

-Chapter Two

Indo-European conceptions of wild animals, and names for them

2.1. Animals of the Middle World

-2.1.1. Wolf

2.1.1.1. The earliest Indo-European words for 'wolf'

The semantic unit 'wolf' is represented by several lexemes in Indo-European. One of the earliest ones, showing variations correlated with different chronological levels of Indo-European, is *w₁lkho-: Skt. *vṛkaḥ*, Avest. *vahrka-*, Gk. *lúkos*, OCS *vlíkŭ*, Lith. *vilkas*, Alb. *ulk*. A feminine stem meaning 'she-wolf' arises independently in some dialects: Skt. *vṛkīḥ*, Russ. *volč-i-ca*, OIcel. *ylgr*; Lith. *vilké*; Gk. *lúkaina* (Meillet 1937 [1938:395]). There is also a phonetic variant in *-ph-, *w₁lph-, in individual dialects: Hitt. *ulippana-*, Goth. *wulfs*, Lat. *lupus*; also Arm. *gayl*, with regular absence of final *-ph.¹

Parallel to this root, another Indo-European base meaning 'wolf' can be reconstructed, *weit'-(n)-: Hitt. *wetna-*, OIcel. *vitnir*, Slovene *vedanec*, *vedomec*, *vedavec*, Ukr. *viščun* 'werewolf', OCz. *védi* 'she-werewolves' (Jakobson 1966a:346-50).

The fact that there are several words for 'wolf' of Common Indo-European date shows that the wolf was widespread throughout the Indo-European territory. It also indicates its cultic and ritual significance, which is clearly attested in the oldest Indo-European traditions.

2.1.1.2. The ritual role of wolves in ancient Indo-European traditions

In Old Hittite tradition the wolf plays a special role, functioning as the embodiment of sacral qualities. In particular, wolves and wolf packs serve as an

1. *w₁lkho- and *w₁lph- ultimately break down into a root *wel- with the original meaning 'lacerate, tear apart; wound; kill' and suffixes *-k^{ho-} and *-ph-, which yield the two Indo-European dialectal variants. For the original meaning of *wel- cf. Lat. *uellō* 'tear, tear apart', *uolnus* 'wound', Gk. *oulē* 'wound', OIr. *fuil* 'blood', Mlr. *fuili* 'bloody wounds', Goth. *wilwan* 'plunder', *wulwa* 'robbery, brigandage', OIcel. *valr* 'corpses on battlefield', Toch. A *wāl-* 'die', Luw. *u(wa)lanti-* 'dead', Hier. Luw. *wal(a)-* 'die' (Hawkins 1980). Consequently, the original Indo-European meaning of 'wolf' was 'animal which tears apart (its prey)', 'killer beast'. For other derivatives of *wel- with the same meaning 'beast of prey', see below.

image of unity and omniscience. Thus King Hattusilis I (who reigned in the seventeenth century B.C.), addressing his council, urges his warrior subjects to unite 'like a wolf pack': *ú-e-it-na-aš ma-a-an pa-an-gur*. Dressing in wolf skins (cf. Hitt. LÚMEŠ UR.BAR.RA 'wolf people', i.e. people dressed in wolf skins, KBo XVI 68 I 13; 78 IV 9 et al.) conveys magical power, evidently conferring omniscience on the wearer, and may have been symbolic of a special juridical status. The formula for people turning into wolves, attested in *zik-wa UR.BAR.RA-aš kištat* 'you have turned into a wolf' of the Hittite Laws (§37), resembles Skt. *vṛko hí śáh* 'he is a wolf', referring to a special juridical status in the wedding ritual of kidnapping the bride (Watkins 1970a).²

Parallels to these Hittite formulas and rituals can be found in a number of other early Indo-European traditions, which testifies to their Proto-Indo-European character and reconstructibility. In ancient Greek tradition, a person 'becomes a wolf' (*lúkōi genésthai*, Plato: *Republic*) in connection with a special ritual form of killing. This corresponds exactly to a Germanic formula: in an Old Icelandic peacemaking oath a murderer 'shall be called a wolf' (*skal svá víða vargr heita*): Ivanov 1975.

There is a striking parallel to the Old Hittite ritual of putting on wolf skins, and to dances of 'wolf people' (LÚMEŠ UR.BAR.RA), i.e. those dressed in wolf skins, in an ancient Germanic tradition where warriors are depicted as wearing wolf skins and referred to as wolves (OE *heoruwulfas*, *wælwulfas* 'wolf warriors'). The custom is also found in Gothic: in Byzantium, Christmas was marked by ritual dances of Gothic warriors in wolf skins down to the end of the Byzantine period (see Kraus 1895). It is also noteworthy that the word 'wolf' was frequently used in Germanic personal names such as Goth. *Ulfilas* (see Kock 1924), OIcel. *Ulf-björn*, *Björn-olfr*, OHG *Wulf-bero*, OE *Bēo-wulf*; also relevant is the Frankish term *werwulf* 'werewolf', lit. 'person wolf'.

Ancient Slavic and Baltic traditions exhibit an especially clear correspondence with the Hittite and Germanic ones in a ritual transformation of a human into a wolf, which confers supernatural strength and the special status of vatic or all-knowing person (Jakobson 1966a, Ridley 1976). The omniscient Wolf King of the Slavs had wolf hair growing on his head, thus Slovene *voščja dláka* 'wolf hair, wolf locks' (cf. OIcel. *vargshár*, id.); the same expression subsequently provides the name for werewolves: Russ. *vurdalak*, Bulg. *válkolak*, etc. A distinctive characteristic of 'wolfskin people' and werewolves was their omniscience. This must reflect an ancient tradition, going back to Proto-Indo-European, of omniscient humans in wolf form (cf. Ukr. *viščun*, OCz. *vědi*, etc.), reflected in the evident link of **weit*'-(n)- 'wolf' and **weit*'- 'know' (Gk. *oída*, Skt. *véda*, Russ. *vedat'*).

2. Cf. the wolf (*vṛkah*) as the image of a thief or robber (*aghásansa-*) in the Rigveda, I, 42, 2-4.

2.1.1.3. The ritual status of the wolf, and dialect terms for 'wolf'

The special cultic and ritual status of wolves in Indo-European traditions, and their complex of sacred properties, give rise to the descriptive word for 'wolf', cognate to **weít*- 'know', which coexists with original **wl̥kʰo-* ~ **wl̥pʰ-*. These two roots are distributed throughout the Indo-European dialects, variously in the ritually marked sense and as the basic word for 'wolf'. The heavy functional load of the semantic element 'wolf' and the tendency to taboo certain original animal names may explain the appearance of new, sometimes euphemistic, formations meaning 'wolf' in various dialects (Zelenin 1929-1930).³ For instance, in Latvian we find ancient euphemisms such as *dieva suns*, lit. 'god's dog', *meža suns* 'forest dog'.

The wolf as a predatory animal is designated with a new term cognate to the root **dʰeu-* 'smother', 'crush', 'kill', attested in OCS *daviti* 'smother', 'crush', Goth. *afdauiþs* 'tormented' (causative participle), *þata diwanō* 'mortal' (*tò thnētón*), *undiwanei* 'immortal' (*athanatía*) (see above for the term for 'mortal; human' from this root).⁴ Also formed from this root are ancient Balkan Indo-European words: the name of the Maionian god *Kandaulas*, which according to Hipponax means 'dog-strangler' (*kunágkhēs*), interpreted as one of the incarnations of an Indo-European wolf god to whom dogs were sacrificed (O. Masson 1962:106). Such words are attested with the meaning 'wolf' (etymologically 'killer, smotherer') in forms like Phrygian *dáos* (Hesychius) and Illyrian *Daurus* (cf. also *thaûnon · thērion* in Hesychius).

2.1.1.4. Ethnonyms and toponyms connected with 'wolf'

Wolves were important in Indo-European tradition throughout its entire history, from Proto-Indo-European to historical times, as is testified by widespread

3. This could also be the explanation for the Germanic designation of the wolf as 'criminal': OIcel. *vargr*, OHG *warg*, OE *wearg* (Jacoby 1974), cf. Goth. *ga-warg-jan* 'condemn, sentence', cognate to Hitt. *hurk-el* 'repulsive crime' (Puhvel 1971), cf. also LÚMEŠ *hurkilaš* 'people of crime' as the name of mythological beings who capture a wolf in their hands (in KUB XII 63 I 21ff.). The pan-Germanic term *vargtré* 'wolf tree' mentioned above (II.1.4.4) can be compared to Hitt. *hurki-* 'wheel' (§198 of the Hittite Laws, Sumerogram GIŠDUBBIN, DDUBBIN 'divine wheel' in the Autobiography of Hattusilis, I.36, in a context concerning the punishment of a criminal). Cf. the ritual meanings of the same root in Slavic: ORuss. *voroziti* 'foretell', *vorozija* 'witch', *vorog* 'enemy', *vorozha* 'witchcraft', Russ. dial. *vorozejka*, a weathervane consisting of a pole stuck in the ground and a horizontal stick at the top with a bundle of tow at the end (Filin 1965-:5.109) (cf. the meaning of OIcel. *vargtré*, referring to a ritual pillar).

4. **wl̥kʰo-* and **wl̥pʰ-* had essentially this same original meaning; cf. Homeric *lússa* 'warrior's rage' (lit. 'rage of wolf') from *lúkos* 'wolf': *lússa dé hoi kêr aièn ékhe krateré* 'his (Achilles') heart was forever ruled by a powerful wolf's rage', Iliad 21.542-43 (see Lincoln 1975). However, this original meaning of 'wolf' could subsequently have been lost, which made possible the rise of new terms for 'wolf' based on the same characteristic.

ethnonyms and toponyms containing the root 'wolf'. Whole peoples and countries were named for the wolf, due to the place given to wolves in the cultural traditions, probably of totemic origin, of various Indo-European tribes. The following examples are listed in order from west to east.

Ancient Italy: the tribe names *Lukani* (transmitted via Greek), *Hirpini* from **hirpus* 'wolf' (cf. the oracular prophesy reported by Servius, according to which *Hirpi Sorani* '*lupos imitarentur*', 'imitate wolves'), the Illyrian tribe *Daúnioi*.

The ancient Balkans: Strabo's name for the Dacians, *dáoi* 'wolves' (Eliade 1959); north Balkan *Daúnion teíkhos* 'wolf wall' (in Stephanus Byzantinus).

Greece and the Greek part of Asia Minor: *Lykaonia*, related to the name of the mythic king Lykaon; the city name *Lukósoura*; possibly *Lukka-*, a name in Hittite texts for a region of Asia Minor; the tribe name *Orka* (*Orkoi*) in Phrygia (Eisler 1951:137).

Iranian: the Sarmatian tribe *Oúrgoi* 'wolves' (Strabo); Old Iranian formations like **Vrkāna-* (in Elamite transmission *mi-ir-ka-nu-ya-ip* 'inhabitants of Hyrcania' beside the *Hyrkanoi* of classical authors); *Hyrkaniā*, located on the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea and in the Transcaucasus (Cereteli 1963).

2.1.1.5. *Typological and areal parallels to the status of wolves among the ancient Indo-Europeans*

Striking parallels to the Indo-European wolf cult are to be found in South Caucasian (Kartvelian) culture. A wolf cult occupies a special place in the earliest traditions. The depiction of people in wolf masks is a basic motif of ritual art. Traces of the wolf cult are especially clear in Svan traditions, where as in ancient Indo-European wolves are a symbol of a certain type of social organization (Bardavelidze 1957:37ff.). Moreover, Svan tradition equates the mobility of wolf packs with that of human groups: the organization of wolves is a reflection in nature of human social organization (Charachidzé 1968:482).

In Old Georgian tradition the significance of the wolf cult is reflected in the names of the rulers of Iberia, which contained Iranian words meaning 'wolf', for example the epithet of the Old Georgian king Vakhtang Gorgasala 'Vakhtang Wolfhead'; the very name Vakhtang may be Iranian, from **warx-tang* = *vahrka-tanū-* 'wolf-bodied' (cf. the Ossetic hero's name in the Nart epic, *Wærxæg*, from 'wolf' according to Abaev 1949:I.187, 1965:95). The name of ancient Iberia itself, **Vrkān-* = *Hyrkaniā*, goes back to the same Iranian word for 'wolf' (Cereteli 1963). As a result of the cultic status of wolves, the original Kartvelian word for 'wolf' undergoes taboo and is replaced by borrowings from other languages. Georgian *mgel-i*, Mingrelian *ger-i* are probably taken from Armenian (cf. Arm. *gayl* 'wolf'); Svan *txer* 'wolf' is obviously connected to Gk.

-*thēr* 'wild animal'. Similarly, in Ossetic, where the wolf was an ancient totemic animal and the mythic ancestor of the tribe, the original Indo-European word was tabooed and is preserved only in mythic names. It is replaced by a word of apparent Turkic origin, *bīræǰ/beræǰ* (Abaev 1958:I.262-63, 1949:I.48-49).

The wolf cult plays a special role in the South Caucasus,⁵ and many traits of the tradition connected with ritual status of wolves coincide in their essential elements right down to striking details with the ancient Indo-European traditions. The coincidence of this entire complex unites the Indo-European and South Caucasian traditions with a wider circle of mythic conceptions characteristic of a much broader area which extended far to the east (see Alföldi 1974:32, 150ff. for the wolf cult in this area).

According to the most recent archeological data, the earliest evidence of wolves is observed at the turn of the eighth and seventh millennia B.C. in a broad area of Southwest Asia, including continental Greece: Thessaly, eastern Asia Minor, the Iranian plateau, and Palestine, as well as some regions of western Europe and England (Berger and Protsch 1973:223).

2.1.2. Bear

2.1.2.1. The Indo-European word for 'bear'

Another Proto-Indo-European word denoting a large predator is *H₁r̥thk̑h-, with regular correspondences across the early Indo-European dialects: Hitt. *hartagga*-,⁵ Skt. *ṛkṣah*, Avest. *arəšō*, Gk. *árktos*, Arm. *arj*, Lat. *ursus*, Mlr. *art*.⁶ That the bear was well established in the ecological environment of the ancient Indo-Europeans can be inferred from the presence of this word in Proto-Indo-European and its reflexes in the basic dialect groups.

2.1.2.2. The cultic role of the bear in Hittite and other ancient Indo-European traditions

Although the bear has a role in ancient Indo-European tradition, its ritual significance is less than that of the wolf, with which it is often associated in

5. Contrary to Otten's suggestion (see Neu 1974:32, 103) that *hartagga*- should be translated 'wolf' rather than 'bear', 'bear' is the more probable translation and in accord with the word's etymology (see Watkins 1975h). In addition, the contextual interpretations of the word indicate 'bear', not 'wolf'; for instance, Hittite texts (KUB XXIX 1 I 30 and others) mention the ability of the *hartagga*- to climb trees. Furthermore, at least two words for 'wolf' are attested in Hittite: *ulippana*- and *wena*- (see 2.1.1.1 above).

6. This Celtic word is borrowed from Celtiberian into Basque as well, in the form *hartz* 'bear' (Šišmarev 1941:18).

certain rituals and hence in ritual terms. In Hittite rituals, wolf people dance together with bear people (*LÚḫartagga-*, see Jakob-Rost 1966), which is analogous to the ritual dance of Gothic warriors in bear and wolf hides (Kraus 1895). In ancient Germanic compound personal names 'bear' often combines with 'wolf': Old Icelandic *Ulf-björn*, *Björn-olfr*, Old High German *Wulf-bero*, *Ber-ulf*, West Gothic *Bēr-ulfus*.



Illustration 1.
Vessel in the form of a bear. Ancient Balkan culture,
6th millennium B.C.

Hittite facts are particularly significant for the Indo-European tradition. As early as the ancient text KBoVII 14 a bear figures in a ritual sense: *nu-ut-ta ḫar-tág-gán ma-a-an [...] iš-ki-mi nu-tu-uḫ-ḫi-ya-at-ti-it a-ak-ti* 'and I will [crush?] you like a bear and you will suffocate' (Gamkrelidze 1961:275-76). The ritual significance of bears is also visible in Hittite fertility rituals, in which the bear is a symbolic inseminator of trees: *ḫartaggaš-ma-šmaš šara arkiškitta* 'and the bear mounted you'⁷ (KUB XXIX 1 I 30; see Watkins 1975h). In this ritual, as in the Anittas inscription, the bear is ranked together with other 'animals of the gods', in particular the leopard and the lion.

2.1.2.3. *The taboo on the word for 'bear' and its euphemistic replacements*

As is no surprise, due to its cultic significance the original word for 'bear' undergoes taboo in various Indo-European cultures. In Slavic, the original

7. The verb *ark-* corresponds to Russ. *ērzat'*, Beloruss. *ērzac'* 'fidget, rub, abrade' (in its original sexual meaning) and doublet Russ. *ērgat'* (Filin 1965-), and the cognate noun *arki-* 'testicle' (pl. *ar-ki-i-e-eš*, KBo XVII 61 Rs. 15) is etymologically related to Gk. *órkheis* 'testicles', Av. *arəzi* (dual), Arm. *orjik'*, Mir. *uirgge* (see Watkins 1975h).

word is replaced by a descriptive one based on the bear's liking for sweets: Russ. *medved'*, RChSl. *medvěď*, Czech *medvěd* from PIE **medh^w-et'* -> Common Slavic **medvěď-ī* 'honey-eater'; cf. Skt. *madhuvád-* 'sweet-eater'.

In Germanic, where the bear like the wolf was a major sacred animal (Beck 1965:21ff., 146ff.), the taboo replaced the original term with a descriptive one based on the color of the brown bear, going back to Indo-European **bher-* 'brown': OHG *bero* 'bear' (Ger. *Bär*), OE *bera* (Engl. *bear*), OIcel. *björn* (Gottlieb 1931:39-41). In addition, Germanic attests a descriptive term reminiscent of the Slavic one: OE *Bēowulf* 'bear', lit. 'bee wolf'.

In Baltic another euphemism arises, which may be a phonetically altered form of the original word: OPruss. *tlok-* in *Tlokunpelk* 'Bear Swamp', from *clokis*; Lith. *lokys*, Latv. *lācis* 'bear'.

Replacement of the original word for 'bear' takes place primarily in the Balto-Slavic-Germanic area, which testifies to the greater cultic significance of the bear in this area compared with other Indo-European groups. In this respect the Balto-Slavic-Germanic culture area exhibits closer links with northern and eastern Eurasian cultures (see Alekseenko 1960, Krejnovič 1969).

2.1.2.4. The typology of the Indo-European bear cult

In Indo-European tradition the bear cult takes second place in ritual significance to the wolf cult. The wolf cult comprises both the biological and the social sphere: the wolf is a symbol of the unity of the whole tribe, a special social status, a symbol of omniscience granted to the leader of the tribe, and so on. In contrast, the bear symbolizes primarily the biological sphere: the fertility of nature (cf. the mythic image of the bear's son and the rite of marriage with a bear in the Germanic tradition, Beck 1965, de Vries 1956:I.362ff.; in Slavic tradition, Ivanov and Toporov 1965:161; and in Greek traditions), and the destruction of life ('death of the bear').⁸ Only in isolated late Indo-European cultures does the ritual and cultic significance of the bear extend to other spheres.

In a number of historical Indo-European traditions there is a substantial decrease in the cultic role of the bear, evidently due to ecological conditions of the later territories of these dialects. In particular, in the Sanskrit tradition the bear had lost its prominence by an early date; in the Rigveda the ancient term for bear, *ṛkṣa-*, is found only once while *vṛka-* 'wolf' occurs 23 times and the term for 'lion' 15 times (Grassmann 1873:278, 1325, 1515). In contrast, for the

8. That the bear is a symbol of biological fertility unlike the rest of the animals associated with royal power is clear from the Hittite ritual KUB XXIX 1 cited above, where the bear is mentioned only in connection with the fertility of trees, while the lion and leopard are also mentioned in the sections having to do with renewal of the king's holy power.

Hittite tradition (as, incidentally, in Mesopotamia), a high number of bears is characteristic (see II.1.4.3 above on the Anittas inscription which mentions 120 bears in a menagerie), which may be interpreted as indicating that bears were particularly widespread in the ancient Near East.

In the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) culture area the bear cult is considerably less significant than the wolf cult. This must be responsible for the fact that the original word for 'bear' is preserved in Kartvelian (Geo. *datv-i*, Mingr. *tunt-i*, Laz *mtut-i*, Svan *dāšdw*), while a variety of terms is found for 'wolf'.

2.1.3. Leopard or panther

2.1.3.1. The leopard in Old Hittite tradition

In the Hittite series of 'animals of the gods' the leopard (Hitt. *paršana-*, Sumerogram UG.TUR, which may equally well mean 'panther' or another large feline) takes the first, most important, place (see II.1.4.3 above; also the sequence *lion, leopard, bear* in the archaic ritual KUB XXIX 1). Furthermore, the leopard (*Felis pardus* L.), in contrast to the other animals, is credited with the ability to dance, as seen in the ritual KBo X 24 III 24: *nu pār-ša-ni-li tar-ú-i-eš-kán-[zi]* 'and they dance leopard-style', evidently describing a ritual dance performed in leopard skins. In a fertility ritual, the bear functions as the embodiment of masculine fertility while the leopard and lion may represent the female side: UR.MAH₃-*aš kattan šeškit* UG.TUR-*aš-(š)maš kattan šeš-kit ḫartaggaš-ma-šmaš šara arkiškitta* 'the lion(ess) slept under (you), the leopard slept under you, the bear climbed up onto you' (KUB XXIX 1 I 29-30).

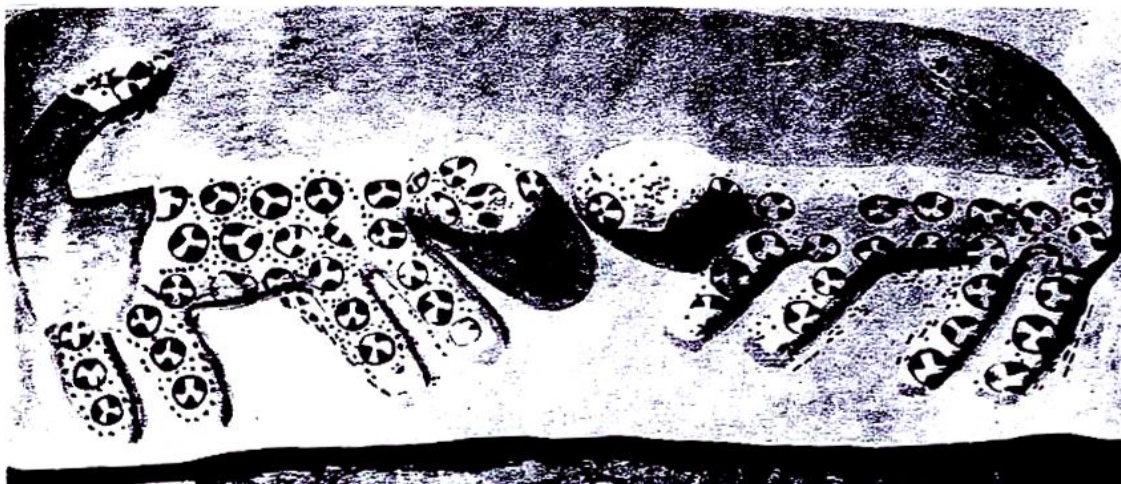


Illustration 2.

Fresco depicting a leopard. Çatal Hüyük, 7th–6th millennia B.C.

2.1.3.2. The Hittite and Indo-Iranian terms for 'leopard'

The Hittite word *paršana-*, with suffixal *-ana-* (cf. *ulipp-ana-* 'wolf') and root *parš-*, corresponds to Persian *pārs ~ fārs* 'panther', the source of western Mongolian *p'ars* (fourteenth century), *bars* 'snow leopard', 'tiger' (Vladimircov 1917, 1929:341) and Old Turkic *bārs* 'tiger' (also a symbol in the twenty-year animal cycle, *bars jil* 'year of the tiger');⁹ some Turkic languages preserve the meaning 'panther', the probable source of Russ. *bars* 'leopard' (see Dmitriev 1962:555).

The Iranian forms in *-s-* (Pers. *pārs ~ fārs*, Sarikoli *pis* 'snow leopard, leopard', Paxalina 1971:130) are counterpoised to forms in *-d-*: Sogd. *pwrδ'nk*, Pashto *prāng*, Pers. *palang* 'snow leopard' (with **rd > l*); the Persian form explains Oss. *fælanck/færank* 'leopard' (Abaev 1958:I.450) and (via Tajik) Pamir forms such as Wakhi *pəlang* 'snow leopard', Ishkashim *pəlang* (Paxalina 1975:242, Grjunberg and Steblin-Kamenskij 1976:421). The form in **-d-* corresponds to Skt. *ṛdāku-* 'panther, tiger' (attested in Sanskrit lexicographers, Mayrhofer 1963:II.301ff., 335; cf. Fussman 1972:II.207-8). Greek also shows the same form: *párdalis*, *pórdalis*, *párdos* 'panther, leopard', *pardalēē* 'leopard skin'.

2.1.3.3. The role of the panther or leopard in Greek tradition

The panther or leopard in the Greek tradition, especially in Homer, displays striking ritual closeness to that of the Hittite tradition. In the *Iliad* (10.29-31), king Menelaus covers his back with a leopard skin before putting on his helmet and taking his spear:

Παρδαλέη μὲν πρῶτα μετάφρενον εὐρὺ κάλυψεν
 ποικίλη, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ στεφάνην κεφαλῆφιν αἰείρας
 θήκατο χαλκείην, δόρυ δ' εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείη

9. In Indo-European traditions the semanteme 'tiger' evidently appears later, in the individual dialects (for its absence in Proto-Indo-European see Thieme 1964:596). To render this sense a word is derived from **(s)theik'* - 'stab; sharp, sharpened' in Greek: *tígris* 'tiger' (from 'sharp', Av. *tiγra-* 'sharp', *tiγri-* 'arrow', OPers. *tigra-* 'sharp', see Watkins 1971:1543), borrowed into Latin and the modern European languages. The cultic role of the tiger (*Felis tigris* L.) is obviously minimal in the historical Indo-European traditions. Such a role is characteristic for ancient Southwest Asia (in Mohenjo-Daro, where the tiger appears in a sacred sequence of animals as an equivalent to the leopard or panther of the traditions to the west; in India proper the place of the tiger, associated with the north in the sacred animal symbolism, is later taken by the lion), Central Asia (cf. the Old Turkic animal cycle), and China, where the tiger functions in a system of five animals as the sole representative of those 'having fur' (L. Saussure 1920, Yuan Ke 1965:55-56, 72, Semeka 1971:105, 116). The tiger is not mentioned at all in the *Rigveda*, and only later, in the *Atharvaveda*, begins to replace the leopard as a symbol of royal power (Elizarenkova 1976:6, 232, 374). However, the leopard continues to function as a symbol of royal power also (*Atharvaveda* IV, 8).

'First of all he mantled his broad back in a leopard's spotted hide, then lifting the circle of a brazen helmet placed it upon his head, and took up a spear in his big hand'

And Alexander has a leopard skin on his shoulders (Iliad 3.16-18):

Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής,
παρδαλέην ὤμοισιν ἔχων καὶ καμπύλα τόξα
καὶ ξίφος

'Alexander the godlike leapt from the ranks of the Trojans,
as challenger wearing across his shoulders the hide of a leopard,
curved bow and sword'

The leopard or panther is mentioned twice in Homer in enumerations of wild animals: in the Iliad in the series *jackals, panthers, wolves* (13.103: *thōōn pardaliōn te lúkōn*), and in the Odyssey in a more revealing context where the god Proteus, an old man (*gérōn*), turns into a series of animals which are depicted as mythological beings: first into a lion, then into a dragon, a leopard, a great wild boar, and finally a stream and a tree reaching upwards (Odyssey 4.456-58):

ἀλλ' ἦτοι πρότιστα λέων γένετ' ἠϋγένειος,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πόρδαλις ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς·
γίγνετο δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον

'First he took on a whiskered lion's shape,
a serpent then; a leopard; a great boar;
then sousing water; then a tall green tree'

In this passage the cooccurrence of 'lion', 'panther' (or 'leopard'), and 'wild boar' together with 'tree' is highly significant in view of the Indo-European mythological tradition concerning animals of the gods.

2.1.3.4. *The panther in Old Armenian legend*

There is an extremely interesting semantic parallel to the Greek text in a mythic episode from an Armenian legend recounted by Moses of Chorene (History of Armenia I.26). The Median king Azhdahak (cf. Pers. *Aždahā*, Avest. *aži-dahāka-*, the legendary king of the Devis, with *aži-* 'dragon, serpent', cf. Skt. *Áhi-Budhnyá-* 'Serpent of the Depths') has a dream in which he sees, on a mountaintop in the 'country of the Armenians' (*yerkrin haykazanc'*), a miraculous woman dressed in 'red-purple' (*kin omn ciranazgest*) in labor

(*erkanc' ambrneal c'awov*). Suddenly she gives birth to three miraculous godlike beings (*cnaw kinn yarkarc eris katareals i diwc'azanc'*). The first of these beings, borne on a lion (*aceal i veray ariwcu*), sets off to the west; the second, on a panther (*i veray ancu*), sets off to the north; the third, on a huge dragon (*zvišapn arari sanjeal*), sets off in the direction of the Median kingdom (evidently to the southeast) and attacks it.¹⁰

Despite the Iranian etymology of the name *Azhdahak* and the thematic link with Media, the legend clearly reveals ancient mythological motifs expressed in archaic language. Compare in this respect the archaic Armenian hymn about the birth of the mythical being *Vahagn* (also in Moses of Chorene, I.31), where all the archaic Indo-European phraseology and mythic motifs coincide with those of the *Azhdahak* passage (see Watkins 1975h:518ff; for a detailed analysis of the hymn from the viewpoint of its Indo-European motifs see Dumézil 1969):

erknēr erkin erknēr erkir
erknēr ew covn cirani
 'Heaven and earth were in labor,
 And the purple sea was in labor'

In the passage from the *Odyssey* discussed earlier and in the Armenian *Azhdahak* legend the three mythic animals *lion*, *dragon*, *leopard* are the same. This testifies to the extremely great age of these mythological motifs, which must go back to an archaic period of Indo-European cultural development.

2.1.3.5. The leopard or panther in medieval European traditions

These comparisons give particular significance to analogous symbols of sacred animals which figure in prophetic animal dreams in medieval Germanic mythological traditions.¹¹ In these dreams we find a set of animals, real and mythic, which coincide with those in the Hittite, Greek, and Armenian traditions: lion, unicorn, leopard, sometimes bear and wolf (the latter in Fredegard, early 7th century, in connection with a ritual concerning relations

10. The association of animals with the four compass directions is an ancient motif which is reflected in Indo-European traditions. In the oldest Indic tradition the tiger, which functionally replaces the leopard in this culture, is associated with the north. In this connection it is interesting that in early Buddhist tradition four great kings associated with the four directions stand around Buddha's mother Maya during his birth and take the newborn child 'onto a spotted tiger's skin' (Mahāvastu III.315.2, Mahāvagga I.2.1, and others); cf. the Armenian myth mentioned above, where a miraculous being is borne on a panther and goes off to the north.

11. For the antiquity of animal dreams as a genre compare the Hurrian epic of the hunter *Kesši*, passed down in its Hittite rendition: in a dream *Kesši* goes hunting lions, and dragons (*elliyankuš*, KUB XXXIII 121 I 12) and other mythic animal-like beings (*damnaššaruš*, *ibid.* 13) appear to him.

between men and women).¹² The appearance of the unicorn in the Germanic inventory, instead of the dragon of Homeric and Old Armenian traditions, is due to the relatively recent influence of literary versions of the medieval European bestiary, in which the unicorn ultimately goes back in literary tradition to the Indic animal epic (see White 1954).¹³

On the whole the genre of animal dreams, found in medieval Germanic myth and evidently extending from this source into medieval European epics, reflects the traces of pagan beliefs (Beck 1965:144-46, q.v. for the same genre in Old Icelandic literature), and hence its similarities to the other Indo-European traditions point to the great antiquity of these beliefs and the associated realia.¹⁴

2.1.3.6. *The leopard or panther and the terms for it in Indo-European*

The leopard or panther can be posited as a real animal in the ecological environment of the Proto-Indo-Europeans, though its semanteme was subsequently lost in a number of later traditions. However, despite the fact that the existence

12. Motifs from the genre of animal dreams could have entered the medieval epic tradition, including Romance, from Germanic; this is found where authors of epics preserved connections to Germanic tradition, e.g. in the *Song of Roland* (see Rajna 1884:449ff., Tavernier 1910:93ff., Beck 1965:139-44):

*El destre braz li morst un vers si mals.
Devers Ardene vit venir uns leuparz,
Sun cors demenie mult fierement asalt
'A boar bit his right arm so hard.
From the direction of the Ardennes he saw a leopard approaching;
It attacks him fiercely'*

(727-29; lions, wild boars, and other animals appear in similar dreams elsewhere in the *Song of Roland*). The same collection of animals — leopard, 'light and nimble, covered with a spotted skin', lion, and wolf — appears in visions to the author of the *Divine Comedy* (cf. Botticelli's famous drawing):

*Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell' erta,
Una lonza leggiara e presta molto,
Che di pel maculato era coperta... (I.31-33)
Si ch' a bene sperar m' era cagione
Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle (I.41-42)
'And there, almost at the beginning of the steep mountain slope,
Covered with a spotted skin, turning around,
Comes a panther, light and nimble...
It seemed to me that I would have good luck
And the marvelous fur of the animal...'*

13. A vision including a leopard (Welsh *llewpart*), wild boar, and lion is also found in medieval Celtic tradition; for Welsh see Griffiths 1937:198.

14. This literary-mythological genre of dreams may well reflect a set of symbols going back to some prehistoric past. This is a sort of recollection of past history, removed to the collective unconscious and emerging in dreams (see the notion of 'genre memory', Bakhtin 1963:142; for the complex of werewolf associations see Jakobson 1966a).

of a semantic element 'leopard' or 'panther' is highly plausible, there is no conclusive evidence of protoforms reflecting it. There are two roots, neither derivable from the other by regular Indo-European rules: one in *-s- (Hitt. *parš-*, Pers. *pārs* ~ *fārs*) and one in *-d- (Gk. *pard-*, *pord-*, Sogd. *pwrδ'*, Skt. *pr̥d-*). Borrowing of either of these forms from one Indo-European dialect into another is also ruled out. The word is regarded as a loan from a substratal language of Asia Minor (Kronasser 1962:I.183, Furnée 1972:64, 252, 277).

2.1.3.7. *The connection of the Indo-European word for 'leopard' with words from ancient Asia Minor*

In Hattic we find the word *ḫapraššun* as an equivalent to the Hittite genitive ŠA UG.TUR 'of leopard'. A prefix *ḫa-* and suffix *-un* can be segmented off,¹⁵ leaving a root *-prašš-*, which coincides with the root of Hittite *paršana-*.



Illustration 3.

Depiction of a dancing man in a leopard skin.
Çatal Hüyük, 7th–6th millennia B.C.

Hittite leopard worship, attested in a mythological Hittite text about the construction of temples for the Thundergod (412/b+2121/c+2030/c), continues

15. Cf. Hatt. *ḫa-p/wiwuna-n* 'among people = Hitt. *dandukešni* 'among mortals'; *ḫa-wa-šḫap(-i)* 'among the gods' = Hitt. DINGIRMEŠ-*naš-a ištarna* 'among the gods', Kammenhuber 1969:490; *ḫa-i-waib* 'in our house', Schuster 1974:96-97. For the suffix *-un* cf. *takeḫaun* 'lion' (Hitt. ŠA UR.MAḪ) beside *takeḫa* 'lion', *takkeḫal* 'hero' (Kammenhuber 1969:447, 467).

a tradition going back for millennia in this region. Excavations of the last decades have shown a leopard cult to have been a basic feature of the ancient culture of Asia Minor, going back at least to the seventh and sixth millennia B.C.¹⁶ This is the date given to the ruins of temples excavated in Çatal Hüyük, where frescoes have been found depicting leopards and dancing warriors in leopard skins, as well as sculptures of sacred leopards on which anthropomorphic deities could stand (Mellaart 1965:94, 1967, Strika 1975).¹⁷ Leopards as female symbols, or association of leopard images with female deities, are conspicuously frequent (throughout Asia Minor, not only in Çatal Hüyük but also at Hacilar: Masson 1966:163). This ancient cult may have entered the Proto-Indo-European culture area from Asia Minor, to be reflected in various archaic Indo-European cultural traditions.

The Indo-European word for 'leopard' may itself go back to a source from Asia Minor, which yielded different reflexes in the various Indo-European dialects. The alternation of *s and *d reflected in the Indo-European forms may point to a dental fricative in the original source language.

2.1.3.8. *Replacements of the word for 'leopard' in early Indo-European dialects*

A number of Indo-European dialects replace the original Indo-European word with other forms, or lose it entirely (e.g. Italic, Celtic, Baltic) as a result of new ecological and cultural conditions.¹⁸ For example, in the Kafir languages the leopard is referred to as 'killer': Waigali *jūt* 'leopard', cognate to Skt. *hantār-* 'murderer, killer' (Morgenstierne 1954:162, 262; Fussman 1972:II.208), Kati *jut* 'leopard' (Grjunberg 1980:133-35). In Armenian, the semanteme 'leopard' is preserved but is expressed by *inj*, originally 'lion' (cf. the cognate Skt. *simha-*; see Meillet 1936:142); this may point to a taboo on the ritually significant word for 'leopard' in the prehistoric Armenian tradition.

16. The leopard cult of antiquity indicates that the leopard ranged in Asia Minor, as is confirmed by bones found in Çatal Hüyük (Masson 1966:165). The range of the leopard in ancient Southwest Asia was limited to mountainous regions, from Asia Minor and the Transcaucasus to southern Turkmenia (the Karatepe region, see Lisicyna 1978:198-200). A word meaning 'leopard' can also be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic: **nimr-* (Fronzaroli 1968:V.281).

17. An analogous leopard cult is found later in Egypt; leopard pelts were the clothing of priests and cloaks for especially solemn ceremonies (see Erman and Grapow 1955:I.415).

18. In the Slavic languages, as in the others just mentioned, there is no clear evidence for a word meaning 'leopard' or 'panther' at any early time (the Turkic loan *bars* is attested for Russian no earlier than the sixteenth century: Barxudarov 1975:I.74). Nonetheless, the extremely archaic phrase *ljuyi zvěř* 'fierce beast', which goes back to Common Slavic, could also refer to a leopard in Old Russian: cf. *Ljuyi zvěř skočil mne na bedry* 'The fierce beast jumped onto my thighs' in the *Admonition* of Vladimir Monomax. Later the phrase is used in reference to mythological animals: lion, bear, wolf, and lynx (Ivanov and Toporov 1974:58-61, 124, 171, 203-4).

2.1.3.9. The typology of the leopard cult in Southwest Asia

The leopard cult originating in ancient Asia Minor goes back to a remote past and covers a broad territory in the eastern Mediterranean area and western Asia. An echo of this cult in the Caucasian world is the image of the hero in a leopard's skin in the epic poem of medieval Georgia, Shota Rustaveli's *Vepxistqaosani*. The image bears a striking resemblance to the appearance of the Homeric warrior heroes Menelaus and Alexander wearing leopard skins on their shoulders, and the earlier images from Asia Minor of people wearing leopard skins and dancing like leopards.¹⁹

2.1.4. Lion

2.1.4.1. The question of the term for 'lion' in historical Indo-European dialects

Words for 'lion' show a variety of stems in early Indo-European dialects. Greek has two forms: *léōn*, gen. *léontos* (borrowed into Latin as *leō*, gen. *leōnis*) and poetic *līs* (in Homer, *Iliad* 11.239, 480). Mycenaean Greek attests *re-wo-pi* (Morpurgo 1963:294) and the adjective *re-wo-te-jo* (Risch 1976:313), which shows that Gk. *léōn* goes back at least to the Mycenaean period and has the form **lewont-* (Lejeune 1958:165). The other Greek form *līs* is evidently not cognate to **lewont-* and comes from another stem. Indic and Armenian point to still another root: Skt. *simha-* 'lion', Arm. *inj* 'leopard', from **singho-*.

In Germanic, 'lion' is expressed by such forms as OHG *lewo*, MHG *lewe*, *louwe* (Ger. *Löwe*, poetic *Leu*, with a distribution analogous to that of Gk. *léōn*: poet. *līs*), usually considered a loan from Latin (Paul 1953:33, 41, 1956:I.382). But the derivation of the Old High German form from Latin *leō* is unconvincing because the Latin form, like its classical Greek source, lacks the intervocalic *-w-* lost in Greek dialects in the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. The Old High German *-w-* cannot be a secondary development, since there are no convincing examples of such a process; and there are examples showing preservation of intervocalic **-w-* in Common Germanic words: OHG *ēwa* 'eternity; eternal order', MHG *ēwe* 'law; eternity' (cf. Goth. *aiws* 'eternal'). This could be taken as evidence for the native status of Germanic (OHG) *lewo*. The parallel form, Ger. *Leu*, is noteworthy in this connection; usually traced to MHG *lōuwe*, late OHG *louwo*

19. Therefore the correct interpretation of OGeo. *vepxi* would seem to be 'leopard' (cf. Marr 1910), not 'tiger' (the word acquires this meaning in Modern Georgian; cf. the semantic evolution from 'leopard' to 'tiger' in East Asian languages): see Caišvili 1974[1965]:270-76, Kobidze 1969:II.78ff. It is obviously a leopard that is depicted in an ancient bronze belt from a grave in Samtavro (belt 3, Table III) which shows spotted 'fantastic animals' (Xidašeli 1982:29).

(Paul 1953:41, 1956:I.382), it is completely parallel in its development to Ger. *treu* 'true' (masc.), which reflects Proto-Germanic **triuwaz* (Paul 1956:II.626, Watkins 1971:1512), cf. Goth. *triggws*, OIcel. *tryggr* 'solid, sound; true', OE *-trēowe*, Engl. *true*, from PIE **t'reu-os*, cf. OIr. *dron* 'solid, sound' (for the semantics see Benveniste 1966a:299, 1969:I.108). This is grounds for positing Proto-Germanic **liuwaz* < PIE **leu-os*.²⁰

Hittite has a word for 'lion', *walwa-* (Luw. *walwa-*), as well as *walwi-*, a reading of the Sumerogram UR.MAḪ-*aš* and UR.MAḪ-*iš* (see Neu 1974:103 and references therein),²¹ which confirms the Proto-Indo-European character of the root **leu-* 'lion'. The Hittite word is a broken reduplication **wolw-o-*, with the second root sonant repeated.

2.1.4.2. *The cultic role of the lion in early Indo-European traditions*

The presence of Anatolian, Greek, and Germanic cognates for 'lion' and the consequent Proto-Indo-European nature of the word are in agreement with the exceptional cultic role of lions in various Indo-European traditions. In the Hittite tradition, in addition to the evidence presented above for joint veneration of leopards and lions, there is a relevant motif of ritual capture of a wolf and a lion by mythic beings: UR.BAR.RA *ki-iš-šar-ta e-ep-ten* UR.MAḪ *ga-nu-ut e-ep-ten* (KUB XII 63 I 26) 'seize the wolf by his paws, and the lion by his jaws' (translation taken from Watkins 1972a). In Hittite and Luwian art the lion is one of the basic motifs: lion images are found at Malatya, Alaca Hüyük, and elsewhere, and the Lion Gate at Boghazköy depicts the lion as a symbol of the king's power among the Hittites.²²

The same tradition is reflected in Mycenaean Greece. Lionesses on both sides of the throne at Pylos and lions over the gates at Mycenae symbolize the sacred power of kings and are an exact repetition of the same motifs in contem-

20. The Proto-Germanic form could conceivably have preserved the *e* vocalism that reflects earlier Indo-European **e*. In Old High German there are instances where short *e* is preserved before *u* (Paul 1953:42-43). If we reconstruct **liuwa-* with **i* vocalism for Proto-Germanic we can regularly derive early Slavic **l'iwü* from it as a loan: OCS *l'vü* 'léon' (see Vasmer 1964-1973:II.471-72).

21. Neumann's reading (1961) of Hitt. *awiti-* as 'lion' (from **owi-et-* 'devourer of sheep') raises both formal and distributional objections: the initial *ḫ-* expected on the basis of Luw. *ḫawi-*, Hier. Luw. *hawali-* 'sheep' is missing (Kammenhuber 1961b:199); and *awiti-* is used, not in place of the Sumerogram UR.MAḪ, but next to it (Friedrich 1966:12).

22. Cf. the royal ritual where 'eagle's eyes' and 'lion's teeth' are made for the king: *šakuwa-šši ÁMUŠEN-aš ier KAXUDḪLA-ma-šši* UR.MAḪ-*aš ier* 'they made eagle's eyes for him, and they made him lion's teeth' (KUB XXIX 1 II 53; later the same passage mentions lion's teeth and leopard's teeth). Cf. also in Old Hittite texts UR.MAḪ LUGAL-*uš* 'lion king (hero)' and similar expressions (Neu 1974:103).

poraneous Hittite art (Webster 1958:32, 57-58 et pass.). A goddess interpreted as the mistress of wild animals, Artemis,²³ is depicted in Mycenaean art with a lion at each side. (This recalls the leopards at each side of the fertility goddess in the art of ancient Asia Minor; the two leopards on the handle of a dagger in the traditions of ancient Asia Minor [Mellaart 1965] correspond to the two symmetrical lion heads on the handle of a sword from a Mycenaean grave [Blavatskaja 1966:53 and fig. 17].) Hittite and Mycenaean art also share similar scenes of lion hunts (a blade from Mycenae, Blavatskaja 1966:59-60 and fig. 13). In describing objects decorated with images of lions, Mycenaean tablets use the word discussed earlier, *rewopi* 'with lions' (Lejeune 1958:181). Given the absence, or at least great rarity, of lions in the historical territory of the Greeks, the significance of lions as a cult animal and artistic motif can be explained as the continuation of a tradition which arose in a different ecological environment.

The motif of a lion as a sacred animal is preserved into the Homeric epoch, with echoes in the classical tradition reflected in the image of Hercules, who fought a lion and wore a lion skin.²⁴ The image of lions and lion gates continues into later Greek tradition in the form of palace gates in Greek tragedy (Hiller 1976).

In the Germanic tradition, shields depicting a wild boar and lion, or a lion and lioness, are known among the eastern Germans as early as the fourth century A.D.; cf. the evidence of lions as symbols on battle shields in Old Icelandic sagas and lions on the banners of Anglo-Saxon kings (Beck 1965:35-37ff.), and the data cited in II.1.4.4 above showing lions to have been among the sacred animals of the Germanic tribes.

Later ramifications of what is ultimately the same Indo-European cult of the lion as a sacred animal and 'king of beasts', with overlays from classical and Christian times, can be seen in the literature and folklore of the Celts²⁵ and Slavs.²⁶

23. Compare Homer's use of *léōn* in reference to Artemis: *Zeús se léonta gunaiksì thêke* 'Zeus placed you before women as a destroying lioness'.

24. Herakles, shown fighting with a lion on Attic vases, is shown in a lion's mouth in one instance (Webster 1958:175-76 and fig. 24), which may echo the Hittite mythic text discussed above which mentions catching a lion by its jaws.

25. Starting with the twelfth century, in Welsh tradition the heroes who free the country from the foreign domination of the Anglo-Saxons were depicted as lions, dragons, bears, eagles, bulls, wolves, donkeys, and dogs (Griffiths 1937:167ff.).

26. In Slavic tales, folk songs, incantations, and rituals the lion is given the place of honor as king of the animals; and in East Slavic folklore *lev-zver* 'lion beast' often figures as a parallel to the phrase *ljutyj zver* 'fierce beast' (see Ivanov and Toporov 1974:60). In the first element of this phrase Miller (1877) sees a cognate to Gk. *léōn* (from **leu-*). In that case, Common Slavic *ljutŭ* < **leuth-*, which has so far not been etymologized satisfactorily, can be regarded as a derivative in **-th-* from the same root **leu-* 'lion'; cf. the similar formation in Alb. *letë* < **leut-* 'mane'.

2.1.4.3. The relation of the Common Indo-European word for 'lion' to Afroasiatic and other Southwest Asian terms

The Hittite, Greek, and Germanic cognates, and the possible cognate derivatives in Slavic and Albanian, point to an Indo-European lexeme *leu- 'lion'. It goes back to Proto-Indo-European times and was subsequently replaced or lost in various dialects due to changed ecological conditions.²⁷ These conclusions make it plausible to connect Tocharian A *lu* 'beast, animal' (gen.sg. *lw-es*, nom.pl. *lw-ā*, instr.pl. *lwā-yo*, loc. *lwā-k-am*) to the same Indo-European root; the semantic generalization would have taken place when Toch. A *śišäk*, B *şecake* 'lion' was borrowed, probably from Indo-Iranian (cf. Skt. *śimha*).

PIE *leu- 'lion' is phonetically very close to words for 'lion' in Afroasiatic languages, e.g. Egypt. *rw* 'lion' (the attestation begins with the Pyramid texts: Erman and Grapow 1955:II.403), Copt. *laboi*, Akkad. *lābu*, Ugaritic *lb'*, Hebr. *lābī'* beside Arabic *labwa* (Koehler 1939).²⁸ Kartvelian *lom- (Geo. *lom-i*, Svan *lōm*) is also relevant. The word was obviously an early Near Eastern migratory term for the lion,²⁹ which throughout ancient Southwest Asia symbolized animal power and the holy power of the king. The term must have entered the archaic Indo-European dialects before the Proto-Indo-European breakup, since it yields regular reflexes in them. In this respect the word for 'lion' is analogous to the word for 'leopard', another Near Eastern migratory term found in a number of languages of the area.

2.1.4.4. Traces of an Indo-European word for 'lion's roar'

If there was a Proto-Indo-European word for 'lion', it is likely that there was also a word for its roaring, one of its most salient features; and in fact a number of dialects reflect just such a word: Lat. *rugiō* 'roar like a lion', Mlr. *rucht* 'roaring, howling', Hom. Gk. *ereúgomai* 'roar; growl, snarl' (used figuratively, of a hero, Iliad 17.265; of the sea, Odyssey 5.403; and also, in the meaning 'roar, bellow', of a bull: *taūron erúgmēlon* 'roaring bull', Iliad 18.580); OCS

27. Although Indo-Iranian uses a different lexeme to mean 'lion', the significance of the animal remains considerable, as is seen in the Rigveda: see the reference to a lion in the hymn to Parjanya (V, 83, 3), where the Thundergod's thunder is compared to the 'thunder roar of a lion', *śimhāsya stanātha-*; the dialogue hymn of Indra (X, 28, 1), where the lion figures as the highest animal, contrasted to the fox; and elsewhere.

28. The other form for 'lion', shown by Gk. *līs*, can be compared to *lāiš*, attested in Hebrew and representing a parallel form to the root *lb'* (Masson 1967:85-87), which is reconstructible for Proto-Semitic as **labi'* 'lioness' (see Fronzaroli 1968:V.281).

29. Despite the wide distribution of forms with the phonetic structure *liquid + labial* referring to lions, we find a word of completely different structure in Hattic: *takēha-un*, corresponding to the Hittite Sumerogram *ŠA UR.MAH* 'lion' (Kammenhuber 1969:447, 467). It is significant that the word for 'hero' is derived from this word: *takkehal*.

rūžq 'neigh', ORuss. *r'žati* 'neigh, cry, roar' (e.g. in the chronicle *vzorža zemlja* 'the earth began to roar'), Goth. *in-raúhtjan* 'become furious': PIE **reuk̑*-. Names of animals naturally develop from this original meaning: Arm. *ariwc* 'lion' (Ačarjan 1971:I.259), OIcel. *raukn* 'harness animal'; for the semantic development of OE *rēoc* 'wild' cf. Russ. *ljutyj zver* 'fierce beast' (a folkloric phrase, discussed in 2.1.5.2 below; see also note 18) from the root for 'lion'.

In addition to **reuk̑*-, there was a parallel stem **reukh-* with the same meaning: OHG *rohōn* 'rugire', 'growl', Lith. *rúkti* 'growl', OCS *rykati* 'roar', Russ. *ryk* '(lion's) roar'. These two share a root **reu-* 'roar', attested in Skt. *ru-* 'roar (of bulls)', *ráva-* 'roaring, thunder', OCS *rovq* 'roar', etc.

2.1.4.5. The typology of the lion cult in the Near East

The ritual significance of lions in the Caucasus, particularly in ancient Kartvelian tradition, may be an echo of the Near Eastern lion cult. In western Georgia sculptures of lions have been found, dated to the first millennium B.C. and reminiscent of the Hittite and Mycenaean depictions of lions. There are Svan lion banners (Bardavelidze 1957:37ff.) and a Khevsurian prayer to a god Lomisi, obviously 'lion god' (cf. Geo. *lom-i* 'lion'): Charachidzé 1968:211, 442-44 et pass. A literary reflection can be seen in the presentation of the hero 'in the form of a lion' and the symbolic conjunction of leopard and lion in Rustaveli (see Marr 1910).

2.1.5. Lynx

2.1.5.1. The word for 'lynx' in the Indo-European dialects

A word for 'lynx' is found in almost all of the main Indo-European dialect groups: Gk. *lúgks*, gen. *lugkós*, OHG *luhs*, OE *lox* 'lynx', Arm. *lusanunk* (pl.), Lith. *lūšis*, OLith. *lūš-ų* (consonant stem: Būga 1958-1961:II.59, 549) 'lynx', Latv. *lūsis*, OPruss. *luysis*; formal divergences are shown by Slavic **rysī* (Russ. *rys'*), with *r-* instead of **l-*, and Celtic (Mlr. *lug*, gen. *loga*), with *-g-* instead of **-k-*. The phonetic alternations can be ascribed to the fact that this is an animal name; also relevant is the nasalization in Greek, *lun-k-*, paralleled by Lith. dial. *lūnšis* (Būga 1958-1961:II.549).

This word is clearly etymologically related to the root PIE **leukh-* ~ **lukh-* 'shine' (cf. Skt. *rúśant-* 'light-colored, white'). The animal was named for the light or bright color of its coat or eyes. Compare, from recent traditions, Latv. *lūša spalvas zirgs* 'lynx-colored horse'.

2.1.5.2. *The status of the lynx in Indo-European mythic and ritual traditions*

The lynx is of minimal mythological and ritual significance in most ancient Indo-European traditions. In northern traditions the lynx is a functional replacement for the large predators not found in those regions. In East Slavic burial rites for kings, the role of the leopard in other Indo-European traditions is taken over by the lynx (in a sacrifice of lynx or bear claws); in East Slavic folklore the epithet *ljutyj zver'* refers to lions, leopards, or lynxes (Ivanov and Toporov 1974:59). In Lithuanian, the word for 'lynx' can also be applied to tigers and leopards (Būga 1958-1961:II.549); semantic shifting is possible in MĪr. *lug'* 'lynx'; Latvian folk songs glorify lynx pelts (*lūšu kažuociņi*).

The fact that there is no trace of a cultic role for the lynx or wildcat in ancient Indo-European traditions, while the animal is widespread and its name can be reconstructed and is preserved in the original sense in many branches, can be explained only by properties of the structural hierarchy of wild animals in the system of early Indo-European mythic conceptions. In cultures where the large felines such as the leopard, lion, and tiger occupy important positions in the hierarchy, as they do in the oldest Indo-European traditions, the smaller animals like the lynx have no place in the system. They acquire ritual function only in the traditions which, for one reason or another, have lost the larger felines, whose place is then taken by the smaller ones, as happens in the less ancient Baltic and Slavic traditions.

2.1.6. *Jackal, fox*2.1.6.1. *The Indo-European term for 'jackal', 'fox' and its original meaning*

The small carnivores in early Indo-European tradition also include the jackal and fox, whose names in the daughter languages partly match the word for 'wolf', *w₁ph-: Avest. *urupi-* 'dog', *raopi-* 'fox, jackal', Lat. *uolpēs* 'fox', Lith. *lāpė* (from *w₁lopē) 'vixen'. These forms clearly show a phonetic-morphological variant of a stem that has been formed from *w₁ph- by addition of -i- (Avestan) or -e- (feminine; Latin and Lithuanian). The use of a stem with the basic meaning 'wolf' to refer to jackals or foxes shows that, in the Indo-European taxonomy, these animals were classified together, presumably on the basis of their similar appearance and eating habits.³⁰

The same set of animals has another name in Indo-European dialects, coinciding only in part with the first one: Skt. *lopāśā-* (< *laupāśā-) 'jackal, fox',

30. Many languages exhibit a typological parallel to the formal correspondence of 'wolf' to 'jackal' and 'fox', or more precisely to the use of the word for 'wolf' to refer to foxes and jackals. For instance, in Abkhaz *a-bga* 'wolf' also denotes foxes and jackals.

·Waigali *liw'ašā*, *lāwāšā* 'fox', *lawāša* 'jackal' (Morgenstierne 1954:274), OPers. *Raubasa* (personal name in Elamite transmission, Mayrhofer 1973:226), Pehl. *rōpāh*, Pers. *rōbāh*, Khotanese Saka *rruvāsa-*, Ishkashim *urvēs*, *urvēsok*, Sanglechi *vārvēs*, *wārvēs* (Abaev 1958-1979:II.433-34), Arm. *atūēs* (from **alophes-*) 'fox', Gk. *alōpēks* 'fox', Lith. *vilpišys* 'wildcat', Latv. *lapsa* 'fox', OCS *lisa* 'fox' (translating Gk. *alōpēks*); see Pokorny 1959:1179. All these forms can be derived from **wlophek̑h-ā*, which is a feminine formed by compounding: **wl-o-phek̑h-w-(ā)*. The first root is the zero grade of **wel-* 'tear apart prey; kill' (also 'dead; world of the dead'), the source of **wl̑k̑ho-*, **wl̑ph-* 'wolf' and **wl̑ph-i/-ē* 'jackal, fox'. The second root is **phek̑hu-* 'livestock'; hence the original meaning was 'cattle killer' (or 'one who feeds on dead cattle').³¹ The protoform **wl-o-phek̑h-(ā)* can produce all attested forms with minimal phonetic adjustments: loss or metathesis of the initial **w-*, a prothetic vowel in some forms (Greek, Armenian), and later reduction of the root vowels. These phonetic alterations could have taken place as the compound, which could originally refer to any predator on livestock, lost its descriptive meaning and was reinterpreted as an unanalyzable word for a particular animal, primarily the fox and jackal.³²

2.1.6.2. The role of the jackal and fox in ancient Indo-European tradition

In early Indo-European tradition the jackal and fox are unattractive, low-ranked animals in contrast to the large carnivores such as the lion, panther, and leopard, which symbolize exaltation, greatness, and beauty (including that of a female deity). The jackal and fox are distinguished among animals only by their cunning and craftiness, and are usually feminine. In the Rigveda, the only reference to them is in a context where they are contrasted to high-ranked animals (X, 28, 4):

idām sū me jaritar ā cikiddhi pratīpām śāpām nadyò vahanti
lopāśāḥ simhām pratyāñcam atsāḥ kroṣṭā varāhām nír atakta kākṣāt

'Understand this word of mine to the end, singer: the rivers drive driftwood against the current;

The fox (*lopāśā-*) has crept up on the lion (*simhām*) from behind,
 the jackal (*kroṣṭā*) has ambushed the wild boar (*varāhām*)'

31. For the loss of **-w-* in this position (**wl-o-phek̑h-w-ā* > **wl-o-phek̑h-ā*) cf. **wīr-o-phk̑h-w-o-* > **wīr-o-phk̑h-o-* in Ved. *virapśā-* 'multitude of people and animals', Iran. *Wrps̑*.

32. In a number of dialects, including Germanic, this word in the meaning 'fox' is also replaced (due to taboo?) by another root: Goth. *faúhō*, Oícel. *fóa* 'fox'; with the masculine ending *-s*, OHG *fuhs* 'fox' (Ger. *Fuchs*), OE, Engl. *fox*.

Fables opposing a crafty fox to a lion or leopard are among the most widespread in antiquity.³³ These motifs are characteristic of a folk animal epos widespread in the folklore of Eurasian peoples and given literary embodiment in Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*.

2.1.7. Wild boar

2.1.7.1. The Indo-European term for 'wild boar' and its transformations in the historical dialects

The wild boar in early Indo-European tradition is comparable in its cultic significance to the large predators discussed earlier — the wolf, bear, leopard, and lion. The original Indo-European word for 'wild boar' is preserved in only a few dialects, primarily Italic: Lat. *aper* 'wild boar', *aprunus* 'of or pertaining to wild boars' (lit. 'created by wild boar'), Umbr. *abrunu* (acc.sg.) 'wild boar'; also Germanic: OE *eofor* 'wild boar', OHG *ebur* (Ger. *Eber*). The Baltic and Slavic cognates have initial *w-: Latv. *vepris* 'wild pig; hog', ORuss. *vepr*' (often *divii vepr*', with *divii* 'wild':³⁴ Sreznevskij 1958:I.245).

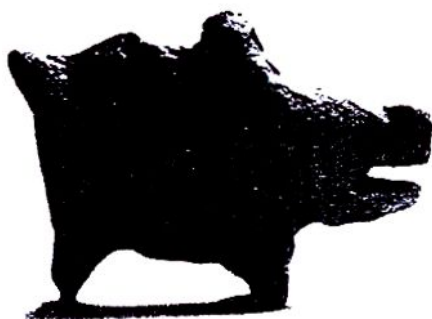


Illustration 4.

Clay figurine of a (wild) boar. Northern Black Sea area, second half of 5th millennium B.C.

The stem of these words can be related to one meaning 'throw', 'ejaculate (semen)': Skt. *vāpati* 'ejaculates', *vāpra-* 'embankment (of earth)' (see Pokorny 1959:1149). The connection is plausible in view of ancient conceptions of this animal as first of all a breeder, well reflected in mythological tradition (especially Germanic) as discussed below.

33. Cf. Aesop's fables of the fox and lion and the lion and leopard, where the spotted (*poikilos*) skin of the leopard is set off against the spotted (i.e. extremely crafty) soul of the fox.

34. Cf. in the Rigveda (I, 114, 5) *divó varāhám* 'heavenly boar' (concerning the god Rudra), where the first element is cognate to the first element of the Slavic expression.

Another base, semantically connected with the Sanskrit verb, is probably represented in Skt. *káp-ṛ-th(-a-)* 'penis', related to Gk. *kápros* 'wild boar', Lat. *caper* 'goat', Umbr. *kaprum* 'caprum', OIcel. *hafr* 'goat', OE *hæfer* 'goat' (see Emout and Meillet 1967:38). This set can be seen as cognate to the set meaning 'wild boar' (Lat. *aper*, ORuss. *vepr*', etc.) if we reconstruct an archaic Proto-Indo-European root with initial postvelar **qh-*: **qhwep^h-*, with loss of the **qh-* in some dialects (Skt. *vápati*, ORuss. *vepr*', Latv. *vepris*, OHG *ebur*, Lat. *aper*) and merger with **k^h-* in others (Skt. *káp-ṛ-th-*, Lat. *caper*, Gk. *kápros*; for postvelar **q^h* and its reflexes see I.2.4.6 above).³⁵

In some dialects, particularly Italic and Germanic, these phonetic processes produced doublets which underwent subsequent semantic differentiation, with one form preserving the meaning 'wild boar' (Lat. *aper*, OE *eofor*, etc.) and the other coming to mean 'he-goat, breeding male goat' (Lat. *caper*, OE *hæfer*, etc.). Homeric Greek preserves the original meaning of the form with initial *k-*, *kápros* 'wild boar', also used in the combination *sūs kápros* 'wild boar' (Iliad 5.783 et pass.).

It is apparently the cultic significance of the wild boar that explains the tendency to replace the original word for it with one meaning '(domestic) pig': *sūs*, *hūs*. As early as Homer we find, beside *kápros* 'wild boar' (Odyssey 6.104), combinations like *sūs kápros* (Iliad 5.783, 17.21) 'wild-boar pig', *suôn kápros* (Odyssey 11.131) 'pig boar' or simply *mégas sūs* 'large pig' meaning 'wild boar' (Odyssey 4.457, 19.439).

2.1.7.2. The cultic significance of wild boars in ancient Indo-European traditions

In Hittite tradition the wild boar — whose Hittite name is unknown, hidden behind the Sumerograms ŠAḪ 'pig, wild boar' and ŠAḪ.GIŠ.GI 'wild boar' (lit. 'reed pig') — is mentioned in a series of sacred animals (*šiu^{naš} huitar* 'god's animals') for a menagerie, following the lion (UR.MAḪ) and preceding the bear (AZ) in the Old Hittite Anittas text (see II.1.4.3 above). The animal has the same significance in Mycenaean Greek tradition, where we find the earliest evidence of warriors' helmets with wild boar tusks as a symbol of warlike

35. As a result of the merger of **q^h* and **k^h* in the early Indo-European dialects, the sequence **k^hw-* arises in these forms; in the *centum* dialects this sequence is kept distinct from the labiovelar **k^ho* and simplified to **k^h*: Gk. *kápros* 'boar', Lat. *caper* 'he-goat'; for the details of this phonetic process see I.2.3.2 above. The sequence of initial postvelar plus labial **q^hw-* posited for archaic Indo-European, which yields **kw-* in a number of dialects, can probably explain the anomalous correspondences of root vocalism in various dialects (Lat. *aper*, *caper*, Gk. *kápros* beside OE *eofor*, Russ. *vepr*', Latv. *vepris*) as well as the voiced *g-* of Celtic (OIr. *gabor*, Welsh *gafr* 'goat'; see Pokorny 1959:529), which may be a peculiar reflex of **k^hw-*.

qualities. Exactly such a helmet, with 'the silver-toothed boar's white tusks', is described in Homer's *leukoî odóntes argiódontos huós* (Iliad 10.263-64).

Boar-tusk helmets and shields, and military emblems with depictions of wild boars as a warlike symbol, are widespread among the ancient Germans, for whom the cultic significance of the wild boar is equivalent to that of the wolf and bear. In *Beowulf* there are frequent descriptions of a war helmet depicting a wild boar: *eofor-líc* 'boarlike' (303), *swīn-líc* in the same meaning (1453), *eofor* meaning 'image of a boar on a helmet' (1328), *eofor hēafod-segn* 'boar's-head helmet' (2152).

In Old Icelandic, the ancient word for 'wild boar', *jǫfurr*, is used only in the meaning 'prince' (also 'god'), a usage which symbolizes this animal's special status in Germanic tradition. The wild boar was also a totemic animal to Germanic tribes, who traced their lineage to a pair of divine brothers, Ibor and Agio; the name of the first is cognate to the Indo-European words for 'wild boar'. Because of the special cultic significance of the wild boar in Germanic tradition, the name for it is tabooed in its original meaning and replaced by other words, especially words meaning 'domestic pig', a semantic development comparable to that of Greek.

An important aspect of the boar cult in Germanic tradition is its connection with plant and animal fertility, shown by passages in a number of literary and legal texts and by archeological findings showing that the boar was a sacrificial animal and considered the food of gods and heroes (Beck 1965:56-69 et pass.). This further reflects an Indo-European view of the boar as a mythological breeder, the very trait captured in its original Indo-European name.

Early Celtic tradition is characterized by various depictions of boars as cult symbols: sculptures (especially the three bronze boars from Neuvy-en-Sullias), images on shields and military banners, on Gaulish coins, etc. In Old Irish the word for 'wild boar' (OIr. *torc*) also meant 'prince' as in Germanic (the original Indo-European word for the animal had evidently already been tabooed). Welsh tradition preserves a tale about the king Twrch Trwyth (*twrch* 'wild boar'), who was divinely turned into a boar (Beck 1965:116-17); cf. the Homeric passage discussed above in 2.1.3.3 where a god turns into a boar.

The ancient pagan traditions of the Baltic Slavs preserved a conception of a huge mythic wild boar which, flashing its white tusks, appeared out of the sea every time that the sacred city Retra was threatened by misfortune (Ivanov and Toporov 1965:37-38, 116, 134-35).

The concordant evidence from various Indo-European traditions on the significance of the wild boar, together with the cognate words in various dialects, permit us to trace the entire complex of ritual conceptions, together with the name of the animal, back to Proto-Indo-European.

2.1.8. Deer, European elk, and antelope

2.1.8.1. The Proto-Indo-European term

We may reconstruct a term for these animals, with various suffixes and a common root **el-*, **ol-* which may originally have meant 'brown, red': cf. Toch. A *yäl* 'antelope', *ylem* 'of or pertaining to an antelope'.

PIE **(e)l-k̑h-*: Skt. *ṛśya-* (in the Rigveda, which also has *ṛśya-dá-* 'trap or pitfall for antelope'), *ṛśa-* 'male antelope', Gk. *álkē* 'European elk', Lat. *alcē*, gen. *alcēs* id. [from Germanic], ORuss. *los'*, OHG *ēlho*, *ēlaho* (Ger. *Elch*), OE *eolh*, OIcel. *elgr* (the source of Engl. *elk*).

PIE **el-en-*, **el-ŋ-*: Gk. *ellós* 'fawn' (< **el-n-os*), *élapfos* 'deer; doe' (< **el-ŋ-bho-s*),³⁶ Myc. Gk. *e-ra-pi-ja* 'pertaining to a deer' (fem.) (Risch 1976:313), Arm. *ełn*, gen. *ełin* 'deer', OIr. *elit* 'doe' (< **el-ŋ-thī*), Lith. *ėlnis* 'deer', OPruss. *alne* 'male deer' (Toporov 1975-I.77), OCS *jelenī*, *alūnījī* 'deer' (Russ. *olen'* 'deer', *lan'* 'doe').³⁷

The distribution of meanings and forms for 'deer', 'antelope', and 'European elk' makes it possible to distinguish two stem forms and their meanings. The first was the semantically marked stem **el-en-*, **el-ŋ-* (with extension **-en-/*-ŋ-*), originally meaning 'deer', and the second was **el-k̑h-* (with extension **-k̑h-*), meaning either 'European elk' or 'antelope', the meanings in complementary distribution by dialect. Toch. A *yäl* 'antelope' belongs to this group semantically, and may represent the bare root. Thus the second stem form has indeterminate original semantics, while the first one is unambiguously 'deer'. The precise Proto-Indo-European meaning of **el-k̑h-* — which may have been 'European elk', 'antelope', or 'brown antlered animal' in general, but was distinct from 'deer' — can be established only on the basis of broader information about the original territory of the Proto-Indo-European speakers.

2.1.8.2. The taboo on the original word for 'deer' and its mythological significance

Several Indo-European dialects taboo the word for 'deer' at a fairly early time, replacing it with other terms. In particular, in Iranian, where the deer has special cultic and ritual significance, the term is replaced by a new compound **gav-az-(na-)*, lit. 'bull-goat': Avest. *gavasna-* 'deer', Khotanese Saka *ggūysna-*,

36. The element **-bho-* in **el-ŋ-bho-* may be cognate to the analogous element of Skt. *ṛśabhā-* 'bull', which is usually analyzed as root *ṛśa-* plus *-bha-* (Thumb and Hauschild 1959:II.44).

37. A possible connection of **olinā* 'elbow' with **el-ŋ-* 'deer' has been advanced; it assumes a metaphor 'horned bone' (Mastrelli 1976).

Sogd. *γ'wzn-*, Pehl. *gawazn* (Abaev 1958-1979:II.320). Even this term is subsequently tabooed in Iranian, replaced by the euphemistic 'antlered one' (metaphorically, from 'branchy'), which also extends to the animal as a totem of the East Iranian Sakas (*sāka* 'Scythian'): Oss. *sag* 'deer' beside *sāka* 'branch, twig', Skt. *śākhā* 'branch', cf. Russ. *soxa* 'branch', *soxatyj* 'European elk', lit. 'branchy' (Abaev 1949:I.49, 179).



Illustration 5.

Fresco showing a deer hunt. Çatal Hüyük, 7th–6th millennia B.C.

In Old Icelandic tradition the deer is the basic mythic horned animal on the Cosmic Tree, where it reaches beyond the boundaries of the Middle World to the top of the tree; it was represented as a constellation, which is analogous to the conception of the European elk among northern peoples — the Lapps and the Greenland Eskimos (Dumézil 1959:105-6).³⁸ In the Edda the deer is called *hjqrtr*, a term different from the original Indo-European one and formed, like its early Germanic cognates OE *heorot* (Engl. *hart*) and OHG *hiruz* 'deer' (Ger. *Hirsch*), from a root meaning 'horn, antler; antlered animal' (cf. the same kind of replacement in Iranian and Slavic, above). Celtic also uses a secondary term based on 'antler': Bret. *karo*, Corn. *carow* 'deer' (from 'antlered': Porzig 1954:175 [1964:259]).

In another group of dialects, Albanian, Baltic, and Germanic, the ancient term for 'deer' is replaced by a different word: Alb. *bri* 'horn, antlers', Latv. *briēdis* 'European elk; deer', Swed. dial. *brind* 'European elk' (Porzig 1954:210 [1964:310]).

38. In some Slavic traditions the European elk acquires cultic and mythological significance, displacing the deer; it is represented as a constellation (Ivanov and Toporov 1974:49). This may be connected to the taboo replacement of the original East Slavic word for 'elk' by the descriptive *soxatyj* 'branchy (antlered)'.

2.1.9. Wild bull, aurochs, and bison

2.1.9.1. The Indo-European term for the wild bull and its connection to Semitic

A generic term for wild cattle and aurochs is attested in the main early dialects: Gk. *taûros* 'ox, bull', Lat. *taurus* id., Osc. *taurom*, Umbr. *turuf*, *toru* 'tauros', Lith. *taûras* 'aurochs', OCS *turŭ* 'bull', ORuss. *tur* 'aurochs', Alb. *tarok* (cf. also Gaul. *tarvos*, Mlr. *tarb* 'bull', OIcel. *þjórr* 'bull'): PIE **t^hauro-*. The same word can be seen in Semitic **tawr-* (Fronzaroli 1969:VI.304); this indicates an origin for the term in a Southwest Asian migratory word for this animal, which had an important cultic role in the ancient cultures of the eastern Mediterranean.³⁹ In this respect the word has much in common with the culturally significant Southwest Asian migratory terms for 'leopard' and 'lion', mentioned above.

2.1.9.2. The cultic role of the aurochs or wild bull in individual traditions

In some Indo-European traditions, particularly in Baltic and Slavic, which have preserved the word in its original meaning 'aurochs', this animal is connected to a whole complex of archaic rites and folklore motifs. A Russian *bylina* preserved in an early recording associates three animals of cultic significance: the aurochs, the *ljutyj zver'* (lit. 'fierce beast'), and the wild boar (Ivanov and Toporov 1974:170). In medieval Kiev there was a place named *Turova Božnica* 'aurochs altar' (Chronicle, sub anno 1146); in northern Russia there is an analogous name *Kapišče Turovo* 'aurochs temple'. Similar conclusions about the ritual significance of the aurochs can be drawn from Baltic folklore toponymics (Būga 1958-1961:II.634-36).

2.1.9.3. Derivatives from the term for 'wild bull' in Indo-European dialects and their Caucasian parallels

Derivatives probably formed from this root arise in individual early dialect groupings; they include forms with zero grade, secondary nasalization, and phonetic transformation of the initial part of the root.⁴⁰ With initial change

39. The bull is the second most significant cult animal after the leopard in ancient Southwest Asian culture of the seventh and sixth millennia B.C. as known from Çatal Hüyük (Mellaart 1967); this is also true of later Crete, as reflected in the legend of the Minotaur and perhaps Plato's myth of Atlántis.

40. If we admit such root-initial phonetic changes and root vowel changes, then we can relate this same root to the form **st^heuro-* attested by Av. *staora-* 'cattle', Goth. *stiur* 'bull', OIcel. *stjórr* 'bull', OE *stēor* (Engl. *steer*), OHG *stior* (Ger. *Stier*); cf. the same **e* vocalism in OIcel. *þjórr* from **t^heuro-*.

through prefixation of secondary *s-* the root appears in a number of dialects in the meaning 'European bison' (*Bos primigenius* Boj.): Lith. *stumbras*, Latv. *stumbrs* and, with simplification of the initial cluster, *sumbrs* and its doublet *sūbrs*. As shown above, such phonetic transformations of cultically significant words are frequent among the names of animals. Related to these forms is OPruss. *wissambris* 'bison', from **wis-sambri-*, where *wis-* refers to musk and the similar strong-smelling substance characteristic of bison (Pokorny 1959:1134): cf. OIcel. *visundr* 'bison', OHG *wisunt* (Ger. *Wisent*). Another phonetic transformation of the initial consonant produces the Slavic word for 'bison': ORuss. *zubr*, Czech *zubr*, South Slavic **zq̄mbrŭ* (the source of Rumanian *zímbru*, MGk. *zómbros* 'bison').

A migratory term widespread in the Caucasus is probably related to this set of words: Oss. *dombaj* 'bison' (and also 'lion'), Kabard. *dombej*, Adyghe *dombaj*, Abkhaz *a-domp'èj*, Svan *dombāj*, Balkar *dommaj*, Karachay *dommaj*, and others (Abaev 1958:I.365). The link between Caucasian and Balto-Slavic is interesting in view of the range of the bison. Now nearly extinct, it formerly lived in the Caucasus uplands, where evidence for it goes back to the Stone Age (there are Mousterian camps with significant quantities of bison bones: Semenov 1968:289), and, up to medieval times, in eastern Europe — the historical territory of the Balts and Slavs (Calkin 1956:133, 138, 229, 1962:77, 1966:58-59, 101). The paleozoological facts help explain the origin of the Indo-European dialect terms. A distinctive species of animal, found in the territory of the Balts, Slavs, and eastern Iranians, was given a special designation formed by phonetic alteration of the inherited Proto-Indo-European term for 'wild bull'. As a result, Baltic and Slavic have doublet words, one regularly continuing the protoform and meaning 'aurochs' (OCS *turŭ*, Lith. *taūras*), and the other, phonetically reshaped, meaning 'bison' (ORuss. *zubr*, Lith. *stumbras*).

2.1.10. *Hare*

2.1.10.1. *The Indo-European word for 'hare' and its dialectal replacements*

The Proto-Indo-European term for 'hare' goes back to a root **k̑has-*, **k̑has-no-*: Skt. *śasá-* 'hare', Khotanese Saka *saha-*, Welsh *ceinach* (from **cein-* 'female hare' < **k̑has-n-ī*), OHG *haso* (Ger. *Hase*), OE *hara* (Engl. *hare*), OIcel. *heri*, OPruss. *sasins* 'hare'. The original meaning is 'gray', preserved in some dialects: Lat. *cānus* 'gray', OHG *hasan* 'flecked with gray', OE *hasu* 'gray'; cf. also Gk. *ksanthós* 'light-haired'. The **a* root vocalism is striking (see I.3.1.2 above), as is the case also with **thauro-*.

In Baltic (except for Old Prussian, see above) and in Slavic there is a taboo replacement by descriptive forms like Russ. *zajac* 'hare' (lit. 'jumper': cf.

—Skt. *háya-*, Arm. *ji* ‘horse’ beside Skt. *hinóti*, *hínvati* ‘drives, urges on’, Pokorny 1959:424, Vasmer 1964-1973:II.84), Lith. *kiškis* (with other terms in various dialects: Būga 1958-1961:II.674); cf. also Russ. *serjak* ‘hare’ from *seryj* ‘gray’.

In Old Hittite texts enumerating ‘animals of the gods’ we find an animal name *šaša-*, positionally identifiable with the Sumerogram DÀRA ‘mountain goat’. The verb that combined with this animal name, to judge from KUB XIX 1 III 43ff., was *kunk-* ‘shake, hang(?)’; and *šaša-* is contrasted with SILÁ ‘lamb’ (Goetze 1962:29). *šaša-* was obviously an animal of small size, ritually significant in Hittite tradition and equatable to a ‘jumping goat’. In view of its formal correspondence to Skt. *śaśá-* ‘hare’, the Hittite word could have had the same meaning. In that case the Hittite word must be considered a borrowing from Aryan (the regular Hittite reflex should be **kaša-*), unless it is due to assibilation of the initial **k-* (Josephson 1979 admits assibilation of **k̥h-* before *a* in Anatolian).

2.1.11. Squirrel, polecat, and ermine

2.1.11.1. The term for ‘squirrel’ in the Indo-European dialects

A reduplicated form meaning ‘squirrel’ or ‘polecat’ is attested in a number of Ancient European dialects and also in Iranian. Lith. *vėveris*, *vaiveris* ‘squirrel’, ‘male polecat, squirrel, marten, or chamois’ (Būga 1958-1961:II.652), Latv. *vāvere* ‘squirrel’, OPruss. *weware* ‘squirrel’, ORuss. *věverica*, *viverica* ‘squirrel’, Russ. *veverica* ‘squirrel; ermine’, Lat. *uīuerra* ‘ferret’. The word is an Ancient European dialect innovation **we(i)wer-*, which could have referred to one or another small forest mammal.

In Germanic, due to the special mythological significance of the squirrel, the original word was replaced by the descriptive form **aik-werna* (**aik* ‘oak’): OIcel. *íkorne* ‘squirrel’, OHG *eihurno* (Ger. *Eichhorn*), OE *ācweorna*. In the Edda, the squirrel (*íkorne*) is depicted as the liveliest animal of the Middle World, constantly running through the Cosmic Tree and uniting the upper part with the lower (*Grímnismál* 32). In Latvian folk songs the squirrel is asked to give fur, using the same formulas as are applied to other fur-bearing animals, notably the otter and beaver (Mühlenbach and Endzelin 1923-1932:IV.512).

There is another dialectal term for ‘ermine, weasel’ in Germanic, Baltic, and Venetic (see Pokorny 1959:573-74): OHG *harmo* ‘ermine’ (cf. Ger. *Hermelin*), Lith. *šarmuō*, *šermuō* ‘ermine’, *šarmonys* ‘weasel’, Latv. *seřmulis* ‘ermine’ (Fraenkel 1962-1965:II.965). For ‘weasel’ Germanic uses a term derived from **weis-*, which denoted a strong or musky odor (Pokorny 1959:1134): OHG

wisula (Ger. *Wiesel*), OE *weosule* (Engl. *weasel*).

In view of the late, dialectal nature of the words for 'squirrel', 'weasel', and 'ermine', no corresponding semanteme can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European.

2.1.12. Monkey or ape

2.1.12.1. A reconstructed Proto-Indo-European word for 'ape', and its connections with Southwest Asian words

Widely distributed cognate words for 'monkey, ape' in the ancient Indo-European dialects make it possible to posit a well-defined protoform at the Proto-Indo-European time depth. The cognates fall into two formal sets, one with initial *k-* and one without it. Skt. *kapí-* 'monkey' (from Vedic on; cf. personal name *Vṛṣākapí-*, lit. 'male monkey'), Gk. *kēpos* ~ *kēbos* 'long-tailed monkey' (cf. also Gk. *píthēkos* 'monkey, ape' < **[ka]pithekos?*); OIcel. *api*, OE *apa* (Engl. *ape*), OHG *affo* (Ger. *Affe*), Celtic *abrános* (the Celtic word for 'monkey, ape', according to Hesychius: see Pokorny 1959:2-3), ORuss. *opica* (*opiica*), *opyni* 'monkey, ape' (Sreznevskij 1958:II.682-83, 700-701),⁴¹ OPol. *opica* (15th century), Cz. *opice*, USorb. *wopica*, Polab. *opó*, Serbo-Cr. *òpica*, Slovene *òpica*.

The alternation of initial *k-* and \emptyset - points to an earlier postvelar **qh-*, with its regular reflexes of *k* and \emptyset in the respective dialects (see I.2.4.6 above). The protoform can be reconstructed as **qhe/oph-*, with a variant **qhe/op-*, due to dissimilation of aspiration (see I.1.4.3 above), reflected in Germanic. The word is obviously an ancient Southwest Asian migratory word, attested in a number of Near Eastern languages, including Afroasiatic, in which it goes back to the earliest historical stages: Akkad. *ukūpu*, *ilakūpu* (von Soden 1981:III.1427), Hebr. *kôp*, Aram. *ḵôpā*, Egypt. *gjf* 'monkey, ape' (Erman and Grapow 1955:V.158). Semitic has an emphatic (postvelar) *ḵ*, which is in accord with the reconstructed postvelar **qh* of Indo-European.

Since the term for 'ape, monkey' is found in both Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Semitic, its source cannot be determined (see Mayrhofer 1956:I.156). In its areal distribution and age of borrowing the word belongs to the same class as those for 'leopard; panther', 'lion', and 'aurochs; wild bull'.

41. Several investigators posit a Slavic borrowing from Germanic (Vasmer 1964-1973:III.144-45), although there is insufficient evidence for this claim. ORuss. *opyni* probably belonged to the East Slavic pagan lexicon; playing games with a monkey or bear was considered a sin. The other Russian word, *obez'jana*, represents a later borrowing from Persian *būzīna*, possibly via Turkic.

-2.1.13. *Elephant and ivory*2.1.13.1. *Early dialect terms for 'elephant' and their connection to Southwest Asian migratory terms*

Despite the restricted dialect distribution of cognates, a word for 'elephant; ivory' can be reconstructed as *yebh- (or *Hebh-), going back to an early stage of dialect unity and reflected in a number of archaic words from only two dialects: Lat. *ebur* 'ivory; elephant', Skt. *ībha-ḥ* 'elephant'. Like the other animal names listed above, it is an evident Near Eastern migratory word, found in a number of ancient Near Eastern languages, including Afroasiatic: Egypt. *3bw* 'elephant' (Erman and Grapow 1955:I.7; on the evidence of Coptic *ebou*, *ebu* a protoform *(j)ebu can be reconstructed), Hebr. *šen-habbīm* 'elephant tusk' (lit. 'tooth': *šen*).

In the same semantic sphere, an ancient migratory term for 'ivory' is found in other Indo-European dialects: Myc. Gk. *e-re-pa*, gen. *e-re-pa-to* 'ivory', adj. *e-re-pa-te-jo* 'made of ivory', Hom. *elēphas*, gen. *elēphantos* 'ivory', *elēphanteios* 'made of ivory'. The word can be compared to Hitt. *lahpa-*, in one text with Glossenkeil: *la-aḥ-pa-aš ú-nu-wa-an-du* 'let them decorate [it] with ivory', KUB XXXVI 25; in a trilingual Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite text *lahpaš* corresponds to Sumerian *zu* and Akkad. *šinnu* in the sense 'elephant tooth' (Laroche 1965b, Masson 1967:80-83).

Comparison of Hittite-Luwian *lahpa-* and Gk. *elēphas*, gen. *elēphantos* permits us to regard the initial *e-* of the Greek form as the typical prothetic vowel of that language, and reconstruct a protoform *leb^hon^h-; there is a regular reflex of zero grade *l^hon^h- in Goth. *ulbandus* 'camel'.⁴² Like the Latin and Sanskrit word for 'elephant', this one goes back to an ancient stage of dialect unity. Another word belonging to this set may be *alpi 'camel', posited for Tocharian (the Tocharian word is proposed as a source of Central Asian loans of the form [arpa] 'camel': see Clauson 1973:40).

Evidently the speakers of individual Indo-European dialects who settled new territories and encountered camels for the first time transferred the word for 'elephant' to the unfamiliar large animal. Another group of dialects forms a

42. There are no formal grounds for considering Goth. *ulbandus* 'camel' (OSax. *olbundeō* 'camel', *Heliand* 3299; OE *olfend*, Olcel. *ulfalde*) a loan from Gk. *elēphas*, as is usually assumed. The regular phonetic correspondences of these words clearly allow them to be traced back to a common Proto-Indo-European form. For the semantic shift from 'elephant' to 'camel' in Proto-Germanic or earlier cf. the analogous development in Sumerian and Akkadian (Landsberger 1934:92, Nagel 1963:193). Goth. *ulbandus* was probably borrowed into Slavic as OCS *velbōdŭ* (Russ. *verbljud*) 'camel': Vasmer 1964-1973:I.293-94, cf. Sreznevskij 1958:I.241. The Slavic word for 'elephant' (Russ. *slon*) is borrowed from eastern Asiatic languages (archaic Chinese **sān*, Burm. *shān* < **slān* 'elephant': Pulleyblank 1963:23), whereas many western European languages borrow the word for 'elephant' from Greek via Latin.

new word for 'camel': Skt. *ústra-* 'camel; buffalo' ('buffalo' in the Rigveda), Avest. *uštrō* 'camel' (cf. the personal name *Zarath-uštrō*, lit. 'camel driver': Mayrhofer 1977:43ff.; but see also Thieme 1981), from the root *wes- 'moisten'.

Thus two words for 'elephant' can be reconstructed for archaic Indo-European dialect groupings, both in all likelihood of general Near Eastern origin: *yebh- ~ *Hebh- and *lebh-onth- (possibly *leHbho-, taking into account the Hittite-Luwian form). Comparison of the two protoforms suggests that they may ultimately be related to each other through a single Proto-Indo-European word for 'elephant', a form reminiscent of other words for 'elephant' in languages of the ancient Near East.

2.2. Animals of the Lower World

2.2.1. Serpent, snake, and worm

2.2.1.1. Indo-European words for 'serpent'; their variants and replacements in individual dialects

The serpent as a basic mythic being of the Lower World is represented by cognates in all the early Indo-European dialects, cognates which reveal some phonetic variation: Skt. *áhi-* 'serpent', Ved. *Áhi-Budhnyá-* 'Serpent of the Depths', Av. *aži-* 'serpent', Gk. *óphis* 'snake; grass snake', Arm. *iž* 'snake, viper': PIE *oghoi-. Lat. *anguis* 'snake; serpent; dragon', Mlr. *esc-ung* 'eel' (lit. 'water snake'), Lith. *angis*, OPruss. *angis*, ORuss. *už* 'snake species', Russ. *už* 'adder, viper', Arm. *awj*: PIE *anghi-.⁴³ Gk. *ékhis* 'snake', *ékhidna* 'mythological snake': PIE *eghi- (see below for a possible Germanic reflex of this form in OIcel. *ægir* 'Serpent'). This latter stem forms the basis for the term for a species of hedgehog, lit. 'snake-eater' (apparently the reference was to a mongoose, which kills poisonous snakes): Gk. *ekhīnos* 'hedgehog', Oss. *wyzyn/uzun*, Arm. *ozni*, Lith. *ežys*, Latv. *ezis*, Russ. *ež*, OHG, OE *igel* (Ger. *Igel*) 'hedgehog'.

43. A Baltic and Slavic semantic innovation from the same Indo-European root is the word for 'eel', a fish common in the Baltic Sea basin: OPruss. *angurgis*, Lith. *ungurys*, Russ. *ugor* (Toporov 1975-:I.88-89); cf. also Lat. *anguilla* 'eel'. The original meaning 'snake, worm' is reflected in Germanic cognates: OHG *angar* 'larva' (Ger. *Engerling*), OPruss. *anxdris* 'grass snake', Lith. *inkštāras* (Toporov 1975-:I.96). Cf. Gk. *imbēris · égkhelus* (Hesychius; evidently in the meaning 'water snake'); the Greek word *égkhelus*, which corresponds formally to both PIE *anghi- and *eghi- (Pokorny 1959:44), means 'water snake' but not 'eel', since it is opposed to the generic term *ikhthūs* 'fish' as in Homeric *égkhélus te kai ikhthūs*, *Iliad* 21.203 and 353. Therefore, *contra* some investigators (Watkins 1971:1500, cf. Pokorny 1959:43-44), an original meaning 'eel' cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European *anghi- 'snake' (for the dialectal nature of these words see Porzig 1954:125, 202 [1964:188, 298]).

The words show phonetic differences, evidently correlated with semantic differences. The original root **eǵhi-*, preserved in the archaic derivative, undergoes taboo transformations, yielding two different forms **anghoi-*, **oghoi-*, names for 'snake' and 'serpent' as mythic and ritually significant beings.

In a number of dialects this taboo leads to complete replacement of the original word by neologisms like Lat. *natrix* 'water snake', OIr. *nathir*, Goth. *nadrē*, OIcel. *naðr*, OHG *nātara* 'adder' (Ger. *Natter*), Engl. *adder* (an Italic-Celtic-Germanic isogloss: Porzig 1954:101, 125 [1964:153, 188]). Another is Skt. *sarpá-* 'snake, reptile', Lat. *serpens* 'snake' (in Pliny the word also refers to small crawling insects), Gk. *herpetón* 'crawling animal' (Wackernagel 1953:I.165), from PIE **serph-* 'crawl': Skt. *sárpāti* 'crawls', Gk. *hérpō* 'crawl', Lat. *serpō* id., etc.

Slavic preserves the original term **qǝi* as the name of a particular species of snake, while the meaning 'mythic serpent, dragon; serpent in general' is expressed by a euphemism: OCS *zmīja* 'snake; dragon' (*óphis*, *drákōn*), originally 'crawling on the ground; belonging to the Lower World' (cf. Alb. *dhémje* 'caterpillar'), from PIE **ǵhǵh-e/om-* 'earth'. Another euphemism is the Germanic designation of 'serpent' and 'mythic serpent, dragon' as 'worm': Goth. *waúrms* 'snake', OIcel. *ormr* 'serpent' (e.g. in the Edda: *Miðgarðs-ormr* 'Snake of the Middle World', which marks the boundary of the earth and is the 'belt of all the lands', *umgjqrð allra landa*). This euphemism is based on the original meaning 'worm; insect'.⁴⁴ In some Germanic languages, this meaning is found together with that of 'serpent': e.g. OE *wyrm* 'serpent; dragon; worm', Engl. *worm*. Elsewhere, the word preserves its original meaning, while 'serpent' is named by one of the words just reviewed: cf. Lat. *uermis* 'worm', Gk. *rhómos* 'wood worm', Lith. *vařmas* 'insect; mosquito', ORuss. *vérmie* 'locust; worms'. The same word provides a term for red or purple dye in a number of dialects: OPruss. *wormyan* 'red' (lit. 'worm-colored'), Ukr. *vermjaniij* 'red', OHG *wurmoht*, *wurmrōt*, *wurmfar* 'dyed red', OE *wurma* 'purple' (a Balto-Slavic-Germanic isogloss): PIE **wǝmi-*, **wǝmo-*.⁴⁵

44. Comparable semantic shifts among the meanings 'worm', 'insect', 'snake', and 'lizard' are found in other cognate sets, and can be explained as resulting from the assignment of all these animals to a single category. The word meaning 'lizard' in one dialect group (OCS *ašterŭ*, Russ. *jaščerica* 'lizard', Latv. *šķārgailis*, Alb. *hardhēlē* 'lizard') has cognates meaning 'worm' (Gk. *skarís* 'worm species') and 'insect' (Lith. *skėrys* 'locust', cf. Gk. *kóris* 'bedbug' with a different initial) in other dialects.

45. There is phonetic similarity between this stem and another Indo-European stem with the same meaning, **kǵǝmi-* 'worm': Skt. *kǝmi-* 'worm', Sogd. *kyrm-* 'worm', Pers. *kirm* 'worm', Oss. *kalm* 'snake, worm', OIr. *cruim* 'worm', OPruss. *girmis* 'larva', Lith. *kirmis* 'worm', OCS *čřivŭ* 'worm' (the source of the Slavic word for 'red': OCS *čřivenŭ* 'red', a perfect analogy to the word 'red' formed from the other stem **wǝmi-*).

The word for 'ant', **mor-w-/*wor-m-*, is formally related to these words: Russ. *muravej*, Gk. *bórmaks* 'ant', Skt. *vamrá-* 'ant' (see I.4.1.3 above). The semantic relatedness of