

# The Aryan God of Lightning



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# The Aryan God of Lightning

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## I.—THE ARYAN GOD OF LIGHTNING.

I have suggested in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association for 1894, 1. x, that one of the Vedic descriptions of the fire-god Agni, viz. *Apām Nāpāt* 'water's son,' an epithet of the god as lightning, is reflected in Latin NEPT-*unus* (< *Nept* 'son' + \**udnos* : Sk. *udnās* 'of the water') and in Greek Που-ι-δάν for \**Ne-πou-ιδάων* 'son of the \**ida*'s'; and I explained \**ida* as equal to Sk. *īḍā* 'a sacrificial food of *ghee*,' in gradation with Hom. εἶδαρ 'food,' noting that Agni is called in RV. iii 29. 3 *īḍāyās putrāḥ* 'son of *īḍā*,' the personified *ghee*, with *ḍ* for *d* because of the adjective *īḍya* 'worshipful' (: √ *īḍ*), a very frequent epithet, reserved almost exclusively for Agni. The root was *idh* 'kindle,' with a by-form *īd* in the neighborhood of nasals (cf. Sk. *indu* 'sparkling drops, sparks'). In εἶδαρ 'food' (for \**īḍap*) [first the butter-food of the sacrifice ?]<sup>1</sup> there has been contamination with *īḍa*. It is to this εἶδαρ, perhaps, that we owe the vocalization in the

<sup>1</sup>For this meaning of εἶδαρ I can cite no literary instance, but its *r/n*-inflexion hints at its having been once a liquid. We must also compare ἰδῆν, which I take to have meant originally 'pine <-mount>' (cf. E 287), though it passed over into the sense of 'timber' in general. • Possibly *ἰδαων* is directly a gen. to *ιδῆν* in the sense of 'kindling,' just as we use 'pine' in the southern part of the U. S. as short for 'kindling-wood,' and as the Romans used *taeda*. A comparable semasy is offered by Sk. *ghṛtā* 'ghee' as compared with Gk. χόρτος 'fodder,' but, specifically, 'straw-yard.' The primary meaning was something like that in Sk. √ *ghṛ* 'drip, besprinkle' (cf. *īpa* + √ *stṛ* 'sprinkle sacrificial fat'), but in Eng. *strew* is used only of solids. I note, in passing, that Germ. *streu* probably owes its abnormal vocalization to being one of a group with *heu*, *spreu* (cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 228).

common form Ποσειδῶν, but in that case we must put the affection in the primitive Greek period, as indeed we should have to put there the semasiological alienation of εἶδαρ (cf. supra, footnote 1). As the sense of the compound was shifting between 'son of the kindlings' and 'lord of the waters,' the form Ποσειδῶν came into use by association with οἶδμα 'wave.' These changes must have taken place before the composition was felt: thus starting with \*Νεποτ ἰδαων 'son of the kindlings,' the next stage was \*Νεποτ \*εἰδαων, contemporaneous with the change from \*ἰδαρ to εἶδαρ just assumed; the next step \*Νεποτ \*οἰδαων 'son of the waves,' with a final shift from 'son' to 'lord' of the \**Ida*'s, whence \*Νεποτ- gave way to Ποτ.<sup>1</sup> A coincidental motive may well have been an association of Ποσειδῶν with Ποταμός 'river-god' (cf. Ὠκεανός <Ποταμός> Υ 7) and Πόντος 'sea.'

Against the explanation I have offered Corinthian Ποτειδάωνι (Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, No. 81) may be brought forward. This form is not, however, to be received without suspicion. I compare the two inscriptions (l. c., Nos. 6, 7):

Σμίον μ' ἀνέθεκε Ποτε(ι)δάφῶν[ι Φάνακτι]  
 . . ον μ' ἀνέθ[ε]κε Ποτε(ι)δῶνι Φάν[ακτι].

Of these the first is a perfect hexameter, and the second is not, to look at the writing merely, and yet the verses are evidently the same. There is undoubted metrical intention in the writing of the first. We may assume that the Homeric form Ποσειδάωνι was in the mind of the verse-maker, but whence the *F*? It may have been due to a false etymology; but yet I note the form Δαίφοβος in a list of Trojan names (Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 78), and we must suppose that this is for Homeric Δηίφοβος, primitive \**Δαφι*<sup>o</sup>. Seeing that *Fekáβū* is in the same inscription, we cannot say that the *F*

<sup>1</sup> On the general subject of aphaeresis in proper names I refer to Baunack, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVII 477 sq., and to Bechtel's objections, *B. B.* XX 243 sq. It seems to me a defect in the latter's argument that he seems to deny the possibility that the full and shortened forms continued in contemporaneous existence, as if, say, 'Lizzie' or 'Bessie' were to altogether crowd out 'Elizabeth.' Or are we to deny all exceptions to aphaeresis? I add a little list of English instances: Augusta || Gussie, Amanda || Manda || Manna, Elizabeth || Lisbeth || Lizzie || Bessie, Irene || Rena, Henrietta || Rietta || Etta, Selina || Lena, Eleanor || Lenore || Nora, Janet || Nettie, Isabella || Bella || Belle; Robert, Albert || Bert; Anita, Juanita || Nita; Ezekiel || Zeke, Abijah || Bijah, Elijah || Lije, Matthias || Thias (in *Adam Bede*). Many of the possessors of the abbreviated names get them in baptism, and never have any right to the long names at all.

in ΠορεδάΦωνι is not Corinthian. Still, the verse-writer may have known that many Homeric cases of hiatus had (by survival) in his own dialect an intervening *F*, and have inserted one here on general principles. Or he may have etymologized on the name from the standpoint of ΔάΦων<sup>1</sup> (Cauer<sup>2</sup>, No. 394), a name preserved among the Thessalians. But the variation may, after all, be a graphic one, an attempt to represent the pronunciation of the rounded *ā* resulting from contraction of *ā*+*ω*, or anticipative rounding of the lips before *ω*, producing a labial spirant as a passing tone. As a graphic device this can be illustrated from the Ionic dialects. Thus, for *av* there are in Ionic dialects two orthographies of sporadic occurrence—one is *ao* and the other *aFv* (cf. Smyth, Greek Dialects, I, §243). In line with this is the representation of *ā<sup>ω</sup>* (or *ā<sup>ω</sup>*) by *aFω*.<sup>2</sup>

But even if the *F* be original, no great shift needs to be made to maintain the sense of my comparison, for Agni is not only *īdāyāh putráh*, but is also *īdāvān* 'possessing *īdā*' (RV. iv 2. 5).<sup>3</sup>

What seemed to me to be absolutely cogent for the identification of these divinities, taken along with their very considerable phonetic agreement, was the connection each has in his respective cosmogony with the creation of the horse. Their creatorship of the horse I explained as due to a primitive confusion of the stems *ékwe-* 'horse' and *aga-* 'water'<sup>4</sup> in the Aryan period, with the added semasic interpretation of both stems by 'run,' a *nomen agentis* to the stem *āk* 'sharp, swift.'<sup>5</sup>

I have since<sup>6</sup> learned that the same comparison of the Aryan words for horse and water had been previously made by Sibree

<sup>1</sup> ΔάΦων : γδαF 'burn,' and so perhaps specially liable to association with Ποσειδών. Note also below, p. 19, on Δαμάτηρ (for \*ΔαFω μάτηρ).

<sup>2</sup> I note also *ω* as an orthography for *av* in Ionic (Smyth, l. c., 244).

<sup>3</sup> I prefer the explanation of °ιδων as gen. plur. because of the combination with \*Νεποτ into one word. This would not so naturally occur with the adj., I think. Neither is *nápāt* without a modifying genitive usual, though it possibly occurs twice, RV. x 15. 3<sup>b</sup> and ii 35. 14<sup>o</sup> (cf. the author, l. c.). Objection cannot hold that *īdāvān* is a *-vant* stem, for *-van* and *-vant* are used side by side, e. g. in the Agni-epithets *svadhāvat-* and *svadhāvan-*.

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps \**akwa*. The Celtic treatment of *k<sup>w</sup>* seems not to have differed from that of *q*, according to Brugmann (Gr. I, §435), and so Müllenhoff's objections to this base from the Celtic side are not cogent (cf. M. cited by Feist, Got. Etym., s. v. *ahwa*).

<sup>5</sup> For the symbol *ā* (in the Aryan period) I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation,' Am. Jour. Phil. XV 425.

<sup>6</sup> From the Bibliography of I. F. Anz. III 66.

in the Academy (Nos. 1018, 1052); his examples are taken, all but exclusively, from the names of rivers, and are therefore liable to some suspicion, viz. Sk. *açvāvati*<sup>1</sup> ('water-possessing') and *açvaparnī* ('water-winged'); Persian river-names preserved in Greek sources, e. g. *Hyd-aspes*, *Zari-aspes*, *Cho-aspes*, etc.; for Greek, *Μελαν-ίπιον* ('little black water'), *Αγαν-ίπη* ('great spring') and *Ευήριππα* ('fair-water,' Pliny). I believe, however, that I can offer more convincing examples than any of these. I cite first from a hymn to *Vāyu*, a wind-god, RV. viii 26. 24:

*tvām hi supśarastamān nṛśādaneṣu hūmāhe  
grāvāṇam nāçvapṛṣṭham māñhānā.*<sup>2</sup>

Ludwig translates this by "dich den überreichen an trefflicher nahrung, rufen zu der menschen sitzen wir, | der wie ein stein von rossrückenbreite an reichlichkeit." This is a forced literal translation and does not suit the °*pṛṣṭha* compounds, which are of two sorts in RV.: 1st, like *ghṛtāpṛṣṭha*<sup>3</sup> 'with ghee on its back'; 2d, like *vitāpṛṣṭha* 'smooth-backed': *açvapṛṣṭha* ought to mean 'with *açva* on its back.' Grassmann's translation of the third pāda is, "Dem steine gleich, der reichlich scharfen soma trägt," a rendering based on the conjectural reading *nāçvāpṛṣṭham* ("statt des unpassenden *nāçva*°, etc."). That the soma-press<sup>4</sup> is meant by *grāvāṇān nā* is, I take it, indubitable, and in *açvapṛṣṭham* (for *açvā*°?<sup>5</sup>) I see the Aryan word for water, i. e. 'run, stream'; I therefore translate this pāda: 'like a press-stone stream-backed right generously,' a translation identical with Grassmann's when we observe that soma is connoted by 'stream.'

<sup>1</sup> This name is in perfect accord for semasy and form with *sarasvati*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the author in Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Dec. 1894, clxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Of this type RV. shows *soma*°, *mddhu*° and *çund-pṛṣṭha* ('soma°', honey° and blessing-backed'), in addition to the instances in the text.

<sup>4</sup> I note *soma-pṛṣṭhāsas* used as an epithet of the press-stones (*adrayas*) at RV. viii 63. 2.

<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary to regard the feminine as the invariable gender of this stem for water, especially if the word meant primitively 'run,' cf. Lat. *imber* and Grk. *δμβρος* 'rain,' both masc. The fem. gender of *agua* is probably due to its being a woman's work to procure this (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XV 436, and Mason, Woman's Share in Primitive Culture, p. 25). If we can accept Sibree's interpretation of *Ἀγανίπη* as 'great water,' we might interpret the sister spring *Ἰππον κρήνη* in the same sense, i. e. 'water-well.'



In the *açvatthá*<sup>1</sup>-tree (*ficus religiosa*) we have perhaps another instance of *áçva*- 'water.' It is characteristic of the fig genus 'to abound in milky juice'; it can be inferred that the *açvatthá*-tree shares in this characteristic when we note that *caoutchou* is made from its juice (Encyc. Brit.<sup>9</sup>, s. v. *fig*).

Assuming for the present that Indra and Agni as lightning-wielders are one and the same, RV. x 73. 10<sup>2</sup> may be further cited for *áçvā*- 'water':

*áçvād iyayēti yād vādanty*  
*ójaso jātām ulā manya enam*  
*manyór iyāya harmyéṣu tasthāu*  
*yātah prajajñā indro asya veda*

'When they say: "he came from *áçva*"

Why so I am minded that he is born of *ójas*

From *manyú* he came; in our dwellings he hath taken his place.

Whence Indra was born (Indra alone) *knows* that.'

It is fair to note that this stanza is of the riddling sort<sup>3</sup>: *áçvād iyāya* is repeated in *manyór iyāya*, and the intermediary term is *ójaso jātām*. Ludwig defines *manyór* by 'eifer,' and *ójas* by 'stärke.' We may assume that the words were intended to be synonymous. Keeping to the ordinary definition of the words, the birth of Indra is ascribed to a horse, might, zeal; but I propose to render *áçvād* by 'water' (cloud), while *ójas* may be here connected with Grk. *ύγρός* 'moist,' Lat. *umor* 'water,' with -r/-n-inflexion (cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1895, 2. lii), to which *ójas* shows the parallel -es-stem, like Sk. *áhas* || *áhar* beside *áhan*- (cf. Noreen, Urgan. Lautlehre, §53, Anm. 1). Nor

<sup>1</sup> Popular etymology doubtless was at work upon the word; *açvatthá* ['horse-stall' (?), cf. Kuhn in K. Z. I 467] is for \**açvā-dhā* 'water-giving' perhaps, or in *açva-tthá* -*tthá* is a ptc. of *√dhā* modelled on -*tthá*, ptc. of *√dā*. Kuhn's explanation of °*ttha*- as for °*stha* cannot win belief so long as we have *go-sthā* 'cow-stall'; there is besides a clear tradition in RV. (i 135. 8) that the *açvatthá*-tree was a source of soma (cf. Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Dec. 1894, clxxxiii) —which corresponds precisely with the interpretation given in the text for *áçva-prstha* (cf. Kuhn, l. c., 468).

<sup>2</sup> For this and the next stanza see also the author in Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1895, ccxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> On the Vedic riddle or *brahmodya*, I refer to Bloomfield, Jour. Am. Or. Soc. XV 172 sq.; of value as fixing the riddling nature is *asya veda*, cf. Bloomfield, l. c., 174, footnote.

is this comparison one of reconstruction entirely, for Yāska, the Vedic interpreter and collector of glosses, defines the word in this sense. I take this occasion to remark that Yāska deserves to be treated with as much respect as a critic as Aristarchus, say, and his glosses are at least as valuable for the linguist as those of Hesychius. As to Indian glosses in general, the discovery of  $\sqrt{stigh}$  in the Mātrāyaṇī-Saṁhita, known before only by the tradition of the *Dhātupāṭha*, but worthy of belief already because of  $\sigma\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ , should have taught Occidental scholars greater reverence for Hindu tradition. The relation of *ójas* 'water' to *ójas* 'strength' need not concern us now, save so far as we see in *manyú* 'zeal' a repetition of *ójas* 'strength,' by way of *double entendre* on the part of the writer. To the translation of *áçvād* by 'water' the preceding stanza seems to point:

*cakráṁ yád asyāpsv á niçattam*  
*utó tát asmāi mádhv íc cachadyāt*  
*pr̥thivyām átiṣṭitam yád údhaḥ*  
*páyo góṣu ádadhā óṣadhīṣu.*

This I translate:

'When his *cakrá* has gone down into the *āpas* (clouds, waters),  
Why then it will seem honey to me (*asmāi*):  
What time the udder released o'er the earth  
Hath set milk in the cows and in the herbs.'<sup>1</sup>

This stanza of thanksgiving for rain obviously applies to Indra as a rain-bringer, and is appropriately followed by *áçvād* 'rain.'

In Homer a quite certain case of ἵππη 'water' seems preserved in Δ 500:

ὄς οἱ Ἀβυδόθεν ἦλθε παρ' ἵππων ὠκείων,<sup>2</sup>

which I translate: 'who came to him from Abydos, from beside

<sup>1</sup> My translation differs from both Grassmann's and Ludwig's, and accounts for the accented *dadhā* (which Ludwig would explain as due to its construction with two locatives, as if it were *góṣu <dadhā>, ádadhā óṣadhīṣu*). I have taken *asmāi* as a demonstrative of the 1st pers., like Lat. *hic*, Sk. *íd-* (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 498). This does not seem to me daring, when we consider the plural stem *asmá-* 'we' (which, after all, need not be for *\*ṅ-s-má*, cf. Lat. *nōs*). Further, (the 2d pers.) *tud-* is used enclitically as a 3d pers. demonstrative (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 503 b). The truth is that the 'personal' pronouns are but specialized demonstratives (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XV 411-14).

<sup>2</sup> I note Homer's epithet of rivers, ὠκίπρος 'swift-flowing.'

the swift waters.' The preposition *παρά* with the genitive can hardly mean anything but 'from beside,' and it seems jejune to translate 'from beside his swift mares,' for Democoon, the person in question, is not otherwise described in the Iliad save in this passage, and so there is no point in mentioning his horses; but to take the words in the way I have suggested as a further description of Abydos on the Hellespont gives them a very definite appropriateness indeed.

The stem to which these substantives belong, represented in Sk. *āfú*, Grk. *ὠκύς* 'swift,' has other forms in which the sense of 'water' may be plainly seen: I cite Sk. *āfú* used as an epithet of soma (e. g. RV. i 4. 7); and I further explain Grk. *Ὠκεανός* 'ocean-stream, river-god' as the result of a syncretism of two genitives, *\*ὠκεφος* and *\*ὠκφῆγνός* (> *\*ωκ(κ)ανος*), this last with the *r/n*-inflexion: in the phrase *θεὸς Ὠκεανός* 'god of the water' the original genitive received interpretation as a nominative. Further possible Greek derivatives of this stem are *ικ-μάς* 'moisture' and *ιχώρ* 'blood of the gods, serum,' with *χ* due to the lost gen. *\*ικ-νος* (> *\*ιχνος*, cf. Curtius, Grdžge.<sup>5</sup>, p. 502, on *κν* > *χν*). But these last words may belong in one group with Sk. *√síc* 'sprinkle,' with a loss of the initial aspiration in *ιχώρ*. On the other hand, *ἵππη* has such an abnormal aspiration. Can it be that this was borrowed from a primitive *\*ικμάς* (*√síc*) 'moisture' standing alongside of *\*ἵππη* 'water'?

But the initial vowel in the Greek representatives of Latin *equus*, *aqua* is in any case abnormal. How is it to be accounted for? We might refer it to the just-mentioned association with *\*ικμάς*. A further way to account for it would be to set beside Aryan *\*ekw-os* 'swift' a stem *\*ekw-* in gradation with *ὠκύς*.<sup>1</sup> This is possibly retained for us in *ἠπιάλος* 'chill, nightmare (? night-sweat),' which I take to be akin to *Aquilo* 'north-wind,' i. e. 'rain-storm-wind,'<sup>2</sup> though, after all, the *ἦ*<sup>o</sup> may be Attic-

<sup>1</sup> There is still a third vowel-shade in Latin *acupediūs*. I cite from Paul. ex. Fest. (p. 9, Müller): *dicebatur cui praecipuum erat in currendo acumen pedum*. Note further *āci-piter (acci<sup>o</sup>)* 'swift-wing.' On the relation of the vowels I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation,' Am. Jour. Phil. XV 425.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. horrifera Aquilonis stridor molitur nives (Att. ap. Cic. Tusc. I 68); stridens Aquilone procella (Verg. Aen. I 102); hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas (ib. III 285). I suggest that Sk. *údañc* 'northwards' developed along the same lines from *udán* 'water.' It is any way not easy to see how *ud* 'out, up' got this meaning; we should expect a 'left' to balance the 'right' of *ddksina-*. I suggest in this connection that in Grk. *ἠπειρος* (Aeol. *ἄπειρος*) 'mainland'

Ionic. However, beside a base \**ǵkw-* there was probably an Aryan doublet *ǵkw-*, a phonetic relation resting on the assumption that Aryan close *ē* alternated with *ī* (cf. the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XVI 5 sq., and v. Rozwadowski, *B. B.* XXI 154). I am about to offer, I believe, a proof that in Sanskrit also we have a trace of this vocalization.

I.—I now approach Agni's epithet *Matarīṣvan*. This term had been very early subjected to popular etymology: thus in RV. iii 29. 11<sup>cd</sup> we read: *mātarīṣvā* [sc. *ucyate*] *yād āmimīta mātāri* | *vātasya sārgo abhavat sārīmaṇi*, which, translated conservatively, means something like 'mātarīṣvā, when he was fashioned in his mother | became a gust of wind for howling.'<sup>1</sup> But possibly the popular etymology went thus: 'When mātarīṣvā had roared<sup>2</sup> in his mother,' and took the compound as *mātāri*+*ṣvā* ('dog'), and thus the epithet would be understood of the howling storm-winds or roaring thunder attendant upon the birth of the lightning, *Apām Nāpāt*, in the clouds. This explanation is entirely concordant with the sense of pāda *d*. Back of the popular etymology, however, I would see a \**mātar-īṣvā-n-* (with *-n-* taken up from *ātharvan*, a closely related attribute of Agni—see below, p. 22) 'bellowing-cloud,'<sup>3</sup> a description of the thunder attendant on lightning. If this conception be right, then *īṣva-n* has the same vocalization as *ἵππη* 'water.'

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(that north and east of Corcyra κατ' ἔξοχήν) we have a development of meaning on similar lines to that in *Aquilo*. This association with the stem *akw-* 'water' lightens the comparison with Germ. *ufer* (cf. Prellwitz, *Etym. Wort.*, s. v. *ἵππειος*).

<sup>1</sup> Thus I translate *sārīmaṇi*; cf. Lat. *sermo* 'talk,' *disertus* 'talkative': the root was *ser* || *s<sup>er</sup>en* and, by contamination, *s<sup>er</sup>er*, cf. Sk. *svar* || *svan* 'sound.' On *s<sup>er</sup>er* by 'anticipative rounding' cf. the author, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1894, I. ix, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> This is to connect the form *āmimīta* with *amā* 'roar'; it must be remarked, however, that this root in its twelve occurrences and six forms in RV. has no other middle.

<sup>3</sup> I note RV. i 38. 8<sup>ab</sup> *vāṣṣréva vidyūn mīmāti* | *vatsām nā mātā siṣaḥkti* 'the lightning bellows like a cow, like a bellowing <mother> (*mātā*) follows her calf.' It is to be noted in passing that it was perhaps from *mātar-* 'bellowing <mother>' that the child-word *mama* || *mā* passed over into *mātar-* 'mother,' whence the agential suffix in general for nouns of relationship. The roaring of thunder in the clouds is frequently expressed as 'bellowing' in the classic languages: *βροντῆ μυχθαμένη* (Aristoph. *Nub.* 292), *βροντῆς μύκημα* (Aesch. *Prom.* 1062), *ἡχὴ παραμυκᾶται βροντῆς* (ib. 1082); further, Homer describes the roaring of the river Scamander by the words *μεικῶς ἥυτε ταῦρος* (Φ 237), and Vergil (*Aen.* VI 256) uses *mugire solum* of the rumbling earth.

II.—I proceed to indicate a trace of the popular etymology assumed above, viz. in the name of the Greek god Πάν. The background was \*κFāv ‘dog’; the source of the F is ‘anticipative rounding’ (cf. p. 8, footnote 1), and the vowel-color corresponds with that of Lat. *canis* (cf. *cano* ‘sing’). Germ. *hahn* ‘cock’ is a precisely similar formation, and it is evident that the primary meaning was something like ‘crier.’<sup>1</sup> The animal nature of the god Pan is well known.<sup>2</sup> He is usually associated with the goat because of the epithet *Αἰγι-πόδης*, interpreted as ‘goat-footed,’ but the meaning may be, after all, ‘with flashing foot,’ cf. *αἰγίς* of the flashing shield of Zeus, but also (Aesch. Cho. 592) of a hurricane.<sup>3</sup> Pan was the god of strange noises, and shared with Apollo (infra, p. 21) the gift of prophecy: both of these characteristics may be traced to a primitive connection with the thunder. Pan was god of the shepherds: what is more likely than for shepherds to worship a divine dog? Further, Pan is the son of Ἑρμείας, whose equivalence with the Vedic *Sārameya*, one of the dogs of the underworld, is, I take it, certain (cf. Kuhn, Z. f. D. A. VI 125; K. Z. II 314; the author, Class. Rev. VII 61). It is surely an easy step to identify Pan, son of Hermes, with a Vedic locution like *ꣳvā Sārameyah*. I find a strong proof of the canine nature of the god Pan in his epithet of *Λύκειος*, which I refer once more to *λύκος* ‘wolf’: no other etymology will account for the Latin name of Pan, *Lupercus*.

<sup>1</sup> In Greek also the same word was applied to singing birds, viz. in *ἀλ-κυνόν*, the bird whose song was *άλ*—that is to say, who trilled l’s (?). In Lat. *alcēdo* we are to see a primitive \**al-cen*, like *os-cen*, affected by the *-don* || *-dn* suffix of *hirundo* to *alcēdo*, with the previous vowel long as in *lubido* and other words of its type where a rhythmic lengthening arose comparable, I suggest, with that in Grk. *σοφώτερος*, from an aversion to four successive shorts—what is known as De Saussure’s ‘Loi Rythmique’; compare *cupīdimis*, but *cupīdus*, and (?) *facīlimus* (i. e. *facīlimus*), but *facīlis*. There seems no doubt of the genuineness of *alcēdo* (cf. also Curtius, Grundz., 132); but see Noreen, l. c., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection I call attention to the word *πάνθηρ*, which I interpret as the ‘roaring animal’ *πάν-θηρ*. The young panther is specially noted, like the puppy, for its whine. I note also from Tennyson’s Oenone: “in the dark morn The panther’s roar came muffled.” It is possible that *πάν* and *θηρ* were first inflected as two words; then if \**παν-* ‘roarer’ were confused with the neuter *πάν* ‘all’ in its inflexion, and so became \**παντ-*, we could account by this association for the participial inflexion of *λέων*, the roarer by pre-eminence, as due to analogy with this \**παντ-*. At any rate, *θηρ* is specially associated with the lion in Homer (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. *θήρ*), while Euripides (Herc. Fur. 465) uses *θηρὸς . . . λέοντος*.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 25, for the further etymology of *αἰγίς*.

Perhaps it was from the compound *mātar-īṣvan*, misinterpreted as *mātarī-ṣvan*, that the dog<sup>1</sup> got into the circle of the original nature-deities, though, to be sure, this compound cannot be demonstrated for the Aryan period.<sup>2</sup>

III.—Another of Agni's epithets in the Veda is *tānū-nāpāt*, which has the traditional interpretation of 'self-son,' a recognition that fire is the seed of fire, and perhaps this etymology is not too *recherché* to allow even to a primitive people. I venture, however, to suggest in its place a less metaphysical one. Exception can also be taken to the prevailing explanation from the standpoint of the accent of the compound: *tānū-nāpāt*, but *tanū* 'body, self.' We may not assume a regular accentual change from *tanūnāpāt* because of *mitrāvārunā*. Now, the double accent implies a dvandva compound. I compare *jāspāti* 'family and master' with *jāspati* 'lord of the family.' I therefore interpret *tānū nāpāt* as *tānū* and *nāpāt*—that is to say, 'thunder and lightning.' In *tānū*<sup>o</sup> we have the 'dual' form of dvandvas,<sup>3</sup> lost, however, in *nāpāt* (for *nāpātāu*) because the entire compound is an epithet of the singular Agni (*Apām Nāpāt*).

In general semasiotic support of this proposition I note that Jupiter, the lightning-wielder, had among the Romans the epithet of *Tonans* 'the thunderer.' The primitive Aryan root was *tar* || *tan* 'thunder.' The Scandinavian divinity *Thor* warrants the *r*-form,<sup>4</sup> while in O.H.G. *Donar* we have a syncretic form. In Latin *tonitru* we have both the *r*- and *n*-forms in reduplication. It may be urged against this conception of *tānū*<sup>o</sup> that there is no Sanskrit *\*tānū-* in simplex: true, but there is no Sanskrit *\*tanar* either. We might infer, however, a simple *u*-stem from the stems TANAYI-TN-*ú*, *tanyatú* (for *\*tanyatrú?*), *tanyú*; we have besides *tonitru* in Latin a *tonus* 'thunder,' and this we must suppose is an original word, and not identical with the loan-word *τόνος* 'tone'; and, in fact, this seems almost implied in the passage that is our authority for this word: *antiqui autem tonitrum dixerunt aut tonum* (Senec. Q. N. II 56). I note further from RV. the word

<sup>1</sup> For the Indiranic dogs in mythology, one of which was, in all probability, identical with Greek Κέρβερος, I refer to Kaegi's Rig-Veda, notes 274, 274<sup>a</sup>; these dogs of the underworld are also known in Roman, Celtic and Germanic mythology (cf. e. g. Ladewig on Verg. Aen. VI 257).

<sup>2</sup> But the two parts of the compound are to be found in the legend of Demeter Erinnyis (infra, p. 19).

<sup>3</sup> On these compounds cf. the author in Am. Jour. Phil. XV 430.

<sup>4</sup> On this interchange of *r/n* in roots, cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 22.

*stāmú* 'roaring, thundering,' which may be compared with Grk. *στόμα* 'mouth' (with *n*-inflexion), *στομύ-λος* 'chattering.' The root was *s>tan*, to which our root *s>tan*<sup>1</sup> was doubtless a by-form. In view of all the *-u*-stems given, we can hardly go amiss in the reconstruction of a Sanskrit *\*s>tānu* 'thunder,' warranted by the dualic compound *tānūndpāt* 'thunder and lightning.'

IV.—A third epithet of Agni is *nārāḥṣa*, which Grassmann interprets hesitatingly as "der Männer Lob." I note that this compound, like *tānūndpāt*, has two accents and a dualized first term; I would therefore interpret it as '*nāra* and *ḥṣa*.' To this interpretation the Veda itself leads us, for in RV. x 64. 3 we have the two terms separated, *nārā vā ḥṣam*. This compound, though used pre-eminently of Agni, is also used of *Pūṣan*. These divinities agree as dispensers of light; further, Agni is the seer (*κavī*) *κατ' ἐξοχήν* and *Pūṣan* is a divine guide on earth and, like *Hermes*, to the place of the dead (*ψυχιοπομπός*); we may therefore regard them as variant personifications of the same divinity.<sup>2</sup> It is further to be noted that *Ḥṣa* is the name of a divinity associated with *Bhāga*, and this latter is of frequent association with *Pūṣan*. There is no reason for us to separate *Ḥṣa* from *ḥṣaṣ*, which Grassmann defines by 'feierlich aussagen'; I therefore propose for our epithet the rendering 'prophet.'

Let us turn now to the first half of the compound *nārā*<sup>o</sup>: Agni enjoys with *Indra*, for both are the lightning, the epithets *nṛ-t-ama* 'manliest' and *nṛ-t-ú* 'dancing,' epithets ultimately akin to *ḥnṛ* || *nṛ-t-* 'dance <the war-dance>' and *nṛ* 'warrior' (cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, vii). With these I would connect *nārā*<sup>o</sup> and define by 'leaping,' a characterization of the lightning, as *ḥṣaṣ* 'prophesying' is a characterization of the thunder; the compound *nārāḥṣa* is thus resolved into 'lightning and thunder,' or, more simply, 'leaping and roaring.'

In support of this explanation of *nārā*<sup>o</sup> I bring forward the Greek god-name *Νηρεύς*. This divinity, the son of *Πόντος* 'the deep,' spoke sooth and recked of justice (Hes. Theog. 235 sq.), qualities that cling to him perhaps from his associate *Ḥṣa* 'the prophetic voice of the thunder.' The part lightning plays with

<sup>1</sup>Sk. *ḥtan* || *stan*; I note the additional *u*-stem *standīhu*. In Greek we seem to have the *-r*-form of the root in *στεροπή* and *ἀστραπή*, the latter with the weakest grade of the preposition *ἐν* as its prefix; cf. Lat. *intonare*.

<sup>2</sup>According to Henry (on AV. vii 9), *Pūṣan* is unquestionably a solar god, the wandering sun.

primitive people as a manifestation of the divine will is too well known to require discussion. From the standpoint of the form the agential ending *-eus*, so common in proper names, has affected in Greek the god-name *\*Αρης* to *\*Αρεus*. The *η* of *Νηρεός* is not a representative of the Sk. *ā*, but has been lengthened by de Saussure's 'loi rythmique' to suit the exigencies of the hexameter verse: this lengthening doubtless took place first in the masc. patronymic *\*Νηρεΐδαι* along, say, with *Νηλεΐδαι* (Ψ 652), and in Hesiod we have, in fact, as a v. l. (Vatic. 1409 in marg.) the fem. patronymic *Νηρεΐδες* for Homer's *Νηρηΐδες*.

*Νηρεός* is palpably but another name for *Πρωτεύς*, the other old man of the sea, who also speaks sooth (δ 384 sq.). The Romans have a corresponding deity in *Portūnus* (with suffix like that of *Neptunus*), interpreted by popular etymology as the 'harbor-god.' The Aryan base of both words is *\*p̄r̄-to*, Grk. *πρῶτος* 'first.' In the Rig-Veda, too, the epithet *prathama-jā*<sup>1</sup> 'first-born' shows traces of association with Agni (*Apām nāpāt*).<sup>2</sup>

We ask ourselves now why the term 'first' came to be applied to the god of lightning. The answer to this question is furnished by the god *Trilā Aptṛā* (<*\*r̄pt-ya-*), a descendant of *Apām nāpāt*. With this parentage Trita invites identification with *Τρίτων*, son of Poseidon. The story of how Triton aided the gods in the battle with the giants by blowing on his conch is comparable with the services rendered by Trita to Indra in battle (cf. e. g. RV. x 8. 8), and with his service in blowing up the fire (Agni) like a blacksmith (RV. v 9. 5). This suggests that Trita is the thunder, and we may therefore see in *Τρίτων* an intensive form from *√tan* with reduplication in reversed order to that of Lat. *tonitru*: an example of this variation is furnished by Grk. *καρκίως* (Lat. *can-cer* 'crab.' The Aryan form *\*t̄z-ton-* was confused

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further *purōhita* of Agni, which means 'set-before'; this sense is also inherent in *Agni*: *√aj* 'lead' (infra, p. 24). I call attention to RV. i 1, 1 *Agnim iḥe purōhitam* 'Agni I worship, the leader,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet is used twice of Agni (x 5. 7; 61, 19); once of the *āpas devās* (x 109. 1); once of *Bṛhaspati* (i. e. Agni?) as the thunderer and sender of lightning (vi 73. 1); once of *Vāyu* (= *Apām sakhū*) as the bringer of rain (x 168. 3); once in a riddling hymn (i 164. 37), where the application to Agni is probable; once of *Brahman* (iii 29. 15); and twice, in one phrase, of the dragon whom Indra slew for holding back the waters (i 32. 3-4). It is thus shown that the word never went far beyond its application to Agni as *Apām nāpāt*.



in the primitive period with \**tri-to*<sup>1</sup> 'third.' The result of this confusion<sup>2</sup> was a series of numeral divinities that crop out here and there in the derived languages. Thus we have in the Vedas a *Dvité* 'second' to balance *Tritá* 'third,' and Agni was, as we have seen above, *prathamajā* 'first-born.' In the old Norse mythology Odhin bears the epithets of *Thridhi* 'third' and *Tveggi* 'second.' In Greek, in addition to *Τρίτων* 'third,' we have *Πρωτεύς* 'first,' while in Latin we have *Portunus* 'first.' Possibly we have in Latin *Dis*, a name of Hades, an original 'second'; *Dvité* is in the Rig-Veda (v 18. 2) an epithet of Agni, who, like Hades, is lord of all wealth.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that *Ἄιδης* (*Ἄιδης* by popular etymology) is called *τρίτατος* by Homer (O 188), and is inferentially *πρώτος* in Hesiod (Theog. 455). *Ἄιδης* (without the 'pietistic'<sup>4</sup> rough breathing) may be etymologically connected with Lat. *aedes* 'sacred fire' (: *√ indh* || *ind*) and with Sk. *ídā* (cf. supra, p. 1).

From *Τρίτων* we are able to fix the character of Pallas Athene, who has the epithets *Τριτογένεια*<sup>5</sup> and *Ἄτρον-τώνη*. On the latter epithet the etymological talent of the Greeks has been at work, either popularly or in the person of the Homeric diaskeuasts. I would see in this epithet a composition of the preposition \**γ* (the weakest form of *ἐν*, cf. Sk. *ā*) and *√ tan* as in Latin *intonare* 'to thunder'; the change from *τ* (cf. *Τρίτων*) to *υ* (i. e. *ū*) is not

<sup>1</sup> The Aryan *γ*-vowel was doubtless about what we have in the first syllable of our English 'pretty.' The Sk. roots in *-ṛ* make passive in *-ri-*, e. g. *mriyate* : *√ mṛ*, which is, I take it, orthographic for \**mṛyate*. The *ī* of *Τρίτων* is like *ī* in the Sk. intensive stem *var-ī-vṛt-*, while *ī* in Lat. *ton-ī-tru* is like the *ī* in Sk. *tar-ī-tṛ-*.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonnell takes the numeral literally in his *Mythological Studies* (J. R. A. S., July, 1893, 419 sq.), so far as I am able to infer from the citation in I. F. Anz. III, p. 224: "We thus find that the cumulative evidence of the Rig-Veda, of comparative mythology, and of the Avesta combine to prove that Trita in his original nature was the third or lightning form of fire. This was his character in the Indo-Iranian period . . . possibility of Trita having been the name of lightning even in the Indo-European period . . . Odhin bears in the old Norse mythology the epithet Thridhi, the third—as well as Tveggi, the second."

<sup>3</sup> We should expect, of course, *bit-* in Latin (< *dvit-*), but there is doubtless association with the stem *divit-* || *dīt-* 'rich.' Note, however, the preposition *dī-* 'apart' (Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 582).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. infra, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> One of the myths makes Athena the daughter of Poseidon and Tritonis, and from this connection with Poseidon her relation to the fire-divinity is rendered more probable.

difficult phonetically, and took its start perhaps from  $\tilde{a}$ - $\tau\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  'indefatigable.' The brandished spear of Παλλῆς (cf. πάλλω 'brandish' and Arist. Av. 1714  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  κεραυνόν 'brandishing a thunder-bolt') was a figure to describe her as the lightning-wielder. Latin *Minerva* has perhaps a similar semasy and may be compared with *mināri* 'to threaten.' In 'Αθῶνῃ I see a Greek epithet of Pallas meaning 'immortal' and related to ἀθάνατος.<sup>1</sup>

I have explained (in Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, I. vii) Indra as a cognate of Ares and Mars<sup>2</sup> (for \**Nars*), all deriving from  $\sqrt{nr-t}$ - 'leap.' *Indra* is therefore to be connected with *nāra*<sup>o</sup>. Greek and Roman mythology have given to Zeus and Jupiter the control of the lightning, and so Ares and Mars seem rather pale in this respect as compared with Indra; but, besides general considerations (cf. Buchholz, Hom. Realien, III 150), the epithets ὄβριμος 'mighty' (ὄμβρος 'rain,' cf. Grassmann, K. Z. XII 91)<sup>3</sup> and 'Ενθάλιος? 'the rainer' (ἐν + ἴω 'rain on'?) testify perhaps to the original state of things.

One might expect on *a-priori* grounds a connection between Indra and Agni (*Apām Nāpāt*). I note as a general consideration that in the hymns to the so-called dual-divinities, those to Indrāgni are commonest,<sup>4</sup> and I call especial attention to the fact that Indra and Agni are in one place (RV. i 109. 4) called Aḥvins<sup>5</sup>: these last I shall presently discuss.

But I return to the compound *Nārā-ḡānsa* to seek for etymological kin of the last member, turning first to the Italic field. One of the earliest Roman traditions was that of the Rape of the Sabines: this event took place at a feast to *Neptunus Equester*

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology of ἀθάνατος cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, I. ix, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further the author, l. c., 1895, lxviii.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot agree with the comparison of Sk. *agrimās* (Prellwitz, s. v. ὄβριμος) 'voranstehend': this cannot be separated from  $\sqrt{aj}$  'drive,' ἄγω. I note that the faded-out meaning of 'powerful' in ὄβριμος beside ὄμβρος 'rain' is paralleled in *śjas* 'power' and 'rain' (supra, p. 5) and in Sk. *ugrā-* 'powerful' beside ἰγρός 'moist.'

<sup>4</sup> The statistics are: Indra and Agni, 11; Indra and Varuṇa, 7; Indra and Soma, 3; Indra and Pūṣan, 1; Indra and Viṣṇu, 1; Soma and Rudra, 1; Soma and Pūṣan, 1; and Agni and the Maruts, 1. It is noteworthy that in all the hymns but three, Indra is the first member of the compound, and this would imply that the term had an original adjective value (cf. the author on Mitra and Varuṇa, Am. Jour. Phil. XV 430, footnote 2).

<sup>5</sup> The horsemen; cf. on Agni's relation to the horse, p. 3, and on Indra's p. 5.

called the *Consualia* (Liv. I 9): we get from other sources the name *Consus* for the god of this festival. There can be no objection, from the phonetic point of view, to equating *Consus* directly with the Vedic *Çānsas* and with the latter half of *Nārā-çānsas*, and I again note that *Apām NĀPĀT* = NEPT-*unus* is a perfect semasic equation,<sup>1</sup> and a perfect phonetic one so far as *Nāpāt* is concerned.

But we have this epithet in Greek also, in the name of one of the *Dioskouroi*, *Κάστωρ* (<\*κῆσ-τορ-). It needs no argumentation to prove a legendary and functional similarity between the *Dioskouroi* and the *Açvins* (cf. e. g. Kaegi's *Rig-Veda*, n. 171, and the literature there cited); it only remains to get at the verbal connection: *κῆστωρ* is an agential noun to  $\sqrt{\text{ḱ}}\text{ḱans}$  'proclaim,' used of the prophetic voice of the thunder. The character of the *Dioskouroi* as horsemen is as well established as that of the *Açvins*, and if the relation of \**ekḥwe-* 'horse' to \**aga-* 'water' be established, we are prepared to see in these horsemen 'cloudmen, storm-clouds,' the attendants of *Apām Nāpāt*, the lightning. In *Κάστωρ*, therefore, the tamer of horses (clouds), we see the thunder, and in *Πολυδεύκης*, who was famed as a boxer, the lightning-stroke. As to the separate names of the *Açvins*, the *Veda* does not inform us,<sup>2</sup> and no reliance can be placed in *Çāunaka's* statement (*Bṛhaddevatā*, vi 33) that they were called *Nāsatyas* and *Dasras*, for he merely adapts two epithets of the *Açvin-pair* from *Rig-Veda*. Similarly the Greek *Πολυδεύκης* very nearly reflects an epithet of the *Açvins*, viz. *puru-dānsas-*, which has been compared with *πολυδήνης* 'πολύβουλος'. The earliest authority for *πολυδήνης* is the *Hesychian gloss* *πολυδήνεα πολύβουλον*. We may, however, compare *Πολυδεύκης* with *Purudānsas-*, after the following fashion: °*daṅsas-* may be for \**daṅças-*, with an assimilation of spirants which is almost the rule in *Sanskrit* (cf. *Wackernagel, Altind. Gram.*, §197). Now, if we operate with \**daṅḡ-as-* this would correspond to \**δεγκ-εσ-* in *Greek*. Can *γκ* (i. e. *ḡk*) give *υκ*? *J. Schmidt (Vocalismus, I 181)* distinctly maintains that the group vowel + nasal + cons. results in a *v-diphthong*, say *apḡk* gives *auk* (reported by *Bezenberger, B. B. IV 350*). In favor of this phonetic treatment is *ἀχίην* 'throat,' *Aeolic* *ἄμφην*, which belongs with *ἄγχω* 'choke,' cf. *O.Pruss. w-insus* 'throat,' *Goth. hals-aggā*.

<sup>1</sup> Objection will not hold on account of the order, for at *RV. ii 35. 11* we have *nāptur apām*.

<sup>2</sup> Unless indeed they are *Indra* and *Agni*; cf. above, p. 14, and footnote 5.

Another example is ξανθός 'tawny,' which alternates with ξουθός 'tawny.' Bezzenberger (l. c., 352) objects that in αὐχὴν we have the 'velar' and in O.Pruss. *w-insus* the 'palatal,' but the interchange of 'velars' and 'palatals' is simply undeniable (cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre, §55, and Bartholomae, Grundriss d. iran. Philologie, I, §54). As to ξανθός || ξουθός, Bezzenberger makes a point on *ov* instead of *av*. To me the confusion of *ou* and *au* in the primitive Greek period seems the easiest of all things to grant. I note οἶς 'ear': Lat. *aur-is*, οἰ-ωνός 'bird' (<\**oFi-ωνός*?) : Lat. *av-is*. Here there has been, either in Greek or in Latin, a confusion of *au* with *ou*. Such a confusion I suppose to have taken place in ξουθός for \*ξανθός. It seems to me that the testimony of αὐχὴν and ξουθός cannot be fairly rejected, and so \*-δεγκ- may have given -δευκ-, in some Greek dialect at least. Granting this, we can ascribe °δευκ-εσ- and Sk. °*dans-as-* to a base \**deṛk-es*.

One word needs to be said concerning Sk. \**danḡ-as-*: it will belong with the verb-stem *daḡasy-* 'hülfreich sein.' Thus, at RV. viii 5, 23 it is said of the Aḡvins: *γυνάμ̄ κάρνω̄γα . . . ξάξυᾱ ut̄ir daḡasyathah̄* 'ye two always bestow help on Kárva'; while *purudānsas-* is defined by Böhtlingk 'reich an wunderbaren wirkungen.'

The explanation of Κάστωρ as the prophetic voice of the thunder leads us to interpret Κασσαλία as the 'spring of the prophetic muses.' Here we can compare Lat. *Casmena* || *cīmena* 'muse' (<\**casmēna*?).

Possibly we have the entire compound *Nārāçāṅsa* in Greek, but with its members in reversed order, in the name of Κασσάνδρη, the prophetic daughter of Πρίαμος [*<\*p̄riym̄mos* = Lat. *primus* 'first' (?), cf. supra on Πρωτεύς]. We can but regard this as another form of Καστιάνειρα, the name of one of the wives of Priam. In Κασσ° I see a development out of \**κ̄ηστγ-*, while °*ανδρη* || °*ανειρα* is a feminine doublet to *άνηρ* (supra, p. ). To justify this notion from the semasic point of view, it is essential to note that Cassandra was a twin with Helena. Just so the Dioskouroi were of one birth with Helena. Are these names also to be explained as epithets, originally at least, of the fire-divinity?

V. 'Ελένη, °*Ελενος*.—By way of reinforcement to the suggestion just made, I note that *έλένη* is cited by Hesychius in the sense of 'torch,' a sense that may be reconciled with the literary value of 'basket' by considering that both are made of splinters of wood. If we have here an original light-divinity, then there must be

connection with Lat. *sol* 'sun' and O.H.G. *sun-na* (with interchange of  $r_2$  ( $l$ ) and  $n$ ; cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §53, 1, and the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XV 432).<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit the form is *svār*, where the  $v$  is, I take it, parasitic (*supra*, p. 9), and the primitive stem may be written *sar* || *s<sup>w</sup>an* and, by contamination, *s<sup>w</sup>ar*. With the stem in this condition, the relation of *Σελήνη* 'moon' becomes clear: the relation of *Ἑλένη* to *Σελήνη* is just that of  $\hat{e}_s$  to  $\sigma\hat{u}_s$ . We have in Sk. *svāraṇa-* 'shining' the precise stem.

But *Ἑλένη* as sister to the Dioskouroi suggests a more definite mythological connection. Spite of differences in the suffix,<sup>2</sup> she seems identical in many important mythic points with *Saraṇ-yū*, mother of the Aṣvins. This mysterious divinity is known to us by a pair of isolated stanzas in RV. (x 17. 1-2), which seems to be of the nature of a riddle (*brahmodya*, cf. Bloomfield, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* XV 172 sq.). These run [in Bloomfield's translation (l. c., 173)]: "Tvaṣṭar is instituting a marriage-pageant for his daughter: at this news <all the people of> this earth come together. Yama's mother, while being married, the wife of mighty Vivasvant, disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman from the mortals; making a *sāvarnā* (a like one, *double entendre*; one like *Saraṇyū* in appearance, and like Vivasvant in character, or caste), they gave her to Vivasvant. Moreover, when that had taken place, she bore (? carried) the two Aṣvins; she abandoned, you know, two pairs—*Saraṇyū*." As additional detail to this (which Lanman, *Notes to Reader*, p. 381, pronounces "a braw story, but unco short") Yaska tells us (Lanman's translation, l. c.): "Tvaṣṭar's daughter, *Saraṇyū*, bore twins (Yama and Yamī) to Vivasvant. She foisted upon him another female of the same appearance (*sāvarnām*), and, taking on the form of a mare, fled forth. Vivasvant took on the form of a horse, followed her, and coupled with her. From that were born the two Aṣvins or 'Horse-men.'" Of the *sāvarnā* was born *Manu*. Now, in the myth of Helen almost every single one of these incidents has a correspondence. 1st, Tyndareus made a marriage for his daughter and to this all the princes of Greece

<sup>1</sup> For the relation of the two significations of *swar* || *swan* 'shine' and 'sound,' cf. Bloomfield, *I. F.* IV 76, footnote, and the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XVI 25.

<sup>2</sup> This suffix difference is precisely comparable with *manā* || *manyū* 'wrath,' *ḥṛītanā* || *ḥṛītanū* 'enemy,' *turāṇa* || *turāṇū* 'hastening,' etc. See also the next footnote.

came; 2d, both the women eloped; 3d, in one of the Helen stories, not the true Helen, but 'one just like her,' fulfilled the elopement with Paris, while the true Helen was detained in Egypt by none other than King Proteus! 4th, Helen was not captured till her husband, among others, got into Troy by means of a wooden horse which he had been directed to make by Helenus—a detail for which we can now gain a sensible explanation for the first time; 5th, both women are associated with the Dioskouroi ≈ Aḡvins, Helen as twin-sister (quartuplets, in two pairs) and Saranyū as mother; 6th, there is a further story that Paris deceived Helen by taking the precise form of Menelaus. I submit that these correspondences are enough to establish the identity of the two tales.

There are also more etymological correspondences than that between *Saraṇ-yū* and 'Ελένη. In *Tvaṣṭar* I see an agential noun to  $\sqrt{s} > tar$  ||  $t^{\text{an}}$  (>  $t^{\text{ar}}$ ), a primitive  $*(s >)twṇ-s-tar$  'thunderer,' while back of *Τυνδάρεος* I posit a  $*tṇ-tr-$ , whence  $*tund-r-$ . In 'Ερμιόνη, the name of Helen's daughter, we have perhaps, in its last part, *Yamī* (-ιονη <  $*i-yamyā$ ), and the first part of *Μενέ-λαος* is possibly akin to *Manu*; but on these points I do not insist. For the possible equivalence of *Πολυδεύκης* and *purudañsas* see above, p. 15.

As to the suffix, 'Ελένη would correspond to a Sk.  $*Saraṇā$ , which might have a by-form  $*Saraṇz$ . In the sole Vedic form *Saraṇyū-s* we may have  $*Saraṇz$  affected by *vadhū-s*<sup>1</sup> 'bride' (note that *vahatīm* 'wedding' occurs in the passage); but on the relation of the *-a* and *-yū*-suffixes see last page, footnote 2.

The only obstacle to this comparison from the mythological standpoint lies in the Greek goddesses, the Erinyes. Kuhn (K. Z. I 439) compared 'Ερηνύς with *Saraṇyū*. The phonetic objections to his comparison are not, in my opinion, insuperable, viz. the loss of the rough breathing, and the abnormal vocal color of τ. For the

<sup>1</sup> In RV. *-ū* is a not infrequent suffix for the names of goddesses and women. I note *Kṛhadāçhī* 'a demon,' *Guṅgī* 'a goddess' (named along with *Sārasvatī*, and probably a variant form of *Gāṅgā*), *agrī* 'maiden,' *çvaçrū-* 'mother-in-law.' Other *-ū*-stems show a connection with words for 'water': *cam-ū* 'drinking-vessel,' *kadṛ-ū* 'brown soma-vessel,' *mehatn-ū* 'river,' *nabhan-ū* 'spring,' the two first being probably affected by *Juhū* 'ladle' and the two last by *Guṅgī*. The Greek divinities in *-ū* (infra in the text) are sea-divinities, and *Saraṇyū* is, by the terms of the supposition, a relative of *Apām nāpāt*; furthermore, *Saraṇyū* as 'mare' would possibly be affected by *āçū* 'swift, horse.'

Erinyes in their character as avenging deities there is no mythical connection worth mentioning. Kuhn, however, reports from Pausanias (VIII 25) a story of Demeter Erinnyes, to whom there was a temple at Thelpusa in Arcadia: 'While in search of her daughter Poseidon was following her to enjoy her, and she turned herself into a mare; Poseidon thereupon became a horse and coupled with her; at first she was angry, but afterwards cooled off by bathing in a river, and hence she received the name Erinys, because ἐρινύειν means among the Arcadians "to be angry." Thereupon she bore a daughter and the horse Areion, whence Poseidon received his epithet of Hippios.' Later (ch. 42) Pausanias tells us that, according to another tradition, 'she had borne no horse, but a daughter known as Despoina; in her anger at Poseidon and grief for the loss of Persephone she put on mourning and concealed herself for a long time in a hole; drouth and famine resulted, and Zeus finally had to send and beseech Demeter to return among the gods; the hole where the goddess hid was consecrated, and a statue of her with a horse's head set up there.'

Now, as to the epithet Ἐρινύς, we have no right to reject the derivation of Pausanias; and I would therefore stick by the connection with ἔρις 'strife,' for this suits the character of the Erinyes perfectly. The ending -νύς is capable of having originated on Greek soil. I note Ἐνυῶ 'goddess of war' and Ἐνυῶ-άλιος 'god of war': Ἐρινύς is perhaps in special relation with this pair, and meant 'begetter of strife' (<ἐριν + ὕ-ω, Sk. √ sū- 'bring forth'); but, in any case, there is ample warrant in Greek, as in the Veda (supra, p. 18, footnote), for god-names in -νύς, e. g. ὁ Φόρκυς and ἡ Τηθύς.

VI. *Demeter*.—But, even though we explain away the epithet Ἐρινύς of Demeter, there still remain points of similarity between the myth cited and the Saranyū-story. To the explanation of this resemblance I now address myself. If we regard this epithet Ἐρινύς as sufficiently accounted for by its relation to ἐρινύειν 'be angry,' we can find in the name of Δημήτηρ a special reason for the legend. I infer from the short name Δηώ that ὀμητηρ is but an epithet, and from Δαμάτηρ we can perhaps infer to \*ΔαΦώ (cf. Thess. ΔάΦων, Cauér, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, No. 394): √ dāu 'burn.' Thus we can account for the Aeolic form Δωμάτηρ (with a short form Δώς, according to the MS reading of Hymn. Hom. V 122) by assuming a contraction from \*ΔαΦω-, as we have the right to do

in Aeolic where *F* followed a long vowel.<sup>1</sup> If we conceive this goddess as a fire-divinity<sup>2</sup> also, then in  $\circ\mu\alpha\tau\eta\rho$  we can see a part of the epithet *Mātar-ízvan* (supra, p. 8), while the story that she turned to a mare may have been suggested by the last part of the compound  $\circ\text{-}ízvan$  (nom.  $\circ\text{-}ízva =$  Grk.  $\text{ἵππη}$  'mare') before its loss in Greek. Her pursuer was Poseidon (*Apām Nápāt*), another form of the fire-divinity. The conception of Demeter shows traces of a connection with fire in her attribute of a torch, for she was said to have lighted torches to go in search of her lost daughter Persephone. Some special correspondences may be made out between the Agni myths and the Demeter myths. The goddess in her wrath withdrew from earth, and famine came upon it, until Zeus finally sent Hermes to propitiate her. So likewise Agni withdrew from the gods and hid, and had to be won over to return by Varuna, for, as the sacrificer, his absence was causing distress to the gods (cf. RV. x 51). Demeter's function as goddess of civilization reminds, further, of the legend of Agni Vaiçvānarā (Çat. Brāh. i 4, 1, 10-18).

Popular etymology had, however, been at work on the name, and  $\Delta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  was felt as  $\Gamma\eta\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$ : the latter divinity was a special antithesis for *Zēds patēr*, Mother-Earth)(Father-Sky. It is natural to believe that  $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  is thoroughly mixed in her attributes with  $\Gamma\eta\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$ . Of course, when  $\circ\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$  'roaring' was understood as 'mother' (cf. supra, p. 8), the divinity became feminine.

I state now in brief outline the processes involved in the origin of the myth of Demeter Erinnyes and Poseidon. The lightning-god, Poseidon (*Apām nápāt*), had, let us suppose, a primitive Greek epithet *\*mātar-ik̄ā* 'roaring cloud,' or 'possessing a roaring cloud.' This epithet was also attached to *\*dāv-ō* 'fire (=

<sup>1</sup> The contraction of  $\bar{a}\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{a}$  in Aeolic is not proved by Hoffmann, Dial. II 296, 293. The fem. gen. plur. in  $-\bar{a}\nu$  for  $-\bar{a}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$  (?) is suspicious, for the consciousness of gender may have been felt.  $\text{Ποσειδ\bar{a}\nu}$  falls by my explanation of  $-\text{id}\bar{a}\nu$  as gen. plur. to  $*\text{id}\bar{a}$  under the same conditions (cf. supra, p. 3). Moreover, as  $\text{Ποσειδ\bar{a}\nu}$  and  $\text{Π\bar{a}\nu}$  are names of the same divinity perhaps, it may well be that they have been assimilated in their final syllables. It is not absolutely necessary, however, to regard the variant syllable  $\Delta\alpha\text{-}\|\Delta\omega\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$  as a contraction of  $*\Delta\alpha\text{F}\omega\text{-}\mu\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ : it may be simply the result of some capricious choice of vowels in shortening the dissyllable to a monosyllable. So in Attic  $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  we have no contraction, but simply a choice of the vowel  $\bar{a}$  out of  $\Delta\alpha\text{F}\omega\text{-}$ . Here we must reckon with popular etymology: the  $\Delta\eta\text{-}$  in Attic-Ionic  $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  may be charged to  $\Gamma\eta$  'earth'; while  $\Delta\omega\text{-}$  of  $\Delta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$  may be due to  $\delta\bar{o}\mu\alpha$  'house.'

<sup>2</sup> I note especially  $\Delta\eta\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\text{ι}\rho\alpha$ , the wife of Hercules, who 'burnt her husband' alive, and who had the short name  $\Delta\eta\acute{\omega}$  (Smyth, Grk. Dialects, I, p. 630).



lightning), whence, finally, by fresh composition and decomposition, *Δαμάτηρ ἱππη*; thence came a story describing the bawler (<sup>ο</sup>*μάτηρ*) as furious (*Ἐριννύς*<sup>1</sup>).

VII. *Apollo*.—Schroeder has, I take it, proved the substantial correspondence of Apollo and Agni in point of original functions (K. Z. XXIX 193 sq.). I cannot believe, however, in the kinship of the name *Ἀπόλλων* with Sk. *saparyeṇya*, a hapaxlegomenon vocative epithet of Agni in RV., for the suffixes are too dissimilar and the meaning of the epithet, 'one to be honored,' is rather too pale. A suspicious circumstance to me is the loss of the rough breathing (infra, p. 24). Apollo and Poseidon are both individualizations of epithets of Agni. Associations of Apollo and Poseidon in Greek mythology bring light upon this point: they were, for example, co-founders of Troy, and Poseidon preceded Apollo in the possession of the oracle at Delphi (cf. also above, p. 11, for the prophetic character of Poseidon's doubles, *Πρωτεύς* and *Νηρεύς*). It is right to mention here that the first possessor of this oracle was *Γαῖα* (*Γῆ*) *μήτηρ*, confused perhaps with *Δαμάτηρ* as explained above.

I find in RV. two epithets of Agni that may lie at the base of the name *Ἀπόλλων*. The first of these is *aptūr*, defined by Grassmann as 'geschäftig, emsig,' and translated by Ludwig as 'Wasser erbeutend.' The latter is, in my opinion, the more exact rendering. I take the epithet to have belonged originally to the lightning as rain-bringer, and to this the statistics of usage conform. The term is used in RV. *once* of Agni, *twice* of Indra (= *thrice* of the lightning); *once* of Indu (i. e. Soma) and *thrice* of Soma (= *four* times of the heavenly Soma, i. e. rain); *once* of the *Viṣve Devas* along with a petition translated by Ludwig "sollen eilig zum Saft kommen"; *once* of the eagles of the *Aṣvins* (cf. *ἀσῶ* 'water,' supra, p. 3). There is further *one* occurrence of the abstract *aptūrya*, used of Agni and Indra. Now, if we operate with *aptūrya* as an adjective stem like *aptūr*, and take North Thessalian *Ἀπλουν-ι* into account, along with *Ἀπόλλων*, we can account for \**Απολλο-* as \**Απολυο* (for *Απολυο* < \**Απλιγιο-*), with

<sup>1</sup> Kuhn (l. c., p. 467) connects with this epithet *ἐριννέος* 'the wild fig-tree,' and brings into the comparison the story of how Agni hid himself once in a fig-tree (the *αεϋατθῆ*), after having turned himself into a horse. But *Μαίταρις* is the name of the Vedic Prometheus who brought the hidden Agni out of the kindling sticks by rubbing, and one of these sticks was of *αεϋατθῆ* wood, which amply accounts for the Hindu legend.

loss of  $\tau$  because of  $\text{Απλου-}$  (for  $^*\text{Απτλωγο-}$ ). The addition of  $-u$  to the stem would be an affection from  $\text{Ποσειδάων}$ . If we see in  $^{\circ}\text{tur}$  of  $\text{aptúr}$  Aryan  $^{\circ}\text{t}_{\tau_2}$ ,<sup>1</sup> then we can account for the graded forms  $^{\circ}\text{Απέλλων}$ , etc., by noting how gradation acted in the agential suffix  $^{\circ}\text{t}_{\tau_1}$ . Cyprian  $^{\circ}\text{Απειλών-ι}$ , if genuine, makes for the assumption of the extension of the stem by  $-γο$ . Another point in favor of this explanation is that it possibly accounts for the varying quantity of the initial syllable ( $^{\circ}\text{āπ}^{\circ}$ , i. e.  $\text{āπτ}^{\circ}$ ). I note also that Athena has the epithet  $^{\circ}\text{Οπτιλέτις}$ , which is perhaps to be compared with  $\text{aptúr}$ .

But there is another Vedic personage with whom  $^{\circ}\text{Απόλλων}$  is possibly to be identified, viz. *Átharvan*, a mythic person 'who came from heaven, fetched fire to the earth, honored the gods and slew evil things' (cf. Grassmann, s. v.). In Avestan we have two forms of this name,  $\text{āprava}$  with a case-form  $\text{āpraurunē}$ . Like the first of these forms is  $^{\circ}\text{Απλουν}$  ( $<^*\text{ατλωFον}$ ; for  $\tau\lambda>$   $\text{πλ}$  cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XIII 463 sq.; Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1892, xxiii sq., 1894, I. ix), while  $^{\circ}\text{Απόλλων}$  is for  $^{\circ}\text{άπολFον}$ , with  $\pi$  for  $\tau$ , from the form  $^{\circ}\text{Απλουν}$ , and so corresponds with Sk. *átharvan*. We nowhere have, however, any forms showing  $\lambda F$  or  $\lambda$  with compensative lengthening, and the Cyprian form  $^{\circ}\text{Απειλών-ι}$  seems to demand a stem  $^{\circ}\text{άπελγο-}$ . But this form is of doubtful genuineness, for in inscriptions from the same locality of an earlier date the form  $^{\circ}\text{Απόλλωνι}$  is found (cf. Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. XXXII 328), and, indeed, on an earlier portion of the same inscription. Apollo's character as a 'terrible god of death, sending virulent pestilences and dealing out destruction to men and animals by means of his unerring arrows,' allows us to reasonably assume that there was popular association with  $\text{άπόλλυμι}$ . Touching the variation of  $\epsilon$  and  $ο$  in this stem, I believe Joh. Schmidt has given the right explanation when he attributes it to the infection of a vocative  $^{\circ}\text{Απελλον}$  to  $^{\circ}\text{Απολλον}$ , an influence due to the  $ο$  of the final syllable (K. Z., I. c.) This vocative form in the primitive Greek period was associated with  $\text{άπόλλυμι}$ , and so, even if we assume a primitive nom.  $^{\circ}\text{ΑπελFον}$ , it is fair to suppose that under the influence of  $^{\circ}\text{Απολλον}$  (which had been affected by  $\text{άπόλλυμι}$ ) it reached the stage  $^{\circ}\text{Απελλων}$ . We may assume, however, that  $\lambda F$  fell out because of the form  $^{\circ}\text{Απλουν}$ , as explained above. On the warrant of the Avestan forms taken in comparison with Sk.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of Sk.  $\text{aptúr}$  and the Aryan  $\tau_2$ , I refer to my articles in Am. Jour. Phil. XIII 463 sq., and Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1892, xxiv, and 1894, 2, ix.

*átharvan*, we have a right to believe that the word was liable to gradation (cf. Prellwitz, B. B. IX 330).

On the legendary side there is everything to say in favor of identifying the fire-god Apollo with Atharvan, a manifestation of the Vedic Agni. The description of Atharvan cited from Grassmann might in fact be taken as a brief 'argument' for the Homeric hymn to Apollo.

One of the puzzling epithets of Apollo is 'Αφίτωρ (I 404), explained as the 'archer' (*ἀφίημι*) or, by the scholiast, as the 'prophet' (from the so-called *ἀ copulativum* + *φημί*). Why can we not explain it as the 'kindler' and connect with *ἀφή*<sup>1</sup> 'a kindling,' *ἀφάω* 'polish' (= 'make bright'), *ἄπτω* 'kindle' (?), all of which belong to Aryan *d* > *a<sub>3</sub>h* 'burn' (for the abnormal rough breathing cf. the next number)?

VIII. \**Αφαιστος*.—The legends of this divinity are also in close touch with the Vedic legends of Agni. Thus, according to one story, he was so lame and ugly that his mother flung him into the sea, where he was tended by the Oceanids, a legend which is quite plainly only a variant of the tale of Agni hiding in the waters. At the base of all the legends lies this fundamental notion that fire first came down from heaven in the form of lightning. There is possible etymological relation also between \**Αφαιστος* and *Αgni*. The root would be *d* > *a<sub>3</sub>h*<sup>2</sup> 'burn,' which, before nasals (cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §51, 2<sup>3</sup>), had a

<sup>1</sup> *Αφή* also means 'grasp' and *ἄπτω* 'fasten': the semasy is similar to that shown by *ἑλένη* above (p. 16): kindlings and fastenings were equally made of twigs. We have the same semasy in Lat. *fa-c-s* 'torch' and *fa-sc-is* 'switch' ('withe'). I refer on the *-ce/-sce*-suffix to my 'Agglutination,' etc., *Am. Jour. Phil.* XV 435.

<sup>2</sup> The root-vowel is *a*; cf. Germ. *abend* 'gloaming' (the author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, col. 269), Grk. *ἄμαρ* 'day' (\**a<sub>3</sub>-n-* with *n*-inflexion), Lat. *amāne* 'dawn' (<*a<sub>3</sub>n-*, cf. the author, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1894, 2. lii). In Lith. *dėgti* 'to burn' beside *dėgas* 'harvest' we seem to have the *e/o*-grade, but in Lith. the *e/o* and *ā/ā*-grades became *e/a* and *a/o*, and along the common term *a* there was doubtless passage from the less common to the more common series (cf. the author on such transitions, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XIII 478). In Lith. *ugnīs* 'fire' (for \**agni-*) there has been confusion with *usnīs* 'Brennessel' (cf. the author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XI 229). In Lat. *ignīs* for \**emnis* (cf. the author, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1894, 2. lii), there was either association with *lignum* 'fire-wood' (ib., l. c., liii) or, more probably, with *ictus* (*infra*, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> But, as we shall presently see, *Αgni* can be explained as belonging to *√aj* 'drive,' and thus be, along with *ahan* 'day,' the source of the inconstant *d* of *√d* > *agh* (cf. the author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, col. 267, and Hopkins, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1892, p. clxxvi).

by-form *dha<sub>3</sub>* with anticipative aspiration and a contaminated form \**dha<sub>3</sub>h*.<sup>1</sup> \**Αφαιστος* is congeneric with *ἄπτω*. The abnormal rough breathing had its origin in the name of the god. Greek was endowed with stems *ἀγ-* (: Sk. *√yaj* 'sacrifice') 'sacred' and *ἀγ-* (Sk. *āgas* 'sin') 'accursed,' meeting in a common ground 'sacer.' The former stem was of frequent application to the names of divinities, and a pietistic feeling carried the rough breathing (an awed whisper perhaps) over to names of divinities with vowel-initial (cf. the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XVI 7). This was subsequent to the loss of the Greek feeling against aspirates in two successive syllables; thus *ἦ-φαι-στος*, but *ἔ-χω*. The name *ἦφαιστος* is compound: *ἦφ + αἰστος*, the latter belonging with *αἶθω* 'burn,' Lat. *aedes* 'sacred hearth,' and, before popular etymology had set in (*supra*, p. 13), with \**Αιδης*.

But the myth of \**Αφαιστος* can be shown to have very definite connection with a mythological personage of the Vedas, viz. *Ajā ékapād*, and from the name of the latter we are able to gain a closer view of the name of Agni. The most marked characteristic of \**Αφαιστος* is his lameness, and *Ajā ékapād* is the 'limping driver.' This personage is mentioned six times in the Rig-Veda, in every instance in a hymn to the *Viṣve Devas* 'All Gods.' That he had to do with storms is every way clear, for he is always mentioned in a group of storm-gods. At ii 31. 6 Trita 'Thunder' (cf. *supra*, p. 12) and Apām Napāt 'Son of the Waters' (cf. *supra*, p. 1) are grouped with him, the latter also in vii 35. 13, while at x 65. 13 and x 66. 11 *tanyatús* 'thunder' and the *Āpas* 'Waters' are mentioned; Samudraḥ 'Ocean' (= *Āpas*) is associated in vi 50. 14 and vii 35. 13. At x 64. 4 Kavis Tuvirāvan 'Seer loud-raging' (= *Çaṁsa*, *supra*, p. 11) is mentioned. The identification of these two limping lightning-divinities seems to me unavoidable.

I turn to consider *Ajā* as a lightning-god. In the Rig-Veda Indra *drives at* (*√ā + aj*) *Vṛtra*, the cloud-demon (v 37. 4); *drives together* (*sam + √aj*) his enemies (vi 25. 9 and vii 32. 7). Moreover, at iii 45. 2 Indra is endowed with the epithets *Vṛtra-khādó valainrujáh purāṁ darmó aptām ajáh* 'Vṛtra-slayer, Vala-breaker, cloud-splitter, water-driver.' Now, if it be a fair assump-

<sup>1</sup>This is how I explain to myself the roots with double aspirates, and it justifies the phonetics of *θυγ-άτηρ* in Greek, without recourse to Bartholomae's 'law' (*K. Z.* XXVII 206). For our present root *Δάφνη* 'Morning-glow' (cf. Max Müller, *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 57) seems to demand a base *da<sub>3</sub>h-*, not *dha<sub>3</sub>h-*.

tion that the storm-god *Ajá ékapād* is a form of lightning, then *Ajá* may be an etymological congener of *Agni*. The name of Agni has before now been associated with  $\sqrt{aj}$  'drive,' and Grassmann defines by "das Feuer, als das bewegliche aufgefasst." Instead I would make Agni the lightning, a *driver of the waters*, like Indra, *Apām Ajāh*.

But as *Agni* became a common word for fire it was doubtless associated with \**dahan* || \**ahan* (Eng. *dawn* : Ger. *abend*, cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 269), with inconstant *d* > (cf. supra, p. 23, footnote 3). Thus there grew up a root \**dh* > *agh*, illustrated in Greek by  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  'kindle' (supra, p. 23) and by  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  'funeral (cremation), astonishment (burning-of-the-heart).'<sup>1</sup>

The corresponding Greek group shows abnormal phonetics. I compare with Sk. *ajā-s* 'goat' *aīξ* (gen. *aīγ-ός*), with *Ajá-s* 'storm-god' *aīγ-ίς* 'Zeus's flashing shield (i. e. lightning), hurricane' (cf.  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , Hom., used of a stormy wind), and with *agni-s* 'fire' *aīγλη* 'radiance.' All three Sanskrit words I refer to  $\sqrt{aj}$  'drive.' The objection will hold that *agni-s* has a 'velar' (cf. O.Blg. *ognis* 'fire'), but we have already seen (supra, p. 16) how 'velar' and 'palatal' interchange.

It is very curious that the Greek words I have cited all show the same phonetic abnormality. The source of this I would trace to *aīγ-ίς*, *aīγλη* where there is alliteration (fore-rhyme) with *aīθω* 'burn,' I suggest. Inasmuch as Armen. *aic* 'goat' corresponds in its vocalization with *aīξ*, we shall probably have to refer the rise of the abnormality in these words to the primitive period. Greek retains, however, traces of the normal forms, viz. in *ἀγ-λαός* 'shining' (beside *aīγλη*), where the stem is in the same stage as in *ag-nis* 'fire.'

Very curious, too, is the fact that the Vedic storm-god *Ajá Ékapād* means, by *double entendre*, 'goat one-footed,' while Πάν Αιγίππος is a 'goat-footed storm-god,' and the epithets are phonetically absolutely identical save in the variation of the guttural between surd and sonant.

In Latin also it is perhaps possible to trace the connection of *ignis* with *agere*.<sup>2</sup> We should expect for *ignis* \**emnis*, according to my proposed law, Italic *mn* < Aryan *gn* (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, 2, lii, and, for *e*, ib. 1894, 1, x). The abnormality of *ignis* is due to association with *ictus*, ptc. of *iacio* 'throw' in origin, but subsequently associated with *icere*, to which the ptc. *ictus* had

<sup>1</sup> Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1895, 2, liii.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. also Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 229.

given rise, just as in English the ptc. *told*, in the phrase 'the knell was told,' has given rise to the verb *to toll*, with, in this case, a new ptc. *tolled*. We can make pretty sure of the idiom *iacere (icere) ignem* from Cic. ad Att. XV 26. 2 interdum iacit igniculos viriles. Beside this we can put Ennius's line (Vahl. V 93): *exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux*, 'then the clear dawn was struck-alight (*icta*), and put herself forth with her rays.' Other passages are Cic. Har. Resp. 45 *ut vos iisdem ignibus circumsaepi me primum ictum pro vobis et fumantem videretis*, and Ov. Met. 15. 348 *ea (sc. materia) concipit ictibus ignem*.

The best proof, perhaps, of this locution is to be got from *iacere fulmen* and *ictus fulmine* (Cic. Div. II 45 and I 16). Here *fulmen* has ousted *ignis*, we may suppose; as in English 'strike a light' and 'strike a match' represent 'strike a flint.' In the specific sense of lightning I can find no very early instance of *ignis*, but Vergil's *ignes* (Aen. IV 167) may well be an archaism, seeing how surely *Agni* means 'lightning' in the Veda. Lucretius (VI 309-16) uses *ignis* and *ictus* three times each within a single sentence, in describing the lightning.

These examples may be held, I think, to demonstrate that a connection had been made by the Roman mind between *ignis* and *ictus*. We can also come at the semasiotic connection between *ignis* and *agere* by noting Lucr. II 675 *scintillas agere* 'shoot out sparks,' beside *ignem iacere* in the previous line.

IX. *Tryanikā*.—This word is a hapaxlegomenon at RV. iii 56. 3, and is, like *purvanika* (five times in the voc., exclusively of Agni), probably an epithet of Agni. So Grassmann takes it, but Ludwig, after Sāyana, ascribes it, incorrectly I believe,<sup>1</sup> to Indra. It is defined 'three-faced.' Lat. *acies* in its varied senses pretty exactly covers the range of meaning shown by *ānika*. I would translate by 'three-edged,'<sup>2</sup> and refer the epithet to the lightning in the hand of Agni or of Indra. Cognate with *āni-ka* is Grk. *aivós* (<\**anyo-*), defined usually as 'dread,' but definable also by 'sharp,' and mainly used of words referring to battle: the super-

<sup>1</sup>The epithet belongs to *vṛṣabhdh* 'bull,' a common epithet of Agni (24 times in RV.); the three goddesses (*tisrō mahtr*) of the previous stanza are Agni's nursing-mothers (cf. Grassmann, Wört., s. v. *tā* 4, 5); the reference in the following stanza to the waters' giving way reminds of Agni's hiding in the waters (cf. Lanman, Notes to Reader, p. 394), and Agni seems to be alluded to in the next stanza but one (*viddtheṣu samvāt* 'ruler at the sacrifices').

<sup>2</sup>The word *ānika* is specially used of the sharp point of an arrow or axe (cf. Grassmann, s. v. 8).

lative is restricted to Zeus, the lightning-wielder *par excellence*. But Poseidon was also a god of storm. In Homer he raises the winds (λ 400, 407), the waves (ω 110): he has his seat on a mountain-top (N 12), while in another place (Υ 150) he puts a cloud about his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> He also assists Zeus to raise a storm (Υ 56). With this conception I would bring Poseidon's trident—*τρίαινα*—in touch, comparing it with the epithet *tryaniká*.

As against this explanation I mention Brugmann's (I. F. III 261), who works out on the basis of *θρίναξ* 'three-pronged-hoe' a stem \**τρι-ήι-ν-ακ-*, basing \**ήι-ν-ακ* on Sk. *sēna* 'dart.' Touching the phonetic development of *θρίναξ* he says: "In der letzteren Form musste bei der Kontraktion der beiden ι die Liquida durch Antizipation des *h* tonlos und infolge davon τ zur Aspirata werden, vgl. *φρουδος* aus \**προ οδος*." This reasoning is not, in my opinion, cogent. In any case there must have been a transfer of the aspiration before contraction could take place, and if we have a stage \**τρίιναξ*, why not also \**τρίιαινα*? I am quite willing to admit, however, that an intervocalic *h* fell away in Greek at an earlier stage between identical vowels than it did between dissimilar vowels (cf. Lat. *nil, nihil*). But *θρίναξ* lets itself be connected directly with Sanskrit words of nearly equivalent meaning. I note the adjective *δhrsṇī* 'bold,' for which the sense 'sharp' may be vindicated by citing the compound *δhrsṇāsena* 'with a sharp dart': this facet of meaning is also shown by *δhrsāj* 'hero,' with the epithet *tigmá* 'sharp.' I note also *dharṇasī* (for \**dharṇasī*?), used prevalingly as an epithet of Soma (cf. *āzū-* and *tigmá-* 'sharp,' both Soma epithets), but used also of the thunderbolt (*vájra-*) and of the vision (*cákṣaṇa-*). I would therefore explain *θρίναξ* from \**dhrzno + ak* 'sharp-point,' whence *θρίν-ακ-*. In *θρῆνακίη*, the Odyssey name for Sicily (?), I would see the sense 'land of sharp promontories.' In gradation with *θρίναξ* as thus explained would be *θρινγ-κ-ός* 'projecting coping.' That the *θρίναξ* was not necessarily a three-pointed instrument, though popularly so interpreted, the following passage from Aristophanes seems to show (Pax 567 sq.):

αἶ τε θρίνακες διαστίλβουσι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

. . . .

ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἤδη 'πιθυμῶ καὶ τὸς ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀγρὸν

καὶ τριαينوῦν τῇ δικέλλῃ διὰ χρόνου τὸ γῆδιον.

<sup>1</sup>So, however, do other gods quite commonly, but we have seen how many of them seem to be individualizations of epithets of fire.

Here the δίκελλα ('*bidens*') is equivalent to θρίναξ, and both have been alike associated, as the verb shows, with τρίαυα.

With this group we may compare Lat. *fuscina* 'trident' < \**dh̥rs-ci-na*, or perhaps from \**dh̥rsn-ica* 'having sharp points,' with 'skipping' from \**fusnica* to *fuscina*.

The root to which I refer (τρι-)αυα is *am*, Grk. ἀμάω 'reap,' Sk. √ *am* 'injure,' *amá* 'Andrang—der Geschosse,' etc. This root had a by-form *an*, originating from \**ṃ-s-i* (> \**ṃsi*), Lat. *en-s-is*, Sk. *a-s-i* 'sword'; cf. ἄορ (< \**α-σ-ορ*) with a different suffix. For the kinship of the τρίαυα and ἄορ I cite ζ 385, where Poseidon is pictured as follows:

δεινὸν ἄορ τανύηκες ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ  
εἴκελον ἀστεροπηῆ,

comparing with it δ 506:

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα τρίαυαν ἑλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν.

In the former of these passages Poseidon's character of *Aḥām Nāpāt* comes out very clearly: 'for he had a dread sword in his hand like the lightning.'

I am aware that I have equipped the lightning-divinity with many names and personalities in the foregoing essay. But so have the Vedic hymn-writers. Indra is *purú-nāman* 'many-named' (RV. viii 93, 17) and *purú-varṣas* 'many-figured' (ib. x 120. 6), while Agni (*Aḥām Nāpāt*) and Indra are *puru-rūpa* 'many-formed' (Agni *thrice* and Indra *once*), and Agni is besides *purvanīka* (*five times*). But for the many-named Agni I can do no better than cite RV. iii 20. 3<sup>ab</sup>:

Ágne bhūrṃi tava jātavedo  
déva svadhāvo 'mṛtasya nāma;

'Agni, thou art manifold, thou Jātavedas  
Thou divine *Svadhāvan*<sup>1</sup> in thy immortal names.'

It is obvious also that my explanations, notably of Apollo, substitute lightning-myths for sun-myths. Indra, Zeus and

<sup>1</sup>It occurs to me that possibly *Svadhāvan*, which is pre-eminently used of Agni, belongs to √ *dhū* 'kindle' (cf. Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke'), and was originally understood, like the traditional explanation of *tánū-nāpāt* (supra, p. 10), as 'self-kindling.' So *dhāvan* would be ultimately (cf. Noreen, l. c., §51, Anm. 1, and the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 2, footnote 3) kindred with Δῶ (supra, p. 19).



Jupiter, the highest deities in their respective cosmogonies, were clearly personifications of the lightning. In Greek and Latin certainly the myths of the sun pure and simple (*ἥλιος* and *Sol*) are quite insignificant in comparison, though this is not the state of the case in the Vedas.

For my own part, I think a lightning-cult has *a-priori* a simpler origin than a sun-cult. Lightning impresses by its suddenness; lightning is a visible and sensible messenger from the Invisible Above to the visible below, being now and then a vast agent for destruction sent upon man out of the Unknown. On the other hand, the sun moves on, calm and irresistible, with only an occasional eclipse to strike man with the awe that springs from the unexpected. Storms interfere, to be sure, with the sun's course, but all that is terrible in storm is lightning-flash and thunder-roll. On these grounds I have no hesitation in substituting lightning-myths for sun-myths.

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