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Abstracts

Ritual Speech in the Neo-Phrygian Funerary Curse *Formulae*

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The Neo-Phrygian corpus (1st–3rd centuries AD) consists almost exclusively of *funerary curses* publicly written on the gravestone by the owner(s) of the tombs to warn any potential desecrators that evil would befall them if they should violate the grave. Neo-Phrygian curses have a strong *formulaic* character and pertain to *ritual speech* (Bax 2010: 484–5). Whenever language is meant to produce specific effects on the world, several devices are put in place in order to increase its performative power.

First of all, Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are mostly characterized by a *bilingual structure* in which the epitaph containing the deceased's biographic information is in Greek, and the curse is in Neo-Phrygian. I argue that this structure was intentional: the fidelity to the ancestral language was perceived as the only way to effectively invoke the ancestral gods in order to protect the tombs from desecrators (cf. so-called "code-switching with the gods", Love 2016).

Then, the use of formulaic *binomials* (a sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy connected by a lexical link, as found in Malkiel 1959), is a rhetorical device meant to increase the solemnity of ritual speech. One variant of the Neo-Phrygian curse formulae runs as follows:

<u>με δεως κε ζεμελως κε</u> τι(τ)τετικμενος ειτου,

May he be accursed <u>among gods and men</u>.

Here, δεως, 'gods' and ζεμελως, 'men', are in the same case (dat. plur.), they depend on the same preposition με, and they are connected by the copulative enclitic conjunction κε < PIE *k^we. Moreover, they are arranged from the shortest to the longest, in accordance with Behaghel's Law of Increasing Terms (Behagel 1909). The Indo-European primary opposition between deities and humans (West 2007: 124–5) is evident in the preservation of the PIE roots in Neo-Phrygian: δεως < PIE *d^hh_1so-; ζεμελως, < PIE *$(dh)\hat{g}hem$-*elo*-. Etymological parallels of this formulaic binomial can be found in Vedic, Italic and Celtic.

Concerning τι(τ)τετικμενος, I agree with Lubotsky (2004: 235–6) in considering τι(τ) < PIE *$d(u)is$- (LIPP, *s.v.*), but I analyze τε-τικ-μενος as the middle perfect participle of the verb τικ- < PIE *(s)*teig*-, 'sting, pierce' (LIV, *s.v.*). I think that the act of 'piercing' is related to black magic rites which prescribe harming someone by piercing a 'voodoo doll' (Németh 2018) with sharp objects. In PGM XVI, 15 and 64, the Greek verb στίξαι < PIE *(s)*teig*- is used to describe the pierced victim's heart, and the same image is found in the *Atharva Veda Śaunaka*, 3, 23, 3, 3. The prescription of PGM, IV, 296-328 gives very precise indications concerning the position of the needles. A perfect parallelism can be found in the *Atharva Veda Śaunaka*, 3, 25, 3-6. In Gaulish, the root PIE *(s)*teig*- in the Hospitalet-du-Larzac *defixio* (RIG L-98) commonly means 'to bewitch' (Lambert 2003: 169–72). Thus, the semantic passage in Neo-Phrygian is reconstructable as 'to be pierced (τετικμενος) through (τι)', in the sense of 'being the victim of a spell', and therefore, simply, 'accursed'.

Finally, despite Lubotsky's (1998) and West's (2003) efforts to reconstruct a metric 'proto-formula', too many elements prevent a coherent metric analysis of the Neo-Phrygian curses. Only two inscriptions (Avram 2015; Lubotsky 2017) actually show an attempt of metric regularization and, in my opinion, the stonecutters were trying to reproduce the overall impression of the Greek funerary epigrams in Phrygian. Imitating a metric structure, without actually possessing the technical skills required to master it, is a common feature among the lower social classes wanting to imitate the upper classes. An interesting parallelism can be found in some Latin funeral epigrams containing 'hexametric rhythms' (Warmington 1940, Nos. 42, 90), a sort of approximation of dactylic hexameters.

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"For we Cyclopes do not care for Jupiter":
Latin *religiō* 'observance', *neglegō* 'neglect' and Greek ἀλέγω 'care for'

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The etymology of *religiō* has been a topic of debate from antiquity until modern scholarship. Among the etymological dictionaries, Walde-Hofmann (*LEW*) accept Cicero's connection with *legere* 'gather', while Ernout-Meillet (*DELL*) are in favor of a derivation from *religāre* 'reconnect' (*ligāre* 'bind'), with the ecclesiastic authors Lactantius and Tertullianus. De Vaan (*EDL* s.v. *ligāre*) merely remarks that "the appurtenance of *religiō* to this verb is uncertain", leaving the matter undecided.

An older idea is that *religiō* derives from a compound verb **religere* cognate with *dīligere* 'be attentive, take care of', *intellegere* 'remark, notice' and *neglegere* 'neglect', and outside of Latin with Greek ἀλέγω 'care for'. Though Walde-Hofmann (*LEW*) reject this, they do refer to older etymological dictionaries of Greek. Modern Greek etymological dictionaries (*GEW, DELG, EDG*), however, do not even mention the idea, in spite of the fact that it was forcefully defended in a dissertation by Wilt (1954), which seems to have gone completely unnoticed among comparative linguists, both on the Latin and the Greek side.

In this paper, my contribution will be to show that *religiō* must indeed be connected with this root **h₂leg-e/o-* 'heed, take care'. I will:

(1) discuss and answer the objections against reconstructing a PIE root **h₂leg-e/o-*.

ἀλέγω cannot be from **n̥-leg-e/o-* (as per Seiler 1958, followed by Lamberterie, *DELG* Suppl.) because cognate forms in Greek require that a *simplex* neuter **alegos < *h₂leg-os* existed, with a different full grade slot (Rix 1970:87); for Greek we may assume a merger **h₂leg-e/o-* 'heed' with cf. van Beek 2018:43 with n. 24). Furthermore, *dīligere*, *neglegere* and *intellegere* have a sigmatic perfect in *-lēxī*, distinguishing them from the root perfect *lēgī* of *legere* 'collect' and its compounds. This means that the roots **h₂leg-* 'heed' and **(s)leg-* 'gather' merged phonologically in pre-Latin, but the verb 'heed' kept a distinct stem formation. I will also deal with the objection (cf. Schrijver 1991) that the lack of vowel reduction in *neglegere* and *intellegere* presupposes the existence of a simplex *legere* meaning **'care for'*, which is not attested.

(2) argue that *religiō* has a basic meaning 'attentive observance' and derives from a cognate verb **religere* (cf. *religēns*, quoted from an older poet in Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 4.9.1).

Wilt concludes that "the early concept of *religio* was a subjective feeling of "regard" and "respect" for something" (1954:114). From Ciceronian times, the word denotes the observance of a custom, rite, and then also these observances themselves.

(3) analyze phraseology with ἀλέγω in Homer, compare this to the use of Latin *religiō*, and on this basis argue that **h₂leg-e/o-* may have been used already in PIE in reference to religious or ritual observance.

As for ἀλέγω without negation, it expresses "a positive attention to something" (Wilt 1954:45), but when negated, it "expresses the absence or the deliberate omission of care and regard for something" (ib.). Although ἀλέγω and *religio* are not limited to interactions with the divine, they do both take divinities and cultic actions as an object, especially with a negation. For instance, Polyphemus boasts that he does not care for Zeus or the other gods (*Od.* 9.275-6: οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν / οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων). I will discuss the complete evidence for the use of ἀλέγω in early Greek poetry and then compare it to the earliest Latin usage of *religiō* as well as *dīligere*, *neglegere*.

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"Trust me, I'm a Hittite": Anatolian echoes of Indo-European phraseology

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The role of Anatolian in the discussion on Indo-European phraseology and poetics has been relatively marginal until not too long ago (only sparse mentions in seminal works such as Schmitt 1967 and Campanile 1977). The contributions by Calvert Watkins and Jaan Puhvel (Watkins 1981, 1995, Puhvel 1981, etc.), together with more recent scholarship (e.g. García Ramón 2006, 2011), paved the way for its definitive inclusion, but the rapid progress in Anatolian philology and linguistics, together with our increasing understanding of the collocation of this branch both within the IE language family and the Near-Eastern cultural milieu, calls for a re-assessment of the entire issue.

This paper will be divided in two parts. I shall first review some of the available evidence for Indo-European phraseology in Anatolian. Through the analysis of selected examples (the *na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-te-eš* 'Fears' and the *ú-e-<ri->te-ma-aš* 'Terrors' in *CTH* 372; "becoming a wolf" in §37 of the Hittite *Laws*; the invocations to the gods in Hittite and Luwian oaths), I shall try to establish a taxonomy for the phraseology that Anatolian shares with other IE branches, making appropriate distinctions between cases of inheritance, of contact (both with the non-IE languages of the Ancient Near East and with Greek), and of independent developments.

The second part will be devoted to an entirely new case study. Through an analysis of all textual occurrences, I will argue that the Hittite construction *kāri tii̯a-*, generally translated as 'to be gracious towards', 'to comply', 'to go along with', may also mean 'to believe', 'to trust', and that it is possibly comparable to the well-known (cf. Benveniste 1969:172ff.) Indo-European 'construction' *$\hat{k}re(d)$-d^heh_1-* [PLACE (IN?) THE HEART] > [BELIEVE]/[TRUST], reconstructed from Skt. *śraddhā́* 'confidence, devotion', Av. *zrazdāiti-* 'trust, confidence, belief', and Lat. *credō* 'I believe'.

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Upholding Heaven and Earth, upholding the Right

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The collocation [DEITY – UPHOLD – HEAVEN and EARTH] with [HEAVEN and EARTH] as a metonymic merism (in Calvert Watkins's terminology) for [UNIVERSE], is attested in several IE languages (Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin, Armenian), within the framework of myths and conceptions, which deeply differ from each other.

Despite the fact that the collocation is expressed in the different languages by means of terms, which are, for the most part, not etymologically related (exception made for Hitt. *ḫark-ᵐⁱ* : Lat. *arceō,-ēre* 'to uphold, hold fast', cf. Catsanicos 1986) and that structural variants occur (in particular, [UNIVERSE] is precised or enlarged as [ALL CREATURES] in Vedic, as [WATER and PLANTS] in Avestan, as [SEA] in Latin), the phraseological and semantic coincidences between Anatolian and Latin (with Hitt. *ḫark-ᵐⁱ* : Lat. *arceō* to PIE *$h_2$erk-* 'to uphold'), Indo-Iranian (with Ved. [*ví-*]*dhar/dhr̥* : Av. [*ví-*]*dar*, also *dharh* / *dhr̥h*, *stambh* / *stabh* 'to heave up' vs. *rejáya-ᵗⁱ* 'to shuttle, agitate'), Greek ([*ἀμφί-*]*ἔχω* within the myth of Atlas) and Armenian (*hastatem*) can hardly be explained as coincidental.

The same applies to the motif of [PILLAR(s)] as [SUPPORT of EARTH (and HEAVEN)], which is well attested in Indo-Iranian (Ved. *sthū́ṇā-*, YAv. *stūnā-*) and Greek (κίων Hom.+). Therefore, the collocation [UPHOLD – HEAVEN and EARTH] is likely to reflect an inherited conception, which can be labelled as Indo-European, even if not specifically Indo-European, regardless of whether derived from the Near East or any other tradition. On the other hand, the conceptualization of [TRUTH] as the [PILLAR] supporting [EARTH (and HEAVEN)], which is restricted to Indo-Iranian, structurally overlaps the collocation [UPHOLD – GOOD / RIGHT, TRUE], expressed by means of the same verbs for [UPHOLD] in Indo-Iranian (Ved. *vásūni dháraya-* : OAv. *vahištəm dāraiia-*, cf. OP *Dārayavauš* 'Darius') and Greek (Hom. εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, MN Ἐχέδικος *et al.*).

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The Myth of Baldr's Death and the Vedic Wounded Sun:
Old Norse Religion and Poetics from a Comparative Indo-European Perspective

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Baldr, a god who is "so bright that light shines from him" (*Gylfaginning* 22: *bjartr svá at lýsir af honum*), holds a special position in Old Norse (ON) religion, as the protagonist of mythical narratives about his love for a woman named *Nanna Neps-dóttir* ('*Neps*-daughter') and his killing by a character named *Hǫðr* (e.g. *Gylfaginning* 49; Saxo *Gesta Danorum* 3.1–4). *Nanna* is clearly identical to the ON appellative *nanna* 'maiden, woman' (Liberman 2004:25; 47), whereas her father's name (gen. sg. *Neps*) is etymologically unclear (de Vries 1962, s.v.). *Hǫðr* is currently analysed as a derivative of the ON feminine *hǫð* 'battle' (PIE *$\acute{k}ó/\acute{a}/Htu$- 'hostility' : Hittite *kattu-* 'id.', Old Irish *cath* 'battle'); these semantics, however, find no support in myth.

The Vedic god Sūrya ('Sun'), another Indo-European deity obviously associated with light, is the protagonist of a mythical narrative in which his desire for the dawn-goddess leads to his wounding *támasā* 'with darkness' (*Rigveda* 5.40.5b) by the demon Svarbhānu; the plot of this "Myth of the Wounded Sun" has been analyzed and reconstructed by Stephanie W. Jamison (1991:133–303; cf. also Jackson 2006:63–93).

The aim of this paper is to make the case for ON *Nanna Nepsdóttir* and *Hǫðr* as reflexes of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) designations for the 'dawn(-goddess)' and 'darkness', respectively, and to argue for the myth of Baldr's death as a Norse counterpart to the Vedic myth of the "Wounded Sun".

As will be argued, *Neps°* is the regular outcome of *$Nefrs°$* (cf. Noreen 1923:180; 214–5), the gen. sg. of the ON reflex of Proto-Germanic (PGmc) *neb-iz-* and PIE *$néb^h$-es-* 'sky, cloud' (Hittite *nepiš-* 'sky', Vedic *nábhas-* 'humidity, cloud, sky', Greek νέφος 'cloud'). Accordingly, the theonym *Nanna* and the patronymic *Neps-dóttir* mean 'Maiden' and 'Sky's Daughter', respectively, closely matching the epithets of the Vedic dawn-goddess *kanā́-* 'maiden' (also *yuvatí-, yóṣā-, yóṣaṇā́-* 'id.') and *Divó duhitár-* 'Sky's daughter' (both occurring e.g. in *Rigveda* 10.61.5), as well as those of other reflexes of the PIE dawn-goddess (for an overview, cf. West 2007:186) such as Greek Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Zeus's daughter' (e.g. Aphrodite) and Lithuanian *diẽvo duktė̃/dukrýtė* 'Diẽvas's daughter' (the sun-goddess).

ON *Hǫðr* may be traced back to PGmc *hap-u-* and PIE *$(s)\acute{k}ót$-u-/$két$-μ-* 'concealment (abstract), shadow/darkness (concrete)', an acrostatic *-u-* stem of PIE *$(s)ket$-* 'conceal' (Vedic *cátant-* 'concealing himself', *cātáya-^{te}* 'make (someone) hide', Greek σκότος 'shadow, darkness'; cf. *LIV²*:357 "*$k^{(\mu)}et$-* 'entweichen'"; *EWAia*, s.v. *CAT*), among whose direct and indirect reflexes are Vedic (*māṁ́ś*)°*cat-ú-* 'the time of the hiding (of the moon)', Gothic *skadus*, Old English *sceadu* 'shadow', and Old Irish *scáth* 'covering, protection, shadow'.

Finally, the onomastics, phraseology, and narrative elements of the myth of the light-god Baldr's love for Nanna (a reflex of the PIE dawn-goddess) and killing by Hǫðr (*$(s)\acute{k}ót$-u-* 'darkness') will be shown to closely match those of the Vedic myth of the "Wounded Sun" as reconstructed by Jamison.

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Anatolian and North-West Semitic languages, cultures and religions in contact: the *KTMW* stela from Zincirli

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The Luwian-Aramaic city (and city-state) of Yadiya/Sam'al (modern Zincirli Höyük) is a unique case in which there are certain historical and linguistic data testifying to the synchronic co-existence of the Aramaean and Luwian demographic components in a small kingdom of the early Iron Age. While the situation was probably a common one in the area occupied by the Syro-Anatolian royalties between the late XII and the early VII century BCE, the sources from Zincirli represent an extraordinary material for the study of an area of mixed culture, mixed population, and with good chances of areal linguistic phenomena locally taking place (cf. Giusfredi and Pisaniello [in press]).

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence is the stela of *KTMW* (*Kutta*muwa or *Katu*muwa, according to two alternative vocalizations, cf. Pardee 2014). It deals of a funerary monument by an official bearing a Luwian name, but the text of the inscription is composed in a diastratic variety of Sam'alian Aramaic. While it has been tentatively argued that Sam'alian itself was to some extent influenced by the presence of a mixed-community, the very text of the *KTMW* stela seems to be quite strongly exposed to Luwian interference, also on the level of lexicon (cf. Masson 2010).

In particular, the inscription contains a problematic sequence of divine names, some of which are calques of Luwian divine figures based on Semitic divine names (e.g. Hadad of the Vineyard, as a calque of *Tarhunzas tuwarsassis*), while other contain proper Luwian loans (as the mysterious epithet *qRpDl*; analyzed as Luwian by Yakubovich 2011, 181).

Since this list surprisingly does not contain the names of the main protective deities of the ruling Sam'alian family, it is very likely that the gods mentioned by *KTMW* reflect at least a part of the local popular pantheon. In this contribution, we will re-examine and categorize the pieces of lexical evidence that may indicate translation strategies of divine names and attributes, trying to (1) distinguish Anatolian elements and Semitic ones; (2) identify parallel cases in true monolingual documents from the two corpora.

We will then concentrate on another highly important textual portion, in which *KTMW* requires ritual offerings to be made in front of the stela, for his "soul" (*nbš*) that is "in the stela" (*b-nṣb*). This occurrence has been described as one of the earliest pieces of evidence for a separate conception of body and spirit, which, however, already existed in earlier documents. At the same time, claims have been made (cf. Melchert 2010, Masson 2010) that the *topos* is in fact originally Indo-European. We will assess these problems by comparing the passage with other funerary inscriptions and religious texts from the Bronze and Iron Age Ancient Near Eastern world.

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Slaying men, or an etymology?
Homeric ἀνδρειφόντης

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Among the examples of unmetrical verses in the Homeric poems, the one containing the noun ἀνδρειφόντης strikes out as especially cumbersome. The verse appears four times in almost identical shape in the *Iliad* (Β 651 ≈ Η 166 = Θ 264 = Ρ 259).

Μηριόνης (τ') ἀτάλαντος Ἐνῡαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ

'... (and) Meriones, the peer of Enyalius, slayer of men.'

If read as it is, the verse is simply ametrical, as verse-final ἀνδρειφόντῃ after ... Ἐνῡαλίῳ |⁹ ... has a metrical shape – ‿ ‿ – – (-εϊ-) or – – – – (-ει-) instead of ‿ ‿ – –. To scan correctly, we would have to read an elision of the dat.-sg. ending (... |ᵗʳ Ἐνῡαλίῳͺ ἀνδρειφόντῃ #) or a synizesis of ῳ ἀ, both options being otherwise unheard of and especially egregious in a formulaic verse like the one in question. On the other hand, in a compound with what appears to be a FCM ἀνδρ(ο)- 'man', the *Kompositionsfuge* in -ει- is totally unexpected, too, if not simply outrageous. Consequently, several different hypotheses to emend the text have been put forward, most of which agree on the following points:

(i)   The shape of ἀνδρειφόντῃ is remodeled after ἀργειφόντης 'Argos slayer' (27× in *Il.* and *Od.*), for an earlier *ἀνδροφόντης (cf. FCM ἀνδρο- in ἀνδροφόνος 'man-slaying').

(ii)   This *ἀνδροφόντης 'men slayer' is from *anrok^{wh}ontās or *anr̥k^{wh}ontās (syllabified as *a.nro.k^{wh}on.tās or *a.nr̥.k^{wh}on.tās) scanning ‿ ‿ – – and thus fitting the hexameter.

(iii)   Additional evidence for this compound is available from the Mycenaean personal name *A-no-qo-ta* if this represents /anork^{wh}ontās/ from *anr̥k^{wh}ontās.

As a starting point of my talk, I intend to challenge this view by a simple question: why distort something almost unobjectionable as ... |ᵗʳ Ἐνῡαλίῳ *ἀνδροφόντῃ # to a highly unmetrical ... |ᵗʳ Ἐνῡαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ # when the alleged model (viz. something like ... ‖ διακτόρῳ ἀργειφόντῃ # Β 103 etc.) does not even share the same metrical slot (viz. ... ‖ ἀργειφόντῃ # vs. ... |⁹ *ἀνδροφόντῃ #)? This remodeling only makes sense if the original form *x* had been something even weirder than the wrongfully produced form ἀνδρειφόντῃ, and something that was close enough to the metrically inequivalent ἀργειφόντης for *x* to be remodeled after ἀργειφόντης and not after other compounds in ἀνδρο- like the (seemingly) synonymous ἀνδροφόνος 'man-slaying' (*Il.*, *Od.*, etc.).

In order to find out, what this *x* was, it will be beneficial not only to look for potential *lectiones difficiliores* in the manuscript tradition and the papyri, but also to analyze the compound within the broader picture of Indo-European poetic language and phraseology. Another question that needs to be raised, eventually, is: who is the enigmatic war-god Ἐνυάλιος, whose name is still an etymological mystery?

Where the stone meets the sky:
Elucidations on Indo-European cosmological thought

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One of the most well-known distinguishing features of Indo-European cosmology is the image of the sky as made of stone substance (since Reichelt 1913; challenged by Maher 1973, but reappraised by Beckwith 1998). While scholars almost universally accept the reconstruction of this basic notion (cf. also, e.g., Malzahn 2016), no unanimity prevails as to how it is to be understood more precisely. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1994-95) view it in connection with beliefs that some high mountains go all the way to the sky (Skt. *párvata-*, for example, means both 'mountain' and 'cloud'; cf. also the modern description of Himalaya as *The Roof of the World*). Others have pointed to meteorites or thunderbolts – a divine weapon – as the link (cf. West 2007), while still others interpret the connection partly metaphorically not unlike the modern understanding of a *heavenly vault*.

I submit that, at least in late (non-Anatolian and non-Tocharian) Indo-European, the firmanent of the sky was said to be made specifically of rock crystal or quartz – whether this reflects a literal belief or a mere impressionistic description.

Avestan *ϑβāša-* signifies the 'firmament of the sky', constituting the sky's solid, lower layer, distinguished from *asman-* 'upper sky, highest heaven'. From Iranian texts it appears that the firmament was understood as consisting of rock crystal (Boyce 1975). Like its unrelated homonym *ϑβāša-* 'fast', it can regularly go back to Indo-Iranian **tvarta-*, but it has not yet been assigned a convincing etymology.

I suggest a connection with Slavic **tvьrdъ* 'firm, solid (adj.); heavenly vault, firmament; fortification (noun)' and Gk. σάρδιον n. 'sard, karnelian, red quartz'. The meaning 'quartz' is indirectly attested in Slavic via MHG *twarc* (> NHG *Quarz*), a West Slavic loanword. Ablaut differences aside, Greek and Slavic display the same extension with *-d-* whereas the Iranian form shares its *-t-* with forms in Baltic (e.g. Lith. *tvìrtas* 'firm, solid; strong').

Germanic may provide additional material connecting the meanings 'quartz' and 'firmament': The Prose Edda describes how four dwarves named by each of the cardinal points hold up the four corners of the sky; ON *dvergr* means not only 'dwarf', but also 'pillar' and 'brooch, dress pin'; and across Scandinavia, terms for rock crystal include compounds which superficially mean 'dwarfstone' (e.g., Nw. *dvergstein*) but whose first element may originally be a simplex referring directly to Quartz. The Germanic word is usually reconstructed as **dwerga-*; however, Norwegian *tverg* points to a PGmc. variant **þwerga-*, and the German evidence is ambiguous because the word is only attested from the Middle High German period when the two consonant clusters merged.

The Swedish place-name *Dvärsätt* in Offerdalen, Jämtland, which is attested in Old Swedish as *Duærgasæter*, is conveniently interpreted by onomasiologists as 'the pasture of the dwarves', however without accompanying explanation. Notably, Offerdalen is one of very few places in Sweden with significant rock-crystal mining locations. It is thus more than conceivable that *duærga-* here refers directly to quartz.

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The Secret of the Untrembling Heart
A Cryptological Reading of Parmenides' Proem (DK B1.29/EGP D4.29)

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The early 5th century metaphysical poem by Parmenides of Elea is widely recognized as a decisive influence on the broader development Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, it is also a text notorious for its interpretative problems owing partly to the fact that it has only reached us in fragments (a total of 161 lines divided among 19 fragments), partly to the fact that its traditional poetic style has struck many readers (both ancient and modern) as an obstacle to the intelligibility of the philosophical message. Among the slightly discordant quotes from what is usually taken to be the final section of the poem's mythological proem, Simplicius' 6th century BCE commentary on Aristotle's *On the Heavens* (*in De Caelo* 557.25-558.2) uniquely preserves a verse with the unparalleled genitive εὐκυκλέος (literally "of [the] well-wheeled" [suggesting an unattested nominative *εὐκυκλής]). Contrary to a recent editorial trend in opting for the variant reading εὐπειθέος ("of [the] well-persuasive"), I shall argue in this paper that the *lectio difficilior* εὐκυκλέος is genuine testimony to a poetic device designed by Parmenides (1) to perform a pivotal role in the proemial structure as a whole (the oxymoronic "untrembling heart of well-wheeled truth") and (2) to redeploy a key concept in Indo-European verbal art by means of a Saussurean so-called hypogram, a subscript "theme-word" (*mot-thème*) non-consecutively at work beneath the surface of the verse: the imperishable κλέος (or "glory") conveyed through the costly medium of song. By thus mutually exploiting and encrypting a focal theme in archaic poetry, the proem gives characteristic voice to the experimental spirit of inquiry in which Parmenides and other 6th and 5th century BCE thinkers (such as Xenophanes, Heraclitus, and Empedocles) variously challenged and took their cue from the conceptual framework of encomiastic performance.

Mirror Images and Cross(dress)ing: Some Indo-European Intersections

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The *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus contains a brief account of the birth of the avenger of Baldr, the murdered son of the god Odin. It is foretold that the avenger will be born to one Rinda, the daughter of an earthly king, and Odin goes to the court of this king in a series of disguises, attempting to win the girl in order to beget the avenger. His final disguise is as a female physician and ladies' maid; in this way he gains private and intimate access to Rinda, rapes, and successfully impregnates her. The avenger is born, but Odin is sent into exile by the conclave of gods because of his behavior, including his cross-dressing.

A strikingly similar narrative complex is found in the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Virāṭa parvan*, but the events are found in mirror-image order: first exile, then disguise and cross-dressing in the court of an unsuspecting king. Here the heroes of the epic, the Pāṇḍava brothers, spend their 13th year of exile in disguise in the court of a distant king Virāṭa. The middle brother, the great archer Arjuna, assumes the disguise of a transvestite dancing master and thus gains intimate access to the king's daughter, though the results are very different from the Rinda story.

This paper will explore the similarities of these two narrative complexes – and the limits of those similarities.

Thoughts of Gāthic Beginnings and Beginnings of Gāthic Thoughts

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in memory of Stanley Insler (1937–2019)

If it is the case, as I believe it is, that the first word of the *Iliad*, μῆνιν 'wrath', goes back to PIE **mneh₂-* 'keep in mind'; and if it is the case, as I likewise believe, that Μοῦσα 'Muse', forms of which start both Hesiod's *Theogony* (Μουσάων) and his *Works & Days* (Μοῦσαι), goes back to PIE **men-* 'think'; and if, furthermore, the former root is an extension of the latter, as most scholars accept, then a remarkable number of our earliest examples of Greek hexameter poetry reflect **men-*/**mneh₂-* in their opening line (add Μοῦσα in the *Odyssey*), in many instances even as the very first syllable (add μνήσομαι 'let me remember' in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*). In my paper "Gods and Vowels" (2019; revised from 2013 original) and other publications, I investigate this and related patterns that involve gods and song, without, however, properly looking at the evidence from other languages and texts that should help us understand the status of mindful poetic incipits in the millennia between Proto-Indo-European and Greek of the Late Bronze Age. My goal in this talk is to begin to rectify the omission by considering the matter from the perspective of Avestan.

Our oldest texts in Avestan, the *Gāthas*, would seem to be either a very good or a very bad place to start. After all, some of the most important concepts in Zoroastrianism, and thus most frequent words throughout our texts, are clear reflexes of **men-*: √*man* 'think', *manah-* 'thought', *mańiiu-* 'spirit', *maθra-* 'sacred utterance (*vel sim.*)', and of course *Mazdā-*. I will look at these words and others in an attempt to find a new angle on the relationship between poetry and religion, to determine something new about the relationship between the poetic practice Zarathustra inherits and his individual compositional technique, and also to see what we can, and cannot, know about the order of the hymns that form the core of his religion's liturgy.

From kenning to insult: downgrading of Old Norse poetic phrases in East Slavic epic tradition

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Russian *byliny* and folklore tales have a series of stereotyped insults hurled at a knight's horse refusing to move forward, variants of which are occasionally found in tales, aimed at cattle. The basic pattern is found in *volč'ja syt'* 'wolf's food', *voron'je m'aso* 'raven's meat', which are identical with the kenningar for 'corpse, carrion' mentioned by Snorri (*Skáldskaparmál* 58 and 60) – the eagle, another typical scavenger in Scandinavian poetry, is not found in the Russian tradition. None of those is attested in what survives of Old Norse poetry, they are known only from Snorri's '*ars poetica*'. But they happen to be preserved in the neighbouring East Slavic tradition. IE inheritance, loans from the Germanic tradition, integration of such formulas in a Christian context and productivity of the pattern in Russian will be investigated.

Ombra mai fu or Hanging the Sun
Solar Myths, Rituals and Language

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On his way to the Hellespont, Xerxes stops in Kallabetos (Lydia) in order to adorn a beautiful plane-tree with gold (Hdt. vii.31.9). Greek historians and writers considered Xerxes's gesture a ridiculous extravagance (Ael. *Varia historia* 2.1). But Herodotus's passage does not result less puzzling for modern scholars, who have mostly seen the plane-tree as a symbol of the *axis mundi*.
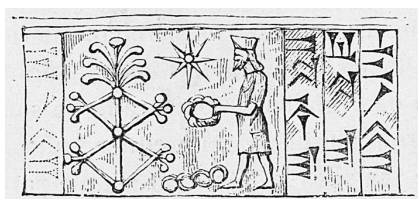
Reproduction of the Seal of Xerxes (19th cent.)

Xerxes is paying homage to a tree, but this apparently contrasts with what Herodotus tells us about Persian religion and rituals. Indeed, Persians sacrifice "to the sun, the moon, the earth, the fire, the water and the winds" (Hdt. i.131.3). Furthermore, in preparation to the 'Greek campaign', Xerxes and the Persian army try to appease the Sun (Hdt. vii 54.2–3). Could Xerxes's adoration of the plane-tree also be understood in this very framework? In this paper I will endeavor to provide a positive answer to this question by relying upon mythological, linguistic and ritual evidence for the use of 'hanging the sun/the early born one/the burning one'.

Myths and Language: In the Latvian Dainas the Sun-goddess Saule or her daughter hang shining accessories to their tree, such as golden belts (LD 33827) and crowns (LD 33750). Two Greek heroines die by hanging and may have an onomastic connection with the semantic fields 'light/warmth'. Ἠριγόνη ('the early born', cf. Ἠώς ἠριγένεια 'the early born Dawn', Hom.+) hangs herself after Icarius's death (cf., e.g., Hyg. *Fab.* 130); Ἑλένη was worshipped in Rhodes as 'Helen of the Tree' (Δενδρῖτις), since, so the local story goes, some frenzy women had hanged her on a tree (Paus. iii.19.10).

Rituals: The Gk. αἰώρα-festival ('Swing'-festival) in honor of Ἠριγόνη may be compared to a variety of rituals celebrating the disappearance and/or the return of the Sun, which are widely attested throughout Eurasia. Last but not least, Xerxes's and Saule's golden tree-decorations strikingly recall the Christmas star, which is placed on top of Christmas trees in the Christian tradition. Actually, this is the star of the three wise kings, designated through the Persian loanword μάγοι in the New Testament (Mt. 2.2).

In the end, a variety of mythological, ritual and linguistic comparanda suggest that, by decorating the beautiful plane-tree with gold, Xerxes might be 'hanging the Sun'.

Aphrodite's Blood and Its Cognates East and West:
Assaulted Goddesses of the Morning Sky in Greek, Indic, and Irish Narrative

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The vivid episode of Aphrodite's wounding by Diomedes in Book 5 of the *Iliad* is remarkable not only because of the extreme *hubris* of a mortal's physical assault on an immortal and the subsequent injury surprisingly sustained by the latter, but also because of several curious lexical, phraseological and mythical details, including the poets' emphatic involvement of ἰχώρ, a marked word for divine blood used to describe the goddess' oozing lesion, and the startling description of the goddess' parentage in these lines of poetry.

The former feature, which has been squarely situated in the context of a metalinguistic phenomenon consistently reflected in verbal cultures of Indo-European heritage (Watkins 1995:38, 181–2), suggests that hereditary lore may be stitched into the textual tissue of *Iliad* 5, the poetics of which are already chock full of Indo-European elements in general (Katz 2005a and 2010), as does the fact that Diomedes demonstrably displays facets of a characteristically Indo-European kind of hero (Skjærvø 2000; West 2006). More complicated is the cultural genealogy of the fugitive Aphrodite's being celestially soothed in Olympos by Zeus, "Sky," and Dione, "Mrs. Sky," whom the passage presents as being the goddess' natural mother and father, a paternity and maternity that is in sharp contrast to the conventional tradition of her birth from Ouranos' castrated genitals. This scene possesses indisputable affinities with *Gilgamesh*, in which the sexually aggressive goddess Ishtar, multiple aspects of whose mythology have long been thought to have been absorbed by Aphrodite (Burkert 1992; Currie 2016; Metcalf 2015), is scorned by the text's namesake and ascends to be comforted by her father and mother Anu "Sky" and Antu "Mrs. Sky."

There are, however, interrelated ingredients of Indo-European ancestry at work in this segment of text as well, which is therefore ultimately to be understood as one of many instances in which the Greek epic poets have synergistically fused Indo-European and Semitic traditions (Pulleyn 2006). In addition to the more delicate argument that the coupling of Zeus with Dione is informed by an inherited linguistic tradition (Dunkel 1988–90), on unshakably solid ground is the equation of the formulaic phrase Διὸς θυγάτηρ "daughter of Zeus" with its precise Vedic cognate *Divá*(*s*) *duhitár-* "daughter of Dyauḥ (Zeus' Indic onomastic equivalent)," which is the syntactic property of the Indic goddess Uṣas "Dawn." That on some layer of the stratigraphy of the text the audience of *Iliad* 5 finds itself immersed in the mythology of the Indo-European dawn goddess is confirmed by the application of this phrase to Aphrodite, whose kindred goddess Eos "Dawn," Uṣas' Greek onomastic equivalent, has transferred many of the hereditary aspects she shares with Uṣas onto Aphrodite (Athanassakis 1993; Boedeker 1974; Nagy 1990; Jackson 2005; West 2007), among them an association with auroral cows (Kölligan 2007). Supernatural cows appear to have been a fundamental component of the Indo-European mythical bestiary; in addition to those associated with the dawn, which variously surface in Indic, Greek, and Irish contexts (Watkins 2009), there are also compelling correspondences to be perceived among bovines (and some related Norse goats: see Katz 2017; McDonald, forthcoming) attached to cultural innovators such as Daedalus, the Irish god Lug, and the Vedic Ṛbhus (McDonald 2015), as well as Orpheus (McDonald, forthcoming), who is the Ṛbhus' Greek kinsman (Massetti 2017; McDonald, forthcoming).

With this bovine aspect of Aphrodite in mind, Indra's repeatedly referenced abusive encounter with Uṣas and her cow-drawn wagon (*Rigveda* 4.30, etc.) begins to emerge as the Vedic reflex of the same inherited narrative from which that of *Iliad* 5 has been fabricated; the comparison achieves triangular solidity when brought into contact with the Irish hero Cú Chulainn's twin assaults in the Ulster Cycle, the Irish textual sister of the Greek and Sanskrit epics (Allen 2000 and 2001; Bader 1980; Campanile 1988; Melia 1979), on both the wagon-borne Morrigan, a Celtic epiphany of the Indo-European divinized dawn, and on

the cow she is driving, followed by his second, violently tripartite attack on this same goddess in another bovine context, a context, moreover, that profoundly intersects with the Indo-European serpent-slaying myth (Katz 2005b).

For the events surrounding Aphrodite in *Iliad* 5 to derive from an Indo-European tradition should not surprise us: many of the Homeric episodes in which female figures play prominent roles hark back to narratives about goddesses and heroic women that have been fundamentally impacted by hereditary material (Jackson 2006; Jamison 1994, 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2003; Janda 2015; Sergent 2012).

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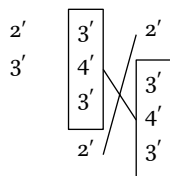West, Martin L. 2007. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.

Form in Latin and Umbrian Sacral Verse

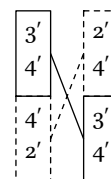ANGELO MERCADO

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Calvert Watkins, in his monumental *How to Kill a Dragon* (1995), demonstrated the Indo-Europeanness of the stylistics and formulaics of Latin and Sabellic religious language. While these features lift Italic texts away from ordinary language, the traditional metrical analysis—rather, the lack of one—keeps the texts firmly planted on prosaic ground. Angelo Mercado was right to demur in 2012 (*Italic Verse*), but his 2016 accentual analyses of Umbrian texts (Perugia-Gubbio volume) are overwrought. More recent attempts by Vincent Martzloff and Barbora Machajdíková, who likewise understand the Italic *carmen* to have accentual rhythm, show promise. However, it is not clear how to apply their ideas on certain "poetic" relics in Very Old Latin, South Picene, and Paelignian, etc., to other texts. The difficulties arise from attempts at analysis in terms of metrical feet. In this paper, I provide metrical descriptions based instead on counting accents (penultimate in Latin, initial in Umbrian). Specifically, the cross-linguistically common four-beat line, which transcends language families, time periods, and genres, is able to capture the rhythms of many Latin and Umbrian texts. Counting accents can therefore elevate prayers quoted in Latin prose writers and in the Umbrian Iguvine Tables.

The disadvantage of the looseness of counting rhythm relative to stricter contrasting systems is made up for by two interrelated things. One is the suppression of up to two beats per line, whereby lines can have two, three, or four pronounced stresses. Second, the counts are arranged in complex patterns of responsion, that is the repetition of larger rhythmic patterns across strophes. This is familiar from choral lyric in Greek tragedy, but the patterns are not merely repeated. Within and across strophes, the stress counts are frequently chiastic. Consider the following short examples (Gel. 13.23.pr.13, in the mouth of Titus Tatius, and *Tab. Ig.* VIIa 47–51):

In both of these examples, contiguous strophes have parallel rhythms that are in mirrored order. Note how, in the Umbrian, the repeated rhythms do not necessarily or wholly entail repeated linguistic content. In longer texts, the responsions are corroborated by semantic parallelism, often coextensive with ring compositions. It is such complex responsion that distinguishes sacral verse from prose. While two-, three-, and four-beat pseudo-verses are easily found in prose, pseudo-strophes do not show rhythmic parallelism and chiasmus to the same degree of regularity.

In several other prayers from Latin and Umbrian, varying in length, such structures and other complex features are manifest. The fruitfulness of this approach extends beyond the mere recovery of the respective language's synchronic systems. We stretch our hands to the Common Italic past and reach deeper into Indo-European antiquity.

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Where all the Killed Dragons graze:
Luw. *āla/i- wiluš*(*a*)-, Ἠλύσιος λειμών and the PIE concept of the Netherworld

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The starting point of my contribution is the meaning of *āla-* in Luwian. I will argue that contrary to previous interpretations, the word is not an adjective (as in Melchert 1993: s.v., Eichner 1993:106–14, Hajnal 2003:48–54, Rieken – Yakubovich: forthcoming), but a *noun* which likely designates flat types of terrain—'plain', 'valley', 'meadow' or the like. Moreover, a number of contexts of Luwian Birth Incantations imply that the word refers not to a usual 'meadow', but to the place where the human souls were thought to abide before the birth; in other words a sort of Netherworld. In this respect the semantics of Luwian *āla-* well matches with the Hittite concept of *wellu-* '(Netherworld) pasture, meadow' (cf. Puhvel 1969). Some other Luwian and Hittite contexts suggest more gloomy aspects of *āla-*, hinting on the connection with demons and death. Proceeding from this interpretation of *āla-*, it may be argued that *wiluš*(*a*)- attested in combination with *āla/i-* in the famous passage of the *Songs of Ištanuwa* (KBo 4.11 rev. 46), hardly has something to do with Wilusa-Ilios (as in Watkins 1986:58–62 and 1995:144–8), but represents rather a qualifier of *āla-* (either an adjective or a noun). Given the probable Netherworld associations of the passage, it proves possible to see in the collocation *āla/i- wiluš*(*a*)- a Luwian counterpart of the Greek Ἠλύσιος λειμών or Ἠλύσιον πεδίον ('Elysian Meadow' or 'Elysian Plain'). Despite the general phonetic similarity between *wiluš*(*a*)- and Ἠλύσιον, fine differences in phonetics and morphology of both words preclude an interpretation of the Greek Ἠλύσιον as a borrowing form Luwian (or vice versa); rather, the two represent independent reflexes of a PIE stem likely based on root **u̯el-* 'die'. In the second part of the talk I will discuss possible reflexes of the root and of the 'meadowy' concept of the Netherworld in other IE traditions, which further strengthen the associations with 'pasturing' and 'cattle' faintly present in the Anatolian tradition, suggesting that the concept goes back to the PIE period.

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Toch. B *lyakeṃ yops=āttsāna warśaiṃne* and Gr. πυκινὸν λόχον + ἰέναι

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Precise topic:

The paleographical, semantic, etymological and morphological analysis of Toch. B *lyakeṃ* 'wild place(s)' (pl. acc. of *lyake*), whose meaning and attestation is still unclear within the Tocharian scholarship. Toch. B *lyake* 'wild place' is a *R(e)-o*-formation from PIE **legʰ-* 'to lie down', cognate with Gr. λόχος 'place for ambush', a *R(ó)-o*-noun.

Syntactical archaism and phraseological affinity of the Tocharian and Greek poetic expressions: The Tocharian phrase *lyakeṃ yopsa* 'he entered the wild place(s)' represents a syntactic archaism, namely the PIE construction of accusative of direction and content with the verb **h₁ei-* 'to go' or its synonyms without any preposition (cf. Watkins 1975). The comparable Greek phrase is λόχον ἰέναι 'to go to the secluded spot of forest' in *Iliad* 1.227. The Tocharian description *āttsāna warśaiṃne* 'in the thick forests' of *lyake* 'wild place' as the lair of the tigress echoes with Gk. πυκινὸς λόχος 'thick ambush place' or λόχμη πυκινή 'thick wild place', which is the lair of the boar at *Odyssey* 19.439.

The author's contribution to the topic:

Based on the detailed philological study of the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese parallel texts, the Tocharian tigress story in B 338 has been newly identified, which stays in fact closest to the version preserved in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*. The earlier identification of Sieg/Siegling (1953:220) as belonging to *Jātakamālā* by Āryaśūra, followed by Hanisch (2005), Malzahn in CEToM (2017) etc., is subject to a revision.

The iconographical study of the Tocharian wall paintings in Kucha, Shorchuq and Singim confirms the conclusion drawn from the textual investigation.

Based on a quantitative and statistical study of the Tocharian manuscripts, the original size of the fragmentary folio B 338 can be determined, and therefore the correct metrical structure of the Tocharian verses can be calculated, which in turn helps to segment and interpret the verses correctly. The hypothetical meter 4 × 12 by Sieg/Siegling, which is adopted by all, should also be revised.

The author's specific conclusions:

(1) Based on the paleographical study of the folio the reading Toch. B *lyakeṃ* can be confirmed.

(2) Toch. B *lyake* 'wild place' is etymologically connected with Gr. λόχος 'place for ambush'.

(3) δ(έ) in οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι in *Iliad* 1.227 is secondarily introduced based on the evidence reported in the *Scholia*.

(4) The rhythm of the verses in B 338 is 21 ¦ 21 ¦ 18 ¦ 13.

(5) Numerous detailed phraseological correspondences exist only between the Tocharian version and the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese versions of the tigress story in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.

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Old Germanic and Old Celtic Theonyms
The onomastic evidence for language and culture contact in Roman provincial epigraphy

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Among the numerous theonyms attested in Roman provincial epigraphy of Northwestern Europe, dating from the 1st until the 5th century AD, some candidates feature potential language and culture contact phenomena between Germanic and Celtic tribes. For instance, the complex derivational suffixes (*-ahen-*, *-ihen-*, *-aneh-* and *–ineh-*) in the theonymic subgroup of matrons' names have convincingly been derived from Old-Celtic suffix conglomerates by means of language contact (Scheungraber 2015). The *matres* or *matronae* were female deities venerated mainly in Germania, Eastern Gaul, and Northern Italy, which are often depicted on votive altars in groups of three; in the Latin inscriptions on these altars, the deities' names turn out to be either Celtic or Germanic. In most cases, the semantics of the theonyms in question can be elicited by etymological investigation and their linguistic allocation.

However, there are several deities, whose names feature both Celtic and Germanic traits or whose names were borrowed from one language into the other (e.g. *Baduhenna*, a local goddess of battle, whose name is attested by Tacitus; cf. Scheungraber 2016). Some theonyms even occur in duplicate forms: e.g. Germanic *Alagabiae* (Bürgel, G.I.) versus Celtic *Ollogabiae* (Mainz, G.S.). Other doublet theonyms have, despite their obvious Germanic appearance, a secure Celtic etymology: *Virodacti* (Mainz, G.S.) and its orthographic variants *Viradecthi* (Birrens, Brit.), *Virathethi* (Stree, Belg.), *Viroddi* (Kälbertshausen, G.S.) are generally assumed to be cognate to OIr. *ferdacht* 'manhood, virility, manliness'; but is it not puzzling, why a female deity bears such a name? Another theonym of interest is *Magusenos*, which is usually derived from the Celtic lexemes **mogu-* 'mighty' and **seno-* 'old', but formally it has adapted to its Germanic phonological equivalent ("Lautsubstitution") as *Magusanus* (most frequent) and even once as *Macusanus* (with the equation of Celtic *g* = Germanic *k* in the speakers/writers mind).

In my talk, I would like to present and evaluate the onomastic evidence for both language and culture contact between the Celts, Romans and Germanic tribes. By discussing the individual etymology of these theonyms as well as their geographic distribution and genuine linguistic classification, we might be able to answer some or all of the following research questions:

- What features of the Old-Celtic and Old-Germanic pantheon can be regarded as direct continuants of Old-Indo-European religion?
- Did the Germanic and the Celtic tribes originally worship the same or different deities? Are the naming practices comparable to each other?
- Was the language and culture contact as attested indirectly by those theonyms unidirectional, bidirectional or even multidirectional?
- What role did the Romans play in the transmission process of common ritual practices and in naming and worshipping indigenous deities?
- What led the indigenous tribes to associating some of their locally worshipped deities with the common Roman gods like Mercurius, Mars, Apollo, etc. and have their indigenous names appear as postponed epithets thereof (e.g. *Mercurius Valdivahanus* from Cologne, G.I.)? Why then did not all theonyms of Germanic and Celtic origin undergo this allocation as per *Interpretatio Romana*?
- Does the geographic distribution of linguistically Celtic or Germanic theonyms match our knowledge about the historical settlements of Celtic or Germanic tribes in these areas?

In order to draw conclusions in this regard, I have placed my focus on those theonyms with abnormal orthographic representations, doublet forms and on theonyms which could theoretically be both Celtic and

Germanic regarding their etymologies. Only these contemporary witnesses enable us to fathom the linguistic and cultural/religious contacts between Germanic and Celtic tribes in Late Antiquity.

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Hecate and Her Dogs

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Three etymologies of the Greek theonym Ἑκάτη 'Hecate' (also an Artemisian epithet) prevail. Beekes (2010:396–8) focuses on her presumed Carian origin, cf., e.g., Kraus (1960:41-54) and Nilsson (1961:78), and consequently assumes her name to be Pre-Greek. Thus, he follows von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1931:325) who suggests an Anatolian origin and subsequent adoption by the Greeks to the known Apollonian epithets ἑκᾰτηβόλος or ἑκηβόλος. The second etymology, cf. Chantraine (2009:313), takes ἑκᾰτηβόλος – according to the ancients either 'shooting from afar' (to ἑκάς 'afar, far off') or 'striking with hundreds' (to ἑκατόν 'hundred', cf. also Wackernagel 1927:316–21) – as its point of departure. This epithet was then abbreviated to ἑκηβόλος and ἕκατος of which Ἑκάτη serves as the feminine. Thirdly, Liddell – Scott (1940:500) translates Ἑκάτη as 'she who works her will' and refers to ἑκᾰτηβόλος as 'hitting the mark at will' (Gk. ἑκ- < PIE $*\mu e\hat{k}$- 'wish'), cf. also Beekes (2010:398) and Boisacq (1950: 236–7) on ἑκηβόλος (Boeotian variant: ϝεκαβόλος) as 'striking at will'. Frisk (1960:473–4) modifies (either of) the latter two suggestions by regarding the epithets ἕκατος and ἑκάτη as abbreviations of ἑκηβόλος – and ἑκᾰτηβόλος as a secondary hybrid of these.

Despite Kraus (1960:41-54) and Nilsson (1961:78), however, we cannot disregard the earliest archaeological findings indicating that Hecate and her cult were of Hellenistic rather than Anatolian origin, cf., e.g., von Rudloff (1992:54–5) or Berg (1974:129–40) who even argues for a possible Hecatian cult in Mycenaean Greece. Also, even if the connections and confusions between Artemis and Hecate are manifold and frequent, cf., e.g., von Rudloff (1992:62–7) or Nilsson's (1961:79) claim that Hecate represented the chthonic side of Artemis, Hecate is never portrayed as an archer in art or myth (von Rudloff 1992:69). Consequently, the association of her name to the epithets ἑκᾰτηβόλος and ἑκηβόλος, both involving 'shooting', may not be as straightforward as often claimed.

As indirectly indicated by the title of this paper – and of the novel by Paul Morand from which it has been copied – Ἑκάτη is often described as and depicted accompanied by dogs, cf., e.g., von Rudloff (1992:117–20). In this paper, I therefore propose that Ἑκάτη is a theonym of Greek origin and not necessarily identical or related to the Apollonian and Artemisian epithets ἕκατος, ἑκάτη, ἑκᾰτηβόλος, ἑκηβόλος etc. Rather, I propose, it harks back to the exocentric compound PIE $*s\mu é\text{-}\hat{k}\mu nt\text{-}eh_2\text{-}$ meaning 'who possesses her own dog(s)'.

On the formal side, however, two obstacles need to be overcome, viz. (1) the absence of $*u/\mu$, and (2) the presence of $*t$ in the part of the compound meaning 'dog'. As for (1), PIE $*\text{-}\hat{k}\mu\text{-}$ would normally not yield Gk. -κ- but –ππ- as in ἵππος 'horse' < $*h_1é\hat{k}\mu o\text{-}$. If, however, we allow the βουκόλος rule (cf., e.g., Sihler 1995:156) to apply also here, distant dissimilation may cause the absence of μ, i.e., $*s\mu é\text{-}\hat{k}\mu nt\text{-}eh_2\text{-}$ > $*s\mu é\text{-}\hat{k}nt\text{-}eh_2\text{-}$ (almost paralleled by $*g^w o\mu\text{-}k^w olh_1\text{-}o\text{-}$ > $*g^w o\mu\text{-}kolh_1\text{-}o\text{-}$ > βουκόλος 'tending kine'). As for (2), the stem of the PIE word for 'dog' is normally reconstructed as $*\hat{k}(u)\mu on\text{-} \sim *\hat{k}un\text{-}(V)$ or $\hat{k}\mu n\text{-}(C)$, cf., e.g., Wodtko et al. (2008:436–7) or Mallory – Adams (1997:168). However, Olsen (2001:74–6, 2004:222–7) suggests that $*nt$ and $*n$ were originally conditioned variants with $*nt$ as the expected pre-vocalic form. Thus, the $*t$ in $*\hat{k}\mu nt\text{-}$ as well as in PGmc. $*hunda\text{-}$ 'dog' and Latv. $sùntene$, $sùntana$ 'large dog' (< $*\hat{k}unt\text{-}$) is regular, and the latter two need not be explained as t-derivatives as per Wodtko et al. (2008: 437).

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The Indo-European plague in language, myth, poetics and archaeology

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This paper seeks to discuss the presence of the plague in the Indo-European speech-community by combining such disciplines as comparative linguistics, comparative mythology, comparative Indo-European poetry, archaeology and ancient DNA studies. Ancient DNA has shown that the Yersinia Pestis bacteria (the etiological agent of plague) was present during the early Yamnaya migrations from the Pontic-Caspian steppe to the Altai mountains and into big parts of Eurasia (Rasmussen *et al.* 2015, Valtueña *et al.* 2017). The Yamnaya migrations are connected to the spread of Porto-Indo-European (Haak *et al.* 2015, Allentoft *et al.* 2015). This leaves the question: If the people from the Yamnaya culture knew of the plague did this disease then leave any trace in their language, mythology, poetry and material culture? And would such data be able to give us information about the disease that genetic data is still unable to provide?

This paper argues that evidence from at least Greek and Indo-Iranian and perhaps Celtic may be able to provide such information. By proposing a possible connection between two parallel medical systems mentioned under the entry MEDICAL GOD (Mallory – Adams 1997:375) respectively the complex of Apollo and Rudra and that of Indo-Iranian Aryaman-Airyaman and the Irish Eremon (<*Heri̯o-men*).

The deities Apollo and Rudra show a profound complex of comparative data and show a connection to rodents, fevers and possibly a contamination of cattle and men. The latter of which has been identified as a poetic formula which is traced back to Indo-European (Watkins 1995:520). The purification rite of *barašnom* has been connected with Celtic data by comparing the Iranian Airyaman who in the Avesta (*Vd.* 22) is head of this ritual, and the Irish Eremon (<*Heri̯o-men*) who is connected to a similar ritual.

The present paper proposes that the two medical systems might be viewed as reflections of essentially the same. By combining specific details from the first song of the *Iliad* and the Avesta (*Vd.* 9). Furthermore, a shared terminology of disease seems to emerge in the two systems through linguistic analysis of the epithets of Apollo: λοίμιος 'the plague-bringing one' and φοῖβος 'the shining one'. λοίμιος from λοιμός 'plague' has been etymologized as *loi̯-mo-* 'polluting' connected to M.Pers *rem* 'dirt' and N.Pers *rīmanī* 'polluted person' of the *barašnom*. φοῖβος as from *bʰeig-* 'purify' connected to Av. *bixəðra* 'purifying substance' a hapax used as a designation for the *gōmēz* 'cow's urine' used to purify the *rīmanī* (Milizia 2012, 2015).

The ideas of the present paper are compared with what the genetic data tells us about the plague and what we know about the disease today, and they are discussed in connection with Kroonen 2016, who proposes that mouse cults from Asia minor could be the origin of the Σμινθεύς cult in Greece based on the assumption that Greek σμίνθος 'mouse, rat' are connected with Akkadian *ušummu, šummu* 'bandicoot rat' and by referring to cults from this area that share similarities. The present paper proposes that the cult of Σμινθεύς should rather be viewed as a reinterpretation of the complex surrounding the one-eyed/one-armed god by combining mythological and archaeological evidence such as several terracotta figures from Larisa, Argos dated 7–8th century, portraying mice, some blindfolded and some bound on the tail (Grégoire, Goosens, & Mathieu 1949: 109).

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An underlying divinatory structure common to Bharata and Semonides
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Two culturally different sources utilised a common divinatory structure to describe the character of women in the ancient world. One is composed in verses of Sanskrit śloka-metre and found in Bharata's *Naṭyaśāstra*, a treatise on dramaturgy dating from a couple centuries before the Common Era, while the other is a fragment of verses in Greek iambic metre composed by Semonides in the seventh century BCE. Both employed a fixed set of animal similes that relied on the syntactical structure of omens to illustrate different types of women. Five of the similes have common apodoses in both lists of female character types. This paper will examine the points of similarity between the two sets of omens in terms of both language and content. Since both have their roots in performance and theatre, we shall further posit possible scenarios for how the poem of Semonides, which was meant to be sung at the symposion, might have informed Bharata, whose didactic verses instructed actors in their performances, perhaps through the venue of the Indian *goṣṭhi* or men's club in ancient India.