# The Functions Revisited, a Nart God of War and Three Nart Heroes[1]

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The Nart sagas (myths, actually) of the Caucasus (Colarusso 2002) contain a remarkable figure that presents unexpected links with the Germanic god of war, Wodan (Norse *Odin*). I shall also examine three heroes, all of whom are characterized by unremitting hostility between them and the Nart band. Parallels between Nart hostility and the berserker hostility in Germanic and the rivalry among the heroes in Irish suggest a detailed security structure for early Indo-European society. Germanic preserves a wealth of titles that fit into this structure. Parallels with the mother of the Nart warband, Satanaya, and the transfunctional goddess complete the picture of an early stage of Indo-European society built upon moieties, rather than functions, each of which could field a warband. Later expansion seems to have brought about a structural inversion and social specialization so that the canonical functions emerge in many of the daughter branches.

Only two Nart sagas deal with Nart Wardan(e) (Hedeghatl'e 1970, vol. 7, no. 650, pp. 167-168, no. 651, pp. 168-170; Colarusso 2002, pp. 134-137). While the North Caucasus may seem remote from the Germanic homeland of Scandinavia and northern Europe, I shall show that a link with the Caucasus is at least likely if not altogether certain, and that certain anomalies surrounding the Germanic god of war can be resolved through this link, which is ultimately a Germanic-Iranian one. This link would have been by means of the Goths in the Crimea in the third century of the Christian era, who occupied the region contiguous with the North Caucasus along with Iranians and perhaps early bands of Huns. The Circassians even preserve an account of a war between themselves and the /γ°a(n)t'(e)/, in which their king, Boz (an Iranian name), was captured and crucified (Colarusso 1994a). In fact, a

case can be made that the Goths are responsible for introducing the god Wodan into the Germanic pantheon. H. R. Ellis Davidson (1964) felt that Wodan had some eastern links, and was not entirely Germanic, despite parallels with Baltic Pattolus and Velinas, and Russian Volkh Vseslavevich. In what follows I am essentially vindicating her suspicions of "eastern influences" (Ellis Davidson 1964: 141-149) and explaining "the new twist to the cult of the god" (148) that refashioned an earlier deity which Tacitus termed *Mercurius* under the *interpretatio Romana* (140-141).

To begin, Wodan (Norse *Odin*) had a limited distribution among the Germanic peoples, although all knew of his cult (Puhvel 1987: 201). This should be of little surprise given that the Goths claimed Wodan to be their god. Their ethnonym itself, as well as related terms, have complex but pertinent etymologies. In Table 1 forms reflecting Indo-European *\*gh* are given, all from P(roto-)I(ndo-)E(uropean) *\*gh(e)w-*.

### Table 1: Goths, Forms reflecting *\*gh-*

Gothic *Gut-þiuda*
Old English *Gēat*
Old Icelandic and Old Norse *gauta* 'brag, boast'
Schwabian German *gauzen* 'to scream, howl'
Sanskrit *háv-a-te, huv-e, hūtás, háv-a-s*
Greek *kath-khá(w)-o-mai*

In Table 2 the same Indo-European root appears with simple *\*/g/*, all perhaps showing PIE *\*g(e)A-w-* or *\*g(e)w-A-*, with absence of palatalization in the Lithuanian form.

### Table 2: Indo-European forms reflecting *\*g*

Latin *gaudeō*, Old Latin *gavīsī, gavīsus* ← PIE *\*gAw-*, with syllabic laryngeal and hence without the shift of *\*gA-* → *\*gh-*
Greek *gēthéō*
Old Church Slavonic *zovǫ, zŭvaiti*
Lithuanian *gaudžiù*

Perhaps one might see here also *Getae* ← *\*g(h)éwt-* (seemingly a group transitional between Germanic, Slavic and Iranian peoples, (Georgiev 1981; Katičić 1976). Lithuanian

also preserves a form *Gudai* 'Goths" (Bennett 1980: 19). Latin and Greek first render 'Goth' as n-stems, Latin *Gutones, Gotones,* Greek *Goútones, Goútōnes,* with a later simpler stem emerging, Late Latin *Gothi, Gothae,* whence the non-etymological /h/ of the English popular form (p. 19). The words *god,* German *Gott,* Gothic *guþ* must be grouped here as well as zero-grade forms of the same stem (Jay Jasanoff, personal communication), showing the same base with a *\*-t-* enlargement, as also seen in the Sanskrit form *hūtás.*

Ellis Davidson points to other evidence for the later transfiguration of Tacitus' Germanic Mercurius and the assumption of the role of god of war by this deity, an evolution that led him to replace the original god of war, *\*Tiwaz* (Norse *Tyr*) (1964: 59-61). For example, in the Saga of the Volsungs Brynhild tells Sigurd to carve the Victory Runes and say Tyr's name twice (Byock 1990: 68). Further, Wodan/Odin is absent from Iceland, by and large, albeit Sturluson is well aware of him (Polomé 1974:53). Wodan/Odin is absent from the Lappish pantheon, which is otherwise wholly borrowed from Norse (Polomé 1974:64). Benveniste also notes that the Proto-Germanic form \*/wōðanaz/ is linguistically aberrant, /-(a)n-/ being usually associated with roots of a social sense (1973: 247-258), such as *\*druxti-n-az* 'leader of the troops.' One should note, however, Puhvel's etymology, which takes /-na-/ to be a mere "augmentative suffix" (1987: 166-187). Still, there are grounds within Germanic, albeit limited, to suspect that \*/wōðanaz/ might be a folk etymology, driven by alignment with an earlier name for this god, *Oð-r,* 'Raving' (p. 208), 'inspired mental activity' (Kershaw 2000: 72-73).

These onomastical and geographical anomalies point to a reworking of the cult of this god between the beginning of the Christian era and the Viking Age. Speidel (2004) offers ample evidence that the god of war was worshipped by Germanic peoples between the times of Tacitus and of Sturluson, though his older iconography is off, with war dances and a helmet with dragon heads as horns are features lacking by the time of the late Viking period. I shall show that the name, at least, and much else may have come into portions of Germanic via the Goths and to have originated among the Indo-Iranian culture of the steppes. I would refresh the reader's acquaintance with Germanic Wodan by noting the following features, among many: this god obtains and rides the

swiftest horse, heals the wounded, is capricious and dangerous to his followers, presides over the dead, and has two ravens on his shoulders, Hugin and Munin, presumably later forms of his brothers Vili and Vé.

There are two myths in the entire collection of Circassian Nart sagas (Hedeghatl'e 1967-1971) that treat a Nart Werdane (three syllables). In the Shapsegh dialect (originally near the Crimea, and therefore nearest to the Goths in their early history) the /-r-/ is dropped in syllable offset and the name is Wedane, in its vocative form /wedan/, pronouBnced [wodan] (Colarusso 2002: 134-137). The variant Werdane precludes a borrowing from Gothic of some early form */wōðanas/ into Circassian. The direction must have been from Shapsegh Circassian into Gothic.

Nart Werdane shares features with the Germanic god, specifically with the Norse form Odin, than name along. Nart Werdane has full vision, but he has a brother, Old Rook (/ĉ°əndə-ź/ rook-old) who is blind. Nart Werdane obtains and rides the swiftest horse, just as Odin takes the foal Sleipnir from Loki, who has given birth to it while he was in the form of a mare. Nart Werdane is intimately associated with cattle raids, suggesting retention of an older feature that would have prompted Tacitus to equate him with Roman Mercurius. Nart Werdane is treacherous to all, even his own nephews, whom he slays in a frenzy and over whom he raises grave mounds. Nevertheless, he spares Old Rook's infant child, named Knife (Circassian /se/). Nart Werdane himself, however, has no children of his own. Nart Werdane pricks the hand of this surviving infant and draws a drop of blood. He uses this to heal Old Rook of his blindness. Both dwell in the 'White Haired/Headed Forest,'(Circassian /máze ŝḥe-e-tx°ə-m ø-ø-x̂e-sə-x̂'/ forest head-in-white-oblique they-it-in-sit-plural).

The Germanic parallels are dramatic and self-evident. The position of the Circassian languages in the Northwest Caucasus alone would open the possibility of links between Germanic and Indo-Iranian as well. In fact, the name is clearly of Indo-Iranian origin, *cf.*, Sanskrit *vrdhana* 'the one who causes increase,' Avestan *varedat (gaéθā)* 'that which increases the creatures' (used only in invocations) (Benveniste 1973: 448). I suggest that the name /wōðan-az/ comes from the Proto-Indo-Iranian form *\*wrdha(na)* through westernmost Circassian Shapsegh with r-loss. The immediate source of the Circassian

form must be a lost Iranian language (Alanic?) with a form *\*wardana* 'he who causes increase,' used as an epithet for a god (Eng. *weal(th)*, Toch. B *walo* 'lord, king'). In fact the Sanskrit form is an epithet of Shiva (Apte 1959: 1396).

There is some other evidence for strong Iranian influence on the Circassians, Russians, Balts, and Germanic peoples. Other borrowings from the same Gothic channel into Germanic are Old English *antisc* (*entish*) 'strange, foreign, giant-like, from Iranian *Antae* 'frontiersmen'. *Path* seems also to come from Iranian, *\*pnth-* (Watkins, 2000: 65). Perhaps Norse *Vanir* (*\*Vänir*) also comes from the Caucasus, *cf.*, Ubykh /wan/ 'god, sky' (vocative), the original root for 'god, sky' being \*/wa/ in the family. The lack of umlaut indicates that the name is recent within Old Norse. One might also see here English *puck* from old western Circassian /pə-k°e/ nose-docked, *pug* from old eastern Circassian /pə-g°e/ nose-docked, name of a demon in Circassian with a stubby nose (Colarusso 2002: 163-165). These would be examples of words of purely Circassian origin, but ones that have followed a similar path. That 'Wodan' as a name is not Germanic is a radical idea, but the Iranian-Caucasian link would explain the anomalous detail already noted. This would be Ellis Davidson's eastern link.

I turn now to three types of warrior: a trickster, a noble fighter, and a giant. Much syncretism has taken place among these Nart heroes, but not so much as to preclude the adumbration of original roles.

Nart Sosruquo seems originally to have been a trickster. He is marginal in odd ways. This marginality begins with his mother Satanaya who is abducted from a different ethnic group (from the labyrinthine city of Ghund-ghund), raped by a shepherd or swineherd, and later is married to the old leader of the Narts or Chintas (two distinct groups) (Colarusso 2002: 34-48, 52-54, 57). Sosruquo is the last born of heroes, the one hundredth of the warband. He is born aflame, and quenched and tempered by the god of the forge, Tlepsh. As with Achilles and Sigurd or Siegfried, Sosruquo is vulnerable only in one spot, his knees, where Tlepsh's tongs held him. Sosruquo is small and dark, sometimes said to be made of steel. Despite their marginality Satanaya and her youngest son are wealthy, having a large estate, which Sosruquo guards.

Because of his unusual pedigree Sosruquo is considered a bastard and is rejected by his 99 brothers. Sosruquo is initially

barred from the Nart feast, *cf.*, the similar exclusions of Irish Lug (MacKillop 1998: 271), and Russian Ilja Muromets (Bailey and Ivanova, 1998: 69-78). Reluctantly admitted he must go and water or tame a dangerously savage horse. Even after successfully taming this horse Sosruquo returns dejected from the Nart feast, *cf.*, Russian Dobrynya Nikitich, Vasily Kazimirovich (Bailey and Ivanova 1998: 88-89, 110-111).

In an important myth Sosruquo overcomes by trickery Totrash or Sotrash (Colarusso 2002: 236-243; 387–397). While Totrash has one tale depicting him as a normal human in his youth (pp. 109–111), he is otherwise depicted as a formidable foe, a "darkness" with two glowing eyes, like the Morning Star (p. 237). In Hittite the storm god Zaskhapuna (his attested Hattian name) or *Tarhunnas (his inferred Hittite name, see Fortson 2004: 26–27; Watkins 1995: 316, 450) looses his eyes (and his heart) in his first battle with the serpent, Illuyanka. In their second battle Totrash compares Sosruquo favorably to his own eyes, "Hey Sosruquo! Like my eyes!" (Colarusso 2002: 238). It is the element of the eyes that provides the strongest link between the contemporary Nart saga and the much older Anatolian myth (see also the eyes of Hurrian Kumarbi in Powell 2007: 106, line 18), but the contemporary Caucasian tale offers further details.

In the first duel Totrash seizes Sosruquo and plows the sky with him like a cotton ball, in what seems to be a degraded image of a thundercloud. Next, Totrash makes him plow the earth with his shoulder so that Sosruquo complains of it hurting, *cf.*, Hurrian *Ubelluri* complaining that his shoulder hurts because *Ullikumi* is growing from it (Hoffner 1991: 10-14; Güterbock 1961: 141-175). Finally, Totrash makes Sosruquo vomit up all the milk his mother had fed him. Since mother's milk is a symbol of kinship bonds, this can be seen as a forced renunciation of kinship ties; *cf.*, the son of Zaskhapuna/*Tarhunnas, the Hittite storm god, renouncing his kinship with his father and swearing allegiance to his new father-in-law, the dragon Illuyanka. In a second battle Sosruquo defeats Totrash by trickery devised with his mother's help. Hittite Zaskhapuna also defeats Illuyanka in a second battle with the help of In(a)ra, a goddess, perhaps Zaskhapuna's daughter. In Hurrian Kumarbi is also defeated by the storm god Teshshub in the second battle, the first going poorly for Teshshub. Sosruquo returns with Totrash's head and gives it to his

mother, Satanaya. After having urged Sosruquo to kill Totrash, saying that he was one of nine brothers, eight of whom had already been killed, Satanaya is paradoxically furious and demands that he return it to Totrash's mother. This odd and inappropriate change of heart on her part is reminiscent of the wrath of the gods against Bilgames when he brings the head of Huwawa. This is found only in the Sumerian version (George 1999: 160). Satanaya's change of heart seems to have very old roots. In other tales Sosruquo is magnanimous, chivalrous, strong, famous, but a loner.

The next hero, Nart Pataraz, represents purity and restraint. He also has the unusual feature of being a twice resurrected hero (Colarusso 2002: 139–68, 302–19). His father, Khimish, is treacherously killed by the other Narts because he married Lady Isp or Spe, a non-Nart, a tiny water sprite of the Mara(kwa) dwarf forest people. The name of these dwarves is based upon a non-Northwest Caucasian root /mara-/, seen also in the name of Pataraz's arch enemy, Pshimaruquo (p. 151, n. 3), *cf.*, *Mara* in Serbian, the name of a water sprite, all from Indo-European E *mer(-d)-*, *mor-* 'to rub away, to harm' also 'death' (Watkins 2000: 55). Pataraz swears vengeance while still in the womb. From a Caucasian perspective, to phrase it colloquially, "it doesn't get better than this." Pataraz is vengeance incarnate, embodying the most important of Caucasian traditional moral obligations. The Narts abduct Pataraz at birth and hold him as a surety against vengeance. This abduction has strong Vedic parallels, particularly with regard to the enigmatic line in the Rig Veda (4.18.8) (O'Flaherty 1981:142, 144, n.'s 14, 15 ) about merciful waters and baby Indra (Colarusso 1984: 11). Pataraz's nurse sets him in a wooden boat to be washed away. The river spares the child (see the Vedic parallels already cited, 4.18.8). Pataraz is found by herdsmen and raised in an "underground house," that is to say, a grave mound. He grows prodigiously, breaks his cradle, stands up, goes to the central "tree" in this house, and takes down a great sword, *cf.*, the Norse parallel of the great sword in or on the central tree of Valhalla. This escape from drowning by means of death (hence his life in the underground house), rapid growth, and standing up is his first resurrection.

Pataraz returns to his nurse, who welcomes him, oddly enough. He expresses to her a desire to attend a feast of the

Narts. She advises him against going. Despite her advice Pataraz sets off for the feast and on his way meets Pshi Maruquo (Prince Death) (/mara-/ ← Indo-European *\*mor(-d)-*, *\*mor-H-*). After much trickery and fighting Pataraz slays Pshi Maruquo. Pataraz then proceeds on and reaches the Nart feast, where he is initially rejected, and sent to water a wild horse, with the expectation that it will kill him. Pataraz waters this horse, breaks it, and in addition defeats seven ambushing armies that have been set in ambush at river deltas against the eventuality that he might survive his encounter with the horse. Strangely, however, Pataraz returns with rotten skin and hair, like a corpse (Circassian /cʽə+ye-śˠə -ye/ hair+bad-skin+bad. This defeat of Death, albeit returning with its marks, is his second resurrection. Much like Jesus returning from the grave to his apostles Pataraz is unrecognizable to the assembled Narts. He bursts in on the feast and stipulates impossible recompense as the vengeance or wergeld for Khimish. In this he resembles the Irish hero Lug at the feast of the Tuatha Dé Danann when he accuses the sons of Turan, who have killed his father, Cian. Lug stipulates expiatory feats for them, knowing that they will die attempting at least one of them. In short Pataraz comes back like Christ, but brings doom rather than salvation (Colarusso 1994, b).

In another myth (Colarusso 2002: 314) Pataraz sleeps three days and three nights. This is a heroic great sleep, with a Slavic parallel, that of Svjatogor and Ilja Muromets, (Bailey and Ivanova 1998: 1998) and a Celtic one, that of Cú Chulainn watched over by Lug (Kinsella 1969: 142-143). Cú Chulainn's sleep also has hints of resurrection linked to it, for not only does his spirit father, Lug, offer the protection of the *side*, grave mound, while he sleeps, but when Cú Chulainn awakens a warrior in attendance says "Go Bravely against the army by yourself. They have no power over your life at this time" (p. 147), suggesting that Cú Chulainn has transcended death. In yet another tale (Colarusso 2002: 158-168) Pataraz slays a demon and its monstrous helpers. In this saga Pataraz engages in aerial combat while seated on his flying horse and defeats them all. Then Pataraz frees an old hero chained to the mountaintop, which is one of a complex of sagas showing strong parallels with Greek Prometheus myths (pp. 168-170). Pataraz is the "noblest of the Narts" (pp. 154-158). Curiously, Ossetian Batradz (which assumes a proto form /\*patʽaraʒ/ and

is a borrowing from an early form of Kabardian) speaks /xattiag/ 'Hittite' or 'Hattic' (May, Salbiev, and Colarusso in press). The meaning here is clearly "foreign language," and not "shrine language" as Charachidzé would have it (Georgian *xét'i* 'shrine') (1968). In Ossetian, Pataraz's (Batradz's) sword is cast into the sea or a lake and causes the water to turn red and boil. This is a strong parallel with King Arthur and the Lady of the Lake (Anderson 2004: 145-6; Littleton and Malcor 2000), and also with a western Chinese folktale found by Victor Mair (1999, 1998, 1983).

The last warrior is She ("Hunter") *Bartinuquo (West Circassian *Shebatinuquo*, Abaza *Badanuquo*, Ubykh *Bardanuquo*), who appears on horseback, with a hound and an eagle. He too is resurrected. In some accounts Satanaya is spurned by She *Bartinuquo, but these probably represent late confusions with an old Pataraz tale of proffered and spurned incest (Colarusso 2002: 188-190), *cf.*, *Rig Veda* 10.10, where Yami, sister to Yama, urges him to have intercourse with her (O'Flaherty 1981: 247–250). She *Bartinuquo's aversion is also appropriate to a hunter, with characteristic sexual abstinence.

His birth is hidden from old Warzameg by his mother Satanaya or by a nameless woman known only as She *Bartinuquo's mother, who is subsumed by Satanaya (Colarusso 2002: 56–66). She *Bartinuquo's status is unclear: he is inchoate at birth. He can be son or brother to the sonless Warzameg ("Great Boar," Knobloch 1991). Like Pataraz, with whom he is frequently conflated, She *Bartinuquo is reared in a grave mound. At his resurrection he marvels when he leaves the mound and enters the world. He is enormous, with huge appetite and thirst. He is the largest of the Narts, and bears the epithet Circassian /yǝn-ra/ huge-pres(ent).part(iciple), *cf.*, Abkhaz /á-yna-r/ the-huge-pres.part, "the huge one," the name of the god of the forge. This must be an early loan into Indo-European, reflected in Sanskrit *Indra*, the storm god, Avestan *indra*, a demon, Hittite *Inara*, a goddess, perhaps daughter of the storm god (from the ductus *i-na-ra*, which could be read as *Inra*), all shifted epithets originally meaning, 'Great One.'

She *Bartinuquo is conceived by Satanaya for one purpose: to save Warzameg from the treachery of the other Narts at a feast. At the beginning of this feast, She *Bartinuquo is sighted by a maiden gazing from the ramparts

while riding furiously toward a castle, with his horse throwing up clods of earth, his hound running along side, and his eagle soaring above him. This has striking Celtic parallels when a young Finnabair (Old Irish *Finda-bair* "White-born," Welsh *Gwen-whyfar* "White-spirit," for the forms see Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 174, §305) sees three champions approaching the castle of Ailill and Medb (MacKillop 2005: 180). As with Sosruquo, She *Bartinuquo is initially barred and must gain entrance by force (note the same Slavic and Celtic parallels as with Sosruquo). He forces his way in, drinks a poison cup intended for Warzameg, and survives. He then turns upon the assembled Narts and slaughters many of them. Once he has driven most of the malefactors out or slain them he turns to Warzameg, picks him up, tosses him out an open window, and then rides off alone.

A number of salient features may be observed, many of which are typical of heroes generally (Miller 2000; Lord Raglan 2003): odd birth of these heroes, marginal mother, marginal status of the hero himself, transcends status by superhuman deed, and by slaying a monster or demon. Other features, while showing comparands, are more restricted, such as an amorphous relation to his father or his mother's husband, having great wealth (*cf.*, Sosruquo, note Norse Sigurd's wealth, Byock 1990), heroic sleep (also in Russian, as noted above), being barred or ejected from the feast (Russian and Celtic parallels, also noted above). One feature, however, is extremely odd: the hostility of the other Narts, which constitute the hero's brothers or warband. While the hero faces jealousy and rivalry, nothing quite matches the consistent and pervasive inimical posture of the Narts toward Nart heroes. This hostility will prove to be a clue to an ancient Indo-European social pattern.

That the Northwest Caucasian Nart sagas preserve old Indo-European material is beyond question, despite that fact that as a language family Northwest Caucasian is, at best, only phyletically related to Indo-European (Colarusso 2003, 1997), and as such lies beyond the horizon of retrievable inherited myth. This jumping of a language boundary should cause no surprise. To speak a language is to belong to a common ethnic unit of some sort, hence our speaking of Indo-Europeans or Proto-Indo-Europeans, but to share myth is to belong to a common cultural sphere, and this can include more than one

language family.

One feature that is obviously a comparand and attributable to Indo-European is fosterage. She *Bartinuquo's amorphous relation to Warzameg, an elder male, may reflect the Indo-European custom of fosterage, which may manifest itself as removal or even hostility between farther and son, *cf.*, Russian tales of Ilja Muromets (a Muroma Finn) and his hostile son Falconer (*Sokolnichij*) with Tatar mother Zlatygorka (Golden Mountain Woman) (*tatar* ← Indo-Iranian *\*tota-*, Modern Persian *tude*, with renewed Altaic collective *\*-r*, from Indo-European *\*tew-to-*, Colarusso 2001).

The marginality of the hero's mother, emotionally, socially, or geographically, was an Indo-European trait of the Indo-European hero. Satanaya's marginality has parallel's with the Indo-European mother's marginality, *cf.*, the Russian tale of the Tatar Zlatygorka, the mistress of Ilya Muromets, far removed from her man's abode (both from Bailey and Ivanova 1998: 40–8). Below, this feature, not typologically widely attested, will be explained as a retention of an ancient custom of exogamy.

The marginal status of the hero in Indo-European seems to have been manifested as either distant abode, as with Irish Finn MacCumhail's woodland haunts (Lady Gregory 1998: 162*ff.*), Roman Cincinnatus' outlying status in a hovel (de Sélincourt 1960: 211), Irish Cú Chulainn's remote farmstead near the coast at Mag Muirtheimne (MacKillop 1998: 103). Marginality may also be encoded as aloofness of manner, as with Cú Chulainn's generally aloof manner, or Greek Akhilleus's anger and withdrawal from the rest of the Achaeans. Finally, in an extreme form, a transformation of form may remove the hero from the realm of humankind, as with the werewolf episode of Sigmund and Sinfjotli (Byock 1990: 44-47, see also Kershaw 2000: 55-56, 107-113, 133-179).

Being barred or disgraced at a feast may also be a theme of Indo-European antiquity that sets the stage for a crucial transition of the hero. Irish Lug must persuade guards to let him attend the feast given by Nuadu, the king of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Russian Ilya Muromets is dishonored by exclusion from the feast, and both Dobrynya and Vasily Kazimirovich return dejected (Bailey and Ivanova 1998: 69-78, 88-89, 110-111). Hermes must also persuade Zeus to admit him to the Olympian feasts (Powell 2007: 192, 194; Graves 1955: 65).

The heroic sleep is a recognized folk motif. Indo-European attestations occur in Irish with Cú Chulainn (Kinsella 1969: 143), and in Russian, with Svjatogor and Ilja Muromets, where we find the additional feature of the heroes eating a white swan before they sleep (Bailey and Ivanova 1998: 19). While *swan* stands without cognates itself, it may be interpreted as the o-grade of a root *\*swen-A-*, with cognates English *sound*, Latin *sonāre*, (Watkins 2000: 88). This is formally similar to one extended form of the word for 'sun', Indo-European *\*seA-w(e)-l-(n-)*, Homeric Greek *ēélios*, Dorian Greek *aélios*, also *\*seO-l-(n-)* as attested in Latin *sōl*, with *\*-A-w-* → *\*-O-* (but wherein Watkins sees an original *\*s(ə)wōl-*). In the zero-grade, *\*s(e)A-w-l-n-* yields Proto-Germanic *\*sunnōn-*, Russian *soln(ce)*, (p. 72). At a late Indo-European period in the northwest zone from which Germanic and Balto-Slavic would arise these forms would have been near puns, so that the swan would have been understood as the "sun bird," perhaps with a modicum of taboo distortion. This may explain the appearance of the bird as a totemistic image or name, as with Svanhild in the *Saga of the Volsungs* (Byock 1990: 32, 41, 42, 43). The mounted Amazon firing an arrow,(from the British Museum), and which adorns the dust jacket of Mallory (1989), and where she is misidentified as "an Iranian nomad taking a classical 'Parthian' shot over his [*sic*, despite her obvious left breast] shoulder," also wears a swan helm, suggesting that this holy pun may have been of wide provenance within Indo-European itself.

I turn now to perhaps the most puzzling feature about the Nart heroes, their hostility with the warband. The Indic corpus has only hints of hostility between Indra and the Maruts. O'Flaherty (1981: 145, n. 25) mentions this, but all I have found is vague enmity between Indra and the Maruts (RV 1.166.12, 1.170.2, 1.173.12). Such enmity is also a theme in the Brahmanas (Renou 1957: 63, §124). If this is a generalization of the hero's specific enemies in Germanic and Celtic, then those specific enemies should still persist in the face of the generalization, which seems unlikely. One might be tempted to see an old ethnic conflict, as in the case of Satanaya, who is from Ghund-ghund, and Warzameg, who is from Chinta. There is some justification for this, and yet Satanaya is the mother of all the other Narts as well, and Warzameg, whatever his origin, is their ruler. Alternatively,

there was a ritualized aggression exhibited by berserks (Speidel 2004: 39-46, 57-80; Kershaw 2000: 43-44, 58; Byock 1998: 53-54), but the case at hand is large-scale group hostility toward a youth. Dumézil has argued (1931: 115-123) on the basis of one Ubykh myth, that the Narts are alien to the Caucasus. In the oldest outlines of this tradition this seems true. By extension one could construe that the Narts as a whole are enemies of the heroes, who are of Caucasian origin. Despite some material, such as the Prometheus tales that seem to have arisen in the Caucasus, the Nart heroes, however, appear to be an integral part of the Nart tradition, and to have Indo-European pedigrees. Only She *Bartinuquo fails to be said explicitly to be part of the Nart warband. At bottom, therefore, these explanations remain unconvincing.

There is, however, a near parallel to the hostility of the Narts. This is found in Irish, specifically in *Fled Briccren*, Briccriu's Feast (MacKillop 2005: 177-184; Delaney 1989: 16-42). In this tale from the Ulaid cycle three Ulster clans vie for prominence at Briccriu's feast, each of which is led by a champion: Cú Chulainn, Lóegaire, and Conall. As with the approach of She *Bartinuquo mentioned above, all three are viewed galloping with great commotion by Findabair daughter of Medb of Connaught, as she stands on the ramparts of her castle. After many encounters with ogres, spirits, demonic forms, and monsters, Cú Chulainn emerges triumphant over Lóegaire and Conall, but not over Conchobar MacNessa, the king, who stands apart and does not engage in tests of valor or strength. All three clans and their leaders are of Ulster, and serve under the same king, and yet their rivalry, focused on the deeds of their leaders, is sharp and persistent, extending even down to the status of the wives of the leaders and their retinues, presumably the wives of the fighters in each band, but curiously this is never made explicit and if we are to compare them to the band of women in the Nibelungenlied (Hatto 2004), then they are maidens.

From the viewpoint of the king one can plausibly construe two advantages from the configuration depicted. First, three bands minimizes the chances of a revolt led by one leader or by two in connivance. The rivalry can be sustained optimally with three. Four bands would have created chaos of a degree that might have been unmanageable, and would also have opened the door to a consolidation of one half against

the other. Second, the "frozen conflict" between the three bands would have served both to keep them occupied and to keep them in fighting trim. In short, the warrior pattern set forth in *Fled Briccren* looks quite functional, even from a modern viewpoint. The hostility between the bands is ritualized to the extent that no actual harm is done, and the feats achieved involve violence to adversaries outside the bands. The hostility, however, is still quite sharp, and the changes of venue, peculiar to this myth, suggest "tours of prowess," designed to intimidate neighbors, all still carried out by ritual stricture and court etiquette (Kershaw 2000: 28-30).

One might now suggest that the odd Nart hostility actually comes from old clan strife that has been shifted and focused onto the young heroes. The hint of ethnic polarization, the Chintas versus the Narts,(old Iranian names with at least *Nart* ← Proto-Indo-Iranian *\*nr-tama-* ← Indo-European *\*Anr̥-témo-*) might be an old reflex of the tours of prowess or the bifurcation of the Indo-European expansion (see below). To this day three Ossetian clans still engage in ritual combat (Tamerlan Salbiev, personal communication). These are the Æxsærtægkettæ /æxsært-æg-ket-tæ/ noble/brave-adjective-clan-collective, clan of brave ones, with, the Borætæ 'strong ones,' and the Alægatæ 'Alanic ones,' see Table 3 (Colarusso 2001; but also Gagloyti 1998). By contrast, the Ulster clans remain nameless.

**Table 3: Ossetian clan names**

    a. *Æxsærtægkettæ* /æxsært-æg-/ ← *\*xša θra-ka-* noble, brave-adjective, *cf.*, the Royal Scyths

    b. *Borætæ* ← Indo-European *\*pE-l-(w-)* or *\*pO-l-*, itself from *\*pE-w-l-*, *cf.* Sanskrit *Bhārata*, which would mean 'mighty-collective', Russian *bolshoj*, Celtic *Belgae*, Welsh *balch* 'strong', Latin *(de-)bilis*, and perhaps Pelasgian *pelastikḗ. pélasgioi*, pre-Greek? *pēleús* Peleus which would again be 'Mighty One'), Turkic *palawan* 'strong man', an old borrowing from Indo-European.

    c. *Alægatæ* 'The Alanics' ← *\*āryakāta*, 'Aryans', later 'Alans'.

This Irish clan rivalry and the contemporary Ossetian clan strife have profound ramifications for our understanding of the oldest level of Indo-European social structure and the Dumézilian functions.

To set such strife in a realistic social setting I propose the following model, which accounts for the mythic comparands as well as offering a realistic form of "security" organization for Indo-European society. The model accounts for the aloofness of Germanic Woden, as well as for the rivalry between the three warbands of Ulster, the ritualistic rivalry of the Ossetian clans, and the hostility between the Nart heroes and the other Narts of the warband. Further considerations will lead to some far reaching conclusions regarding Indo-European social structure.

At the mythical level a supreme ruler of the horde would be the god of war, while his earthly correlate would be the *Rex*, (Table 4), which I capitalize to render as a technical, covering term.

**Table 4: Indo-European supreme ruler**
    a.  Mythical: god of war
        IE *\*gA-ew-t-,\*gew-t-A-* by taboo distortion
        'the one who is praised, shouted to'
    b.  Societal: paramount ruler of horde
        IE *\*Or-eE-g-*, from root *Or-*, Vedic *rtá* 'right order',
        hence
        'the one who upheld right order, justice'.

The form in (4, b) is usually reconstructed as *\*Or-(e)E-g-* on the basis of the assumed cognate Greek *oregéin* 'to stretch out, reach out for' (Watkins 2000: 70).

The reflex of the root (4, b) in Germanic, *\*rīk-*, is usually taken to be a borrowing from Celtic *\*rīg-*, as is clearly the case for the allonym of Heimdall, *Ríg(sthula)*, but the long /i/ and /k/ are regular developments of the Indo-European original into Germanic, *cf.*, Gothic *reíks, \*þiudareiks* (into Late Latin as *Theodōricus*), Old High German *ðiutarich*, but especially the further developments of this root show simply too many developments not to be native, *cf.*, English *realm,* German *Reich,* Old Norse *ríki,* also supposedly from a Celtic *\*rig-yo-*, as well as such forms as English *rake, rank* (n-infix verbal form)*, reckon* ( ← Germanic *\*rakina*) (all from Watkins). Furthermore these extensions of the root *\*rīk-*, lack the nominative *\*-s* that one can otherwise take as explaining the shift of *\*rīg-* (putatively) to *\*rīk-*. I take the basic Indo-European sense of *\*Or-(e)E-g-* as 'he who sets in order, maintains order,' taking the long-/i/ as evidence for *\*E*-suffix. Crucially, both the god

and the *Rex* were inviolable, dispensers of justice and makers of treaties, *cf.*, Irish, Russian, and Indic rulers. This would imply that the Russian tsar was not a case of Altaic influence, but that his autocratic manners were an old Indo-European retention.

The Northwest Caucasian Nart hostility, not to be found in the available Ossetian Nart material (May, Salbiev, and Colarusso), offers important eastern comparands for the heroic rivalry seen in Celtic or the complex figure of Wodan seen in Germanic. I suggest that the Nart sagas have conflated two levels of ritual hostility, so that one simply finds the warband at odds with the hero, who would be structurally its leader. This first hostility is that between the warband leader and his band. On a mythical level this hostility is between a resurrected hero, one who is "undead," and a group of ninety-nine followers (Kershaw 2000: 23-24, 30, 63-64; Colarusso 1984: 18, 20-21). At the social level, there would be ritual hostility between a war "cabinet" of "urdukes," and their followers (Kershaw 2000: 43-44). These urdukes were subordinate to the Rex or *\*Or-(e)Eg-s*. Each oversaw a warband (Männerbund). The band ideology was built upon a fictive kinship bond of brotherhood. Note the use of Greek *phrátēr* a member of a clan, or of a band of men, as well as the use of Vandalic *\*herman-* in Spanish, literally, 'army-man, for 'brother,' so that forms go in either direction. The form is from IE *\*bhréAter*, with the kinship suffix *\*-Ater(-s)*, precisely paralleled by the other kinship terms, *\*p-Ater(-s)* 'father,' *\*me-Ater(s)* 'mother,' *\*dhug-Ater(s)* 'daughter,' and *\*yen-Ater(-s)* 'husband's brother's wife' (*contra* Fortson 2004: 61, 112).[2] It seems clearly to be based on a zero grade of the root *\*bher-* 'to bear, give birth to.' This etymology will prove to be a crucial link to the warband mother, namely, all warband brothers have a single mother.

Germanic gives evidence for the title reflecting this fictive kinship structure, Proto-Germanic *\*kuningaz*, English *king*, German *könig* (Puhvel 1987: 193). In Old Norse one also finds the poetic form *Konr Ingr*, usually taken to be a folk

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[2]One might see here the *\*At-* root posited in Watkins (2000: 5) *\*at-al-* 'to foster', Greek *atallein*, Tocharian A *ātäl* 'man', Germanic *\*apal-* as in Old English *apeling* 'noble,' but with *\*IE \*At-Al-* as '(honored) kin-nourish-' (*contra* Watkins), so that the kinship suffix would then be *\*-At-er(s)*, with an enlargement making a form of r-stem denoting inalienably possessed nouns, similar to IE *\*ghʸés-ōr, \*ghʸés-r-* 'hand' (Fortson 2004: 112).

etymology intended to make the title appear as a name, but this would in fact reflect Indo-European *gn-s Angh-o-s* 'gens of (the) tight bond,' with the second element from Indo-European *A(e)ngh-* 'tight, painfully constricted, painful' (Watkins 2000: 4). The Proto-Germanic should then be analyzed *kun-ing-az.* The *gns Anghos* (urduke) seems to have been ritually aloof, with his band ritually hostile to him.

The Rex was ritually aloof as well, but the warband had no link to him save through the urdukes. Puhvel notes (1987: 193), following Tacitus, that the *Or-(e)E-g-s* (Latin *reges*) commanded by virtue of his noble stature, whereas the kings (Latin *duces*) led by virtue of valor. The *Or-(e)E-g-s* or Rex, therefore, was originally aloof from both war and the security apparatus, having an ascribed status, whereas the *gns Anghos* was in effect a warlord who had earned his station. Even so, if my etymology for the latter is correct, then his war skills and bravery would have placed him in a position as head of a fictive war clan. Given Tacitus account of the *duces* (urduke) and his sway over a fictive brotherhood it seems implausible that ritual hostility between him and the mass of his fighters would have existed. There is a solution to this possible paradox, however.

In Germanic there is a plethora of titles for various types of leaders (Puhvel 1987: 193). Puhvel takes *þiuðanaz* , Gothic *þiuðans,* Old English *þēoden,* 'leader of the people' to be alternate terms for *kuningaz,* but these might equally well be replacements for the Germanic *Rik-* once its sense began to grow opaque. There is also a term for the leader of a host that would seem to stand apart from that of the *kuningaz (p. 193). This is Proto-Germanic *druxtinaz,* Old English *dryhtén,* with the alternate *harja-tugan* troop-leader, Old English *heretoga,* German *Herzog* 'duke,' presumably coined when the original sense of the *-in-* suffix was lost. Puhvel sees this as borrowed by Russian as both *drug* 'friend, comrade' and *družína* 'troop', but the Welsh *dragon* 'troop' suggests an Indo-European *dh(e)r(e/o)ugh-* (perhaps *dhr(e/o)Og-,* with variants *dhruAg-* or *dhr(e/o)gO-,* whence the final *-gh-), cf.* also, Gothic *driugan* 'to perform military service,' Lithuanian *draugas* 'traveler', Old Irish *drong.*[3] The Russian terms might be considered cognates (Pokorny 1959-69: 254-255, 1093).

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[3]I am indebted to Dr. John Shaw of the University of Edinburgh, School of Scottish Studies, for helping me with the material from Pokorny and Vendryes.

The Germanic forms would then show a development similar to the formal one of Old Prussian *drūktai* 'firm,' with semantic shift (Vendryes 1996: D-201; Pokorny 1959-69: 255), Indo-European *\*dhrugh-t-én-* → pre-Germanic *\*dhruktén-* → Proto-Germanic *\*druxtin-*. It is possible that this is the hero who actually leads the band into battle, and toward whom the band also displays ritual hostility, the second hostility.

The Nart sagas seem to show a condition wherein the urduke, *\*þiuðanaz*, has collapsed downward into the band hero, *\*druxtinaz*, a lone figure marginal to the single band, unmarried because young, but in the case of Sosruquo at least, still having land, wealth. In the Irish case the band hero has been collapsed upward into the position of the urduke. For each leader of the three co-existing bands in the *Fled Briccren*, Lóeghaire, Conall, and Cú Chulainn there was a wife, who herself had a retinue of fifty women. While the number fifty seems peculiar to Irish and to deviate from the usual Indo-European unit of one hundred, one might still see in the Irish configuration an ancient security structure wherein an Irish *rí* had not one, but three bands, each headed by a baronial hero, with wife and lands, and with each set in ritual rivalry with one another. This double layer of leadership may seem overly complex, but it does account for the difference between married, wealthy heroes, and unmarried, youthful ones, in keeping with Kershaw's distinction between the *\*téwtā* and the *\*koryos* (2000: 107-113). It will also account for the Germanic berserkers, as I shall show shortly.

If we assume this coexistence of three warbands can be projected back to the oldest levels of Indo-European society, then we are able to explain three seemingly disparate facts. We may link the transfunctional goddess and her three daughters (Puhvel 1987: 151-152, 174) to the warbands and to the figure of Satanaya, we may explain the non-second function warriors noted by Speidel (2004: 129-132, 151-171), and we may explain the seeming dislocation of the priestly first function in Germanic to the role of warrior function (Puhvel 1987: 200-201).

The Nart sagas alone preserve the explicit role of the fertility figure as mother to the warband. *Satanaya* (Circassian /setenaye/) is a *Mischname*, Iranian *sata-* 'hundred', and Circassian /-ne-e-ye/ mother-connective-one.of, 'the one who is mother of the hundred,' also with a purely native name /śe-

q'ʾ°ə-ne/ hundred-sons-mother, as an alternate. This appellation makes perfect sense as the underpinning of the fictive set of brothers, the warband. Each warband would have had its fictive mother, just as each leader of the Ulster bands has a wife. If Kershaw is correct (2000: 107-132), then as married leaders the Irish heroes are reflexes of the older urdukes, with the younger heroes of the bans being unmarried youths. Therefore, there would be three fictive mothers, one for each warband, these being their "born ones," or fictive sons, each woman being the wife of an urduke, her retinue then being maidens, as in the Nibelungenlied, above. The Rex would also have a queen, who, like her husband, would be the superior of the band mothers, the "urduchesses." This configuration is then a precise parallel to that of the transfunctional goddess, three daughters with an embracing mother (Puhvel 1987: 174). On the level of myth, this queen would be the Great Goddess and the band mothers would be her daughters, *cf.*, Celtic with its Brigits, Machas, and Matronae (Puhvel 1987: 183-184, ), Greek with the three Fates or Moirai, (Lachesis, Klotho, and Atropos) (Puhvel 1987: 218; Grimal 1951: 278), the three Norns of Norse (Puhvel 1987: 218), and the hints of other "Satanayas" in the Nart sagas (Colarusso 2002: 73, 78, n. 19). The Celtic evidence (Puhvel 1987: 218) suggests that they all bore the same title, \**bhrgh-ent-iA* 'High Ones'. The entire society would then take on the structure of a fictive kin group. The male - female array, however, is linked to the Dumézilian functions (Dumézil 1958, 1952, 1930).

Now, I shall follow logic where comparative material is scant or hitherto neglected. This link of the feminine to social functions implies that the three warbands still found in Ulster would be descended from warbands fielded by each of the three functions. Only Speidel, in what he himself terms "a pioneering endeavor" (2004: 2) identifies, among many other things, warriors from the lower function (2004: 87-97, 129-32). Such notions fly in the face of the traditional view of the second function as being exclusively that of the security function. Puhvel (2002: 225) has noted that the three functions have complex and variable realizations in the attested branches. Moreover, Nicholas Allen (1996, 1993, 1987; see also Puhvel's qualifying remarks on Dumézil's three functions, 2002: 225) has argued for a fourth function that set

its members apart from the other three. The level of the Rex with his queen, the "high" *BhrghentiA*, may be identified with this fourth function.

While both the *kuningaz* and the *druxtinaz* may have shown a range of theriomorphic forms (Speidel 2004: 13-54; Kershaw 2000: 133-179), the berserkers, in their attested form from the Viking Age, seem to have been elite troops that stood apart from normal social structure (Kershaw 2000: 42-46, 129). Kershaw sees them as frozen in the *koryos* condition, unwed and childless. Speidel notes a range of mature as well as youthful representations and argues that they were originally bare in the sense of shunning armor (2004: 57-80), taking their name from Indo-European *bhoso-* rather than from *bher-* (forms from Watkins 2000: 12, 10). They seem to have been part of the retinue of the Rex. One of the older sagas (*fornaldar* sagas, Byock 1998: vii), that of Hrolf Kraki, is late by the standards of Indo-European history and appears to show the shift from a berserker elite to one more closely resembling the champions of Arthurian Romance. Nevertheless, all the elements that I have proposed are to be found in this saga, save for the retinue of young maidens (which are a feature only of the Nibelungenlied), and the tripartite clan rivalry. King Hrolf Kraki's berserkers clearly occupy a leading military role and a social rank between the warband and its champions, on the one hand, and the figure of the ruler, as is seen in *The Saga of King Hrolf Kraki* (Byock 1998: 53-55), on the other. They embody the only direct evidence we have of ritual hostility, the Irish corpus and the Nart sagas depicting the hostility as real, as does Unferth in *Beowulf* (Heaney 2000: 35). They challenge the champions, their men, and the king as well, "as was their custom" (p. 53). The society depicted exhibits three layers: a ruler, an elite set of older warriors who accumulate wealth through plunder, the berserkers, and a set of young fighters led by outstanding champions. That all this is not merely a Germanic or European development is shown by the presence of allies called *r̥kṣā* 'bears' in Rama's army, otherwise characterized as scampering monkeys under Hanuman (Colarusso 1984: 28). India has no bears south of the Himalayas, where the mild mannered sloth bear, *Melursus ursinus*, is to be found. This term, transparently a reflex of Indo-European *Aértkos,* (Greek *árktos,* Latin *ursos,* Hittite *hartkaš,* all 'bear', and perhaps Finnish *Urho,* a personnel

name, if borrowed from Germanic *ur(þ)xaz*), must be an onomastic trace of the old berserker component of the Indo-European army. Therefore, the Germanic berserkers continue an Indo-European layer of security structure between that of the paramount ruler and the champions that lead the warbands.

There remains a problem, however. Simply put, there seem to be too many of them to link them simply to the postulated urdukes. Berserkers seem to form a group of twelve, not three, since the berserker band of King Hrolf Kraki is explicitly said to consist of twelve, supporting Speidel's interpretation of the Hittite procession of twelve warriors as a berserker band (Speidel *2004:*75, 235 notes 114, 120; Mallory 1989: 97, fig. 2). If we turn, however, to the fivefold division of geography that seems to have characterized Indo-European political structure (Puhvel 1987: 175-176), then we may explain why there are twelve berserkers in the ruler's court. The Rex would be the antecedent of the Irish *ard rí*, high king of the center. Each district would then field three urdukes, warlords, or *\*gns Anghos*, with their corresponding moiety based warbands, each headed by a *\*dhreOg-* or champion. The security "cabinet" surrounding such a king would consist of twelve urdukes, married and wealthy. On the level of myth their wives might have evolved into the twelve valkyries of the Norse. In time the urdukes evolved into the berserkers of King Hrolf Kraki, at a time when the fivefold geography in the Germanic realms was quite forgotten and the Rex is merely a local ruler of a domain that fielded twelve berserkers.[4]

At the time of Indo-European unity a small scale "Rexdom" with twelve warbands, three in each of four districts, would, within this theory, then have had a stable security structure (see Table 5 below for an overview). Within each district three bands were likely to enhance rivalry, and therefore minimize the chances of usurpation by a coalition, while at the same time maintaining fighting prowess through

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[4]This geography would imply a high king at the centre, as seen in Irish *ard rí*, and as mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The Irish title points to IE *\*Er-O-dh-w-ó-s \*Or-éE-g-s*, *cf.*, also Gaulish *Arduenna*, Lat. *arduus*, Greek *orthós*, Sanskit (Watkins 2000:24; Lewis and Pedersen p. 7), also Greek *óros*, Ionic *oúros* 'mountain,' with the *o*-grade of the root, *\*Eór-(O-)w-o-s*, and perhaps also Greek *órros*, Old High German *ars*, Armenian *Oṙkʻ*, all 'buttocks,' IE *\*Eór-(O-)s-o-s*. Recall that Odin is the "High One."

ritual rivalry and practice at arms. An image of this is offered to us at the *Fled Bricrenn.* On a small scale such bands are unlikely to have been endogamous, the way the three functions seem to have been at an early period in the Indo-European era of expansion. In fact, the configuration suggested here is more likely to have been one of exogamous moieties. The marginality of the hero's mother, so evident in the Nart sagas, may be interpreted as a reworking of the old practice of exogamy between these moieties. Such moieties may also have had totemistic insignia from whence the various theriomorphic warrior cults later arose. Moreover, they may also have had some degree of rank and specialization within the society, such as a shamanistic moiety, a hunting and raiding moiety, and an artisan, agricultural and animal husbandry moiety, that prefigured the specializations that were to arise later in the era of expansion. As the Indo-Europeans expanded these moieties would have undergone structural inversions, not only specializing in function, but becoming endogamous in the face of non-Indo-European societies that were being brought into the Indo-European fold. In one zone of expansion, that of the northwest, at least one group seems to have had its shamanistic moiety seize the dominant security role. These would have been the ancestors of the Germanic peoples. Their neighbors the Celts seem also to have raised a first function hero to prominence in the form of Cú Chulainn.

Ritual hostility so elaborately encoded in the original society would have been a vital training method for meeting the actual hostility of expansion or even that of rival Indo-European hordes, since the Eurasian steppes are likely to have been the scene of such expansion. Later nomadic empires often broke up into eastern and western halves, much as with that of the Goths in what was to become Ukraine, or that of the Huns. The old rivalry between different tribes of gods may be the mythical correlate to a historical division of the original Indo-European expansion, *cf.* IE *\*Aens-iyo(E)s, \*Aens-ur-o,* Norse *Æsir,* Sanskrit *asura,* Avestan *ahura,* Hittite ḫanš- 'to favor,' hence 'the ones who are favored,' with *\*-iyo(E)s,* or '(those) who grant favor,' with *\*-uro(A),* (in collaboration with Jaan Puhvel; see also Polomé 1974: 60, n. 18; 1953), as opposed to the *\*deyw-o-s,* 'the shining ones', Sanskrit *devas.* This, of course, assumes more social cohesion behind the early history of the Indo-Europeans than some scholars, such as

Kershaw, would accept (2000: 135-137). Nevertheless, the Dumézilian functions have an imperial hue about them, supporting the thesis that the Indo-Europeans, operating in the same wide steppe as the numerous hordes that were to follow them, underwent a history similar to that of those later hordes.

The scant comparative evidence that exists for my scheme would tend to show some rank among the three Ulster bands, Cú Chulainn's triumphant over Lóegaire's, whose band always initiates conflict before that of Conall Cernach's. The Ossetian bands always seem to be mentioned in a strict order: Æxsærtægkettæ, Borætæ, and Alægatæ, but this may be mere bardic style. Following the Nart sagas, noble Pataraz suggests links to the first function or moiety, as does Cú Chulainn, who alone of the Ulster heroes can actually defeat ghosts, ogres, and lake monsters. Totems for this group might have been ghostly, and given rise later to the "ghost warriors" of Tacitus (Speidel 2004: 81-83). Gigantic and savage She *Bartinuquo, with his eagle and hound, suggests a hunting and wandering moiety as the origin of the second function. Finn Mac Cumhail would seem to offer some Celtics similarities. Totems here might have been taken from the forest, such as the wolf, the bear, and the marten (Speidel 2004: 13-46, 51-54). The trickster hero, Sosruquo, with his land holdings might suggest links to the third function, where totems might reflect domesticated animals, such as the goat or buck (pp. 47-50), or the bull, as with the *Kentauroi* ← *\*kent-tauroi*, hundred bulls,(a Greek rendering, Greek lacking *–ntt-*, of a form from a pre-Greek Indo-European language of the Balkans). Sosruquo's link with the god of the forge, Tlepsh (Abkhazian Aynar) would also place him squarely in what was later to become the third function of artisans, husbandmen, and agriculturalists (c*ontra* Dumézil 1930).

I would endorse Puhvel's (2002) cautionary remarks on seeing the three functions in terms that are disjoint and simple. The evidence, while surely supporting Dumézil's thesis, is highly variable and rich. This new more complex theory has the feel of realism about it, and offers a rich enough scaffold upon which future comparative efforts might be built.

An overview is given in Table 5.

**Table 5: Social structure at the time of Indo-European unity**

*ErdOdhwós *OréEgs* (supreme god?)
(aloof, inviolable)

*OréEgs*  (God of War)  -*bhrghentiA*  ("Great Goddess")

(aloof, inviolable)

3(x4 = 12) *gns Anko-Es*  (chosen) - 3 *bhrghentiA-s*  (maiden retinue)

(aloof, ritually hostile)          (mothers of 100)

*dhreOg-*       *dhreOg-*       *dhreOg-*     (chosen, ritual hostility)

*bhre-At-ers*  *bhre-At-ers*  *bhre-At-ers*

noble           savage          trickster    (one hundred)

ghosts          wolves          bucks

undead          bears           bulls

                martens         smiths
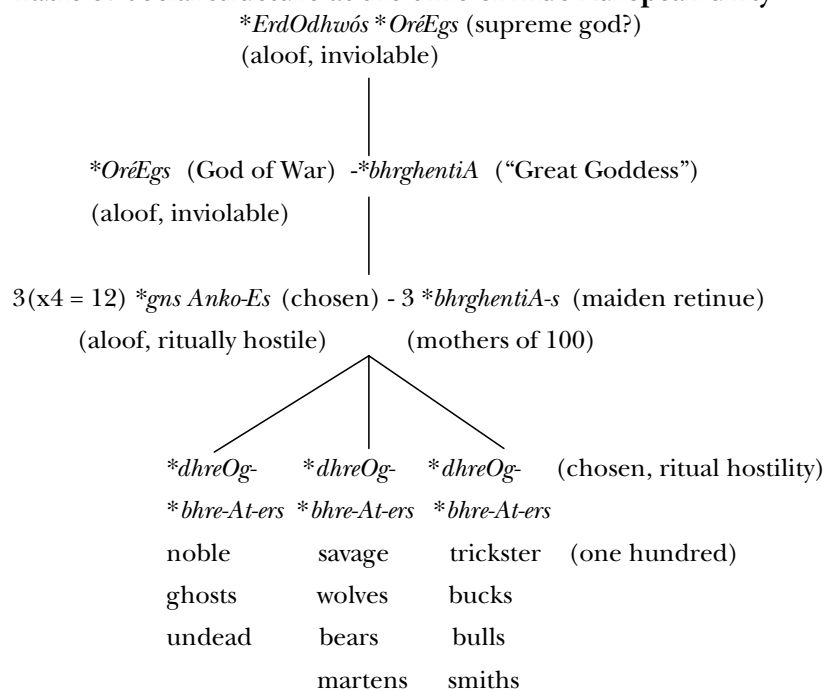
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