but Hemberg does not pronounce himself.

The Semitic theory holds that the word comes from Semitic *k(a)bīr* ‘great’. This would agree nicely with the term Μεγάλοι θεοί. Here the question of εἰ/ι in the (Greek) form of the name is relevant. This question has never been treated correctly, as far as I see. Hemberg (: 318) suggests that both notations are ancient. But already LSJ s.v. noted that ι is Boeotian or recent, so that εἰ is the ancient form. (The material adduced by Hemberg does not change the situation.) This means for our theory that Sem. *ī* would have been represented by εἰ, which is most improbable. So there is a serious formal obstacle.<sup>5</sup>) Aspects of a more general nature will be discussed when we compare the two views.

The theory that the word originated in Asia Minor got its classical form by Kretschmer (1927/8). A number of words has been proposed as etymologically related. These suggestions are corroborated by my analysis of Pre-Greek (Beekes 2003). I summarize the points that are relevant here: Pre-Greek had a phonemic system totally different from that of Greek. That is why Greek has difficulties in rendering words from this language, which led to numerous variations. There were only three vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*. This implies that each of them had a wide range of phonetic realizations, e.g. /a/ could sound as [a], [e] or [o], the pronunciation was influenced by the surrounding sounds. The consonants were plain, palatal (*k<sup>y</sup>*, *p<sup>y</sup>*, *n<sup>y</sup>*, *r<sup>y</sup>*, etc.) or labialized (*k<sup>w</sup>*, *n<sup>w</sup>*, *r<sup>w</sup>*, etc.). These features, unknown

5) The case is different for μάγ(ε)ιρος and Κάμ(ε)ιρος, where the long *i* is old and *ai* a later Attic development (Wackernagel 1909, 326 f.).

in Greek phonemes, were sometimes rendered in some way, but sometimes simply ignored. The structure of words was mostly CVC-VC-. As is known, Pre-Greek was identical with the substratum language of western Asia Minor, as appears from the geographical names; the language probably came from Anatolia to Greece.

Now we consider the following data. We know that priests of Demeter on Paros were called Κάβαρνοι. The island of Paros was called Καβαρνίς. It has been supposed that this name is based on a variant form of Kabeiroi (*\*Kabar*). Hemberg (: 172) assumes that the priests were called after their god; cf. p. 120 on Saboi, Bakchoi, Kybeloi. Demeter did indeed take the place of the Great Mother. We have coins with Demeter on one side, the Kabeiroi on the other (Hemberg 288). We know a Demeter Kabeir(a)ia in Thebes (Hemberg 165, 188, 192, 279). Frisk and Chantraine do not mention the name in connection with Kabeiroi. Chantraine s.v. remarks that *-m-* is typical of the Greek substratum.

If Kabeiroi is Pre-Greek, we rather expect *\*Kab-air-oi*, with *a* in the suffix (as the language had no /e/; we find often variation αι/ει). Further the suffix *-air-* probably continues *-ar<sup>y</sup>-*. This type of representation has many parallels. A good example is κύπειρον/ς, the plant 'galingale', which has variants κύπερος, κύπαιρος and in Mycenaean *kuparo* /*kuparos*/ and *kuparo<sub>2</sub>* /*kuparyos*/. So in *\*kup-ar<sup>y</sup>-* the /a/ was coloured to [e] by the palatal consonant or not, and the palatal feature of this consonant caused a diphthong or not (possibly through an intermediate *\*kuparyo-*).<sup>6</sup> This strongly confirms the comparison with the form Κάβαρν-. A suffix *-n-* could be added to a root or stem without preceding vowel (as opposed to most other consonants; see Beekes (2003) on the suffixes). In *\*Kab-ar<sup>y</sup>-n-* the palatal element was lost (note that Greek did not have sequences like *-airn-*.) Thus we are able to understand the relation between *Kabeir-oi* and *Kabar-noi*. A good parallel is provided by σάβειρος = κόραξ (also 'tub-fish'). H. beside σαπάρδης 'the fish κορακίνος' (Lat. *saperda*); Furnée (1972: 153); the interchange voiced/voiceless is very frequent in Pre-Greek words (that σαπέρδης has *e*, not *a*, is unprob-

6) Prof. Ruijgh wrote me that he had arrived at the same interpretation; in fact I owe the example of κύπειρος to him.

lematic as there was no phonemic opposition between the vowels in Pre-Greek). The analysis *Kab-ar<sup>9</sup>-*, of course, excludes provenance from Semitic *kabīr*.<sup>7)</sup>

The name of the mother or sister called *Καβειρώ* also shows a formant of the substratum language (cf. names like *Λατώ*, *Ἐνυώ*, etc.).

I now return to the other words compared with Kabeiroi.

*κάβειροι*. First we may mention the gloss *Κάβειροι· καρκίνοι* H. ('crab; pair of pincers'). It has been taken to point to the activity of the Kabeiroi as smiths (Hemberg 168); there is a demon *Karkinos* in Ar. *Nub.* 1260 f.<sup>8)</sup>

*κάβειρος*. The gloss *καβειρος· νέος*, *Πάφιοι* H. has been corrected into *καβειρος*, which is quite possible but uncertain. It would refer to the fact that the Kabeiroi are often children.

*κόβειρος*. The best comparison is *κόβειρος*, which we know from a gloss in Hesychius. He glosses it as: *γελοιαστής, σκόπτης* ('jester, scoffer'), *λοιδοριστής (λοιδορίζω 'abuse, revile')*. Hesychius also has *κόβειρα· γελοία* (neuter pl. adjective). The two words, though not known from elsewhere, imply (especially the neuter plural of the adjective) that this was a Greek word (perhaps it was dialectal or archaic, or it belonged to a lower language stratum, not represented in our texts). The word, which is clearly non-Indo-European, will have been taken from the substratum language. For the meaning Hemberg refers (: 326) to the grotesque pictures of the Kabeiroi

7) It may be pointed out that the structure of *Kab-ar-n-os* is exactly parallel to that of the Hittite word *labamas* 'king'. The etymology of this word is unknown; it may therefore well be non-Indo-European, i.e. taken from a non-Indo-European Anatolian substratum language. Carruba objected to Hattic origin (Tischler, 1983-s.v.), so that we must look for another substratum language. At the present state of our knowledge it cannot be considered impossible that Pre-Greek, the Anatolian substratum language of Greek, once reached as far as the later Hittite territory. It has been observed already by Kronasser (1966: 134) that the *-m*-suffix (cf. Gr. *κυβερνάω*), which is also found in Etruscan, is found in Cappadocian names (from the area where the Hittite kingdom arose); also a stem *labar-* has been demonstrated in Cappadocian (see Tischler s.v.); for other possible connections with Cappadocian, see Beekes (2003: Add. 3) (= 2002: 441 Corr. Note 2). I would analyse the name as *lab-ar-n-(a-)*. The word may contain the verbal stem (from this language) seen in *tapariya-* 'rule'. (The interchange *l/d*, if real (Tischler *l.c.* is unclear on this point), is unproblematic for this language, cf. *δάφνη / λάφνη* etc. (cf. Furnée 1972: 387).

8) Cf. further Hemberg (: 168 n. 5) on *Καρκινάρ*, *Καρκώ* and *κάβουρος* 'crab'.

from Thebes. As to the form, we saw that an /a/ can be rendered as [o], which is especially understandable before the labial *b*. Cf. ἀστακός / ὄστακός, (ἄ)στροπή / (ἄ)στραπή, καλύβη / κόλυβος, καλαῦροψ / κολλόροβον; more instances in Furnée (1972: 341-5). This insight is most important here. First it implies that κόβειρος is *the same word as* Κάβειρος, which was not understood up to now. Second, the Greeks were probably not aware of this identity (there is no variant \*Κόβειροι); this means that κόβειρος cannot have been derived from the name Κάβειροι but was a normal word of the language. This means that we may have here the meaning of Κάβειροι, and that the word was Pre-Greek = Pre-(Old-)Anatolian.

κόβαλος (with long  $\bar{\alpha}$ ). The name Kabeiroi has further been compared with κόβαλος ‘impudent knave, mischievous goblin’, which would fit “die neckische Kabiren von Theben”. However, the derivative κοβαλεύω (first in a papyrus from the 1st c. AD) means ‘to carry as a porter’, which is taken to point to an original meaning ‘porter’ (Frisk, Chantraine). But this meaning appears very late.

-κάβδαλος. Furnée (1972: 343) supposes a \*καβαλος in (αὐτο-)κάβδαλος ‘buffoons, improvisers’. Furnée found more instances of ‘intrusive’ dental. I rather think that it represents a *p*, which could become πτ, βδ. But we cannot be certain that this interpretation is correct.

κόαλοι. Further we find κόαλοι· βάρβαροι H, which has (as \*κοφαλοι) been connected assuming a variation β/μ (for which see Furnée, 1972: 242-7). The meaning does not fit very well, however.

κάυδαλος. Then καύδαλος· μωρολόγος (‘speaking foolishly’) has been compared. The meaning fits better with that of the other κό/αβ/φαλ- words.

κόαλεμος. Then there is κοάλεμος (with  $\bar{\alpha}$ ) ‘stupid fellow’. Chantraine (s.v. κόβαλος) comments “plus que vague”; a connection between ‘stupid’ and ‘villain’ seems possible, however.

κόβαξ. On the other hand, the meaning ‘knave’ (πανούργος) is confirmed by κάβαξ· πανούργος (Phot., EM, Suda). This is καβ-ακ-, with a typical Pre-Greek suffix.

κόβακτρα. There is a gloss κόβακτρα· κολακείματα, πανουργήματα (H., Phot.). This is κοβ-ακ-τρ-. It seems another form of the preceding word stem, κα/οβ-ακ-.



Kretschmer adds forms with  $\upsilon$  instead of the first  $\alpha$ ; this does not convince me: variation between  $\alpha$  and  $\upsilon$  is rare.

*Kapheira*. Then there is the name *Kapheira*, mentioned because the infant Poseidon was entrusted to the Telchines and Kapheira (D.S. 5.55.1). It has been supposed that this name contains a variant of Kabeir-oi. It would point to a variation typical of the Greek substratum (which does not distinguish between voiceless : voiced : aspirated). For the idea, compare the child Zeus being cared for by the Kouretes, who are of the same kind as the Kabeiroi and the Telchines.

*Kabeira*. There are place names in Asia Minor with Kabeir-, thus Kabeira in Pontus (later Diospolis; Hemberg 153 ff.). *Kabeiraia* is mentioned by St. Byz., in southern Asia Minor; it is further unknown.

*Kabiris*. A personal name  $\text{Κάβιρις}$  was found in an inscription in Isauria from 200 AD. Callander (1927: 237 ff. n. 1) notes: "*Kabeiros* is a really important addition to our knowledge of east Anatolian nomenclature, and proves that this name must be treated as originally Anatolian."—The name  $\text{Καβαλίς}$  (mentioned by Kretschmer, 1927/8), a country south-east of Lydia, does not seem relevant to me; it is now clear that it continues the Hittite land *Hapalla*.

We are told that the Kabeiroi have their name from the Berekynthian mountain Kabeiros. Unhappily, this mountain is further unknown. Berekynthia probably refers to Phrygia, but we don't know where exactly. (The name also occurs on Crete near Kydonia.) Or they would have their name from Phrygian mountains called Kabeiroi. These are also otherwise unknown; Phrygia, of course, covers a large territory. References in Hemberg (: 126). References to mountains generally point to the place of origin, as the names of mountains do not shift easily, and thus they may confirm an origin in Asia Minor.

When we survey the proposed cognates of the name/word Kabeiroi there are several words that seem promising; in several cases a connection is plausible, that with  $\text{κόβειρος}$  can be considered very probable. We have seen that better insight in Pre-Greek = (pre-IE) Anat. makes the proposed connections more plausible. The most important result is, that words of this shape may very well be in origin Anatolian.

### 3. *Conclusion*

The Semitic theory. There are several arguments against the proposed Semitic origin.

1. We have seen that a Greek rendering of the long *i* by  $\epsilon\iota$  is a serious objection.
2. Herodotus (2.51-2), while he mentions comparable cults with the Phoenicians and the Egyptians, says explicitly that the cult of the Kabeiroi is of Pelasgian origin (when used of north-west Asia Minor this term means Tyrsenoi; Beekes, 2002).
3. The term ‘great gods’ does not indicate a specific group of gods in the Semitic world; i.e. it is not used as a name, but the adjective has just the normal designation ‘great, important’. It is used in such general statements as “Baal is great” (Burkert, 1992: 153 n. 3).
4. The expression ‘Great Gods’ in Greek is not the oldest; earlier they were called *Anakes* (‘Lords’); Hemberg 29. An objection which one tries to counter (Hemberg 136 f.) by the remark that *k(a)bīr* can have that connotation. But this does not change the fact that the immediate evidence of the comparison disappears.
5. West (1997: 58) states that the Semitic hypothesis is strongly supported by the connection between Kabeiroi and Kadmilos or Kadmos, who would originate from the East. We have seen that, on the contrary, it is clear that these names originated in Asia Minor.
6. In the cult of the Kabeiroi “nothing else points to Semitic connections” (Burkert 1985: 457 n. 23).
7. All connections point to Asia Minor (Hemberg 302 *et passim*). Strabo (10.473) says that the Kabeiroi were most venerated in Lemnos and Imbros, and in the cities of the Troas.
8. Date. We know that the Tyrsenoi took the cult of the Kabeiroi with them to Italy. We have the statements of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.23.5 and 2.22.2), who quotes Myrsilos of Methymna/Lesbos. We have the story that (the) two Kabeiroi brought the *cista* (with the phallos of Dionysos) to Etruria (Pfiffig 1975: 293; cf. also 240). This is confirmed by the fact that Latin has the word *camillus* ‘boy (of noble birth) assisting in religious rituals’. (For the Etruscan origin of the word it is sufficient to

read the treatment in Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet.)<sup>9</sup> We now know (recently Beekes 2002) that the Tyrsenoi went to Italy at (or shortly after) 1200. This means that the cult of the Kabeiroi goes back at least to 1200 BC. It is told that Dardanos instituted the worship of these gods in the mysteries of Samothrake (D.H. 1.68) before the founding of Troy. Of course, this is not history, but it shows that the Greeks considered the cult as very ancient. (Cf. the fact that Kabeiros is called the first man; Hemberg 204 n. 1.) This makes it impossible that the Semitic name would have been introduced by the Phoenicians, who appeared only after ca. 900 (unless one wants to resort to the most improbable idea that the Phoenicians, when they arrived and found the established cult of the Kabeiroi, introduced (only) the word *k(a)bīr*).

9. Lastly, we saw that the analysis of the word Kabeiroi as Pre-Greek *\*Kab-ar<sup>y</sup>-* makes its connection with Semitic *kabīr* impossible.

Thus the Semitic theory is untenable and can definitely be buried.

On the other hand, there are several arguments for an origin in Asia Minor of the (name) Kabeiroi.

1. We mentioned above that Strabo located the cult of these gods in Lemnos, Imbros and the Troad (which is strongly confirmed by the fact that the Etruscans knew the cult—and brought it with them to Italy, for this is exactly their territory of origin).
2. We saw that *Kabeirō* was a typical substratum formation.
3. The name will etymologically be connected with *κόβειρος*. The name must be analysed as *\*Kab-ar<sup>y</sup>-*, which is a typical Pre-Greek and Anat. structure. The same is true of *Κάβηροι*.
4. The fact that they are said to have their name from mountains called *Kabeiro-* may point to their origin in Asia Minor.
5. Several facts point to a connection with religious conceptions in Asia Minor, notably the connection with the Great Mother with her (one or two) parhedroi (Hemberg 274).
6. We saw that Kadmilos, who was a central figure in the concept

<sup>9</sup> Note that no Etruscan variant of *Kabeiro-/Kabarn-* is known. One would expect *\*Capar(n)-*.

of the Kabeiroi, had a name formed with a suffix typical for Asia Minor.

7. Groups of comparable ‘gods’, like the *Telchīnes* and the *Kerkōpes*, also have names that are clearly pre-Greek. (Others, like the *Daktuloi*, have clearly Greek names—though the word may be of Pre-Greek origin.)

The conclusion is that Semitic origin of the name is impossible, and that origin in Asia Minor can be considered as certain.—In its turn, the reconstruction confirms the interpretation of Pre-Greek.

As to the date, it seems probable that the concept was fully developed (cf. *Κάβειρος*—*κόβειρος*—*Κάβαρνοι*) in Pre-Greek times. It may have been brought to Greece when the speakers of this language came from Asia Minor to Greece. In any case, we must think of the time before the arrival of the speakers of Greek, i.e. the third millennium at the latest.

Add. For the sake of curiosity I may mention an occurrence of the personal name *Kabiros* in a Gallo-Greek inscription to which R. Derksen drew my attention. It was found in southern France, on a stela in Cavaillon (Vaucluse); these inscriptions date from the third to first centuries BC. The text has (G-118): *καβιρος ουινδι-ακος* ‘*Kabiros* son of *Vindios*’. Of course, the name must have been brought there by the Greeks of Massilia. (See, e.g., Lambert, 1994: 82.)

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