

京都大学大学院文学研究科 21 世紀 COE 研究拠点形成プログラム

「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」31 研究会

# ユーラシア古語文献の文献学的研究

## NEWSLETTER

No.14 2005/11/7

### 目次

活動報告	2
研究会報告の要旨	2
第 24 回研究会報告	3
次回研究会の開催予定	8
編集後記	8

## 活動報告

2005年9月30日と10月1日に第24回、第25回研究会が開催されました。

### 第24回研究会

(「古代世界における学派・宗派の成立と<異>意識の形成」 研究会と共同開催)

日時: 2005年9月30日(金) 13:00～14:30

場所: 京都大学文学部新館第6講義室

「An Indo-European Custom of Sacrifice」

**Norbert Oettinger** (エアランゲン－ニュルンベルク大学教授)

### 第25回研究会

日時: 2005年10月1日(土) 14:00～16:00

場所: 京都大学大学院文学研究科附属ユーラシア文化研究センター(羽田記念館)

「Perfect and Related Categories in Proto-Indo-European:

Some New Thoughts」

**Norbert Oettinger** (エアランゲン－ニュルンベルク大学教授)

## 研究会報告の要旨

2005年9月30日(金)に京都大学文学部新館第6講義室で開催された第24回研究会の報告要旨を掲載します。

## 第 24 回研究会報告

### AN INDO-EUROPEAN CUSTOM OF SACRIFICE

**Norbert Oettinger**

(エアランゲン – ニュルンベルク大学教授)

The following little study deals with the significance of the number nine in Proto-Indo-European religious tradition. So let us start with the Greek poet Homer. In the 6<sup>th</sup> book of his Iliad there is a famous scene, in which Diomedes the Greek and Glaukos the Lycean meet in battle and decide not to fight against one another but to change armour. The poet describes the result of this change as follows:

1. Iliad 6, 234–6

énth' aũte glaúkō kronídēs phrénas exéleto Zeús  
hós prós tydeídēn diomédea teúkhe' ámeiben  
khrýsea khalkeíōn, **hekatómboi' enneaboíon**

Traditionally these verses are translated as follows:

'But Glaucus must have been out of his mind –  
traded his armour for Diomedes',  
gold for bronze, a hundred oxen's worth for nine!'

2. The general meaning of the scene is clear, but not the wording. Why does the poet just speak of a difference between a hundred and nine oxen, and not, for instance, between a hundred and ten, as we are inclined to expect given our decimal system, or between a hundred and one? Why just nine? The solution to our problem lies far to the north. It is the runic stone of Stentoften in Sweden that dates from the middle of sixth century. It goes as follows:

3. niuhAborumR  
niuhagestumR  
hAΘuwolAfRgAfj

4. Some years ago Santesson (1993) proposed the following interpretation:

niu<sup>n</sup> haborumR            “with nine he-goats,  
niu<sup>n</sup> ha<sup>n</sup>gestumR           with nine stallions...  
haþuwolafR gaf j        Haduwolf gave (good) years”.

Hence Santesson found in the second line the word *hangest* “stallion” that is also preserved in Old English and other Germanic languages, and for the first line she proposed a word *\*habra-* “he-goat”, related to such forms in German dialects as *Habergeiß* “he-goat” and Latin *caper* of the same meaning. So the text refers to a heathen sacrifice. Santesson has further drawn attention to the report of Adam of Bremen. Of Sweden he wrote in the 11<sup>th</sup> century:

5. Sacrificium itaque tale est: ex omni animante, quod masculinum est, novem capita offeruntur, quorum sanguine deos placari mos est. (Adamus Bremensis, S. 259 f.)  
‘Therefore their sacrifice is as follows: from every kind of animal that is male, they offer nine individuals. By the blood of them they use to placate the gods’.

6. In Iliad 6, 172–6 we read:

‘And when he (Bellerophon) reached Lycia by the Xantus  
that land’s ruler was most hospitable,  
sacrificed nine oxen (ἐννέα βοῶς), feasted him nine days.  
But after the dawn of the tenth day came  
the Lycian ruler asked for those tablets...’

7. Let us now come back to Greece. Odyssey 3, 6–9 goes as follows:

‘They just were sacrificing at the seashore  
black bulls for dark-haired Poseidon,  
nine rows of seats, for five hundred each,  
were already taken, nine bulls provided for every row...’

8. Now we are prepared to return to our first problem, Iliad book 6, line 234 to 6. The adjectives pertaining to our problem are *hekatómboios* “hundred cows worth” and *enneáboios* “nine cows worth”.<sup>\*1</sup> But why are these numbers used in our passage?

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<sup>\*1</sup> There is no difference between ‘cow’, ‘ox’ and ‘bull’ in these Greek adjectives. And I am going to use ‘cow’ as the term for the species, like French *boeuf*.

When in a different passage, for instance, we are told that a certain female slave is *tessaráboios* ‘four cows worth’, then this is a fact of real life, a price made by merchants.

By contrast, *hekatómbē* is a ceremonial term pertaining to the ceremonious sacrifice made by kings and their communities. When any Greek heard the adjective *hekatómboios*, he always associated it with *hekatómbē*. And *hekatómbē* literally meant, as every hearer of Homer knew well, a sacrifice of a hundred cows. We shall come back to this term later. The second adjective, *enneáboios* “nine cows worth” is, as we have learnt already, also a religious term. For this reason precisely these two words, and no others, are opposed to one another in our passage.

9. In the old Iranian Avesta we find the following passage:

‘of nine male horses / Aryaman brought hair,  
of nine male camels / id.  
of nine bulls / id.  
of nine sheep / id.  
nine twigs of willow he brought,  
nine furrows he drew.’

We can see that this text does not describe sacrifice explicitly. The sacrifice of animals mentioned in the first text describes a former custom that has been simply abolished in the period of the author. Instead of the life of animals one takes some of their hair. But ethnologists know that taking the hair of an animal in this way is simply a symbol of sacrifice, the hair standing for the individual itself. So both our Avestan texts deal with sacrifice of male animals, namely stallions, oxen and rams.

10. In the Vedas the name *Nāvagva-* literally means ‘having nine cows’ and stems from Proto-Indo-European *\*new̥m-gʷo-*, cf. Greek *enneá-boios* from *\*néw̥m-gʷow-yo-*. These *Navagva-* are a mystic family of sacrificial priests, who belonged to the first sacrificers in the world. They helped god Indra when he was about to gain the first cows for by their powerful singing the *Navagva* forced open the rock that had enclosed those cows. They are the most important sacrificial priests of mythical times, hence we can assume that the sacrifice of nine animals, being contained in their name, had also been a number of importance during earlier times in India.

11. In Hittite we have a text that recalls of the anger and disappearance of the Sun God. At the end of the story the Sun God is reconciled. He comes back and is ready to shine again over human beings. He says: ‘Let the gods’ words go! But my allocation, how will that be?’ The mother-godess answers:

VBoT 58 IV 11–12

UM-MA <sup>d</sup>MAḪ nu ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>UTU-us a-aš-šu ku-e-d[a-ni] [pa-i]t-ti tuga 9-an  
pa-a-ú ku-iš LÚ MÁŠDA nu-ut-ta1 UDU pa-a-ú

‘If you, Sun God, give good to someone, may he give you nine (sacrificial animals). And he who is a poor man may give you one sheep.’

The number nine is not motivated by the text itself. Therefore it is likely to rest on some old tradition. (For further material from Anatolia see my forthcoming article in *The Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Hittitology*, Rome 2005.)

12. Greek *hekatómbē* ‘huge sacrifice’ comes from *\*k̑mtóm-g<sup>w</sup>w*, collective form of I-E *\*k̑mtó-g<sup>w</sup>w-o-* ‘consisting of 100 cows’. It meant nothing but a gigantic, a fantastic sacrifice.\*<sup>2</sup> It was the ideal of Proto-Indo-European sacrificers. Our first passage (above, nr. 1) from Homer is clear now: The scene derives its effect from the contrast between the traditional ideal and the traditional reality of the sacrifice. Glaucus pays the price of an ideal sacrifice and receives as recompense only the price of a normal sacrifice. The passage shows that Homer still was aware of the old I-E tradition.
13. Let us sum up what we have found out until now: The Proto-Indo-European royal sacrifice consisted of nine male animals, normally oxen; the original word was *\*newm-g<sup>w</sup>w-o-*. The Germanic branch replaced oxen by stallions. These became the most valuable sacrificial animals – and were, in consequence, forbidden later on by Christian priests. That is why nowadays in those countries where people speak a Germanic language, they normally refuse eating meat of horses.
- But there is still one last question to be asked: Why did the I-E royal sacrifice consist of just nine animals? Why not seven or ten or twelve?
- A possible answer to this question results from reading an article by Hisashi Miyakawa (1999). He has found a certain stylistic figure in several old Indo-European literatures.

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\*<sup>2</sup> Here in some respects I differ from Thieme (1952: 62–72).

In this figure a repetition of nine times is used to express a kind of progress that finally results in a change or success. Here is an example from Homer:

14. Iliad 2, 326–9:

‘Just as the serpent devoured nine sparrows –  
eight little ones, with their mother the ninth –  
we’ll battle at Ilios that many years  
but in the tenth their capital will fall’.

Now an example from Vedic India (RV 1, 117, 12):

‘You have got out (your follower Vandana), who was hidden in the ground  
like a golden cup, in the tenth day, o Aśvin-gods!’

Hearing of the period of nine units, one could think of the nine month of pregnancy as the origin of this idea.

Let us sum up: The royal sacrifice of the Indo-Europeans consisted of nine male animals, either nine oxen or nine of various species. The number nine was chosen by the analogy of pregnancy and because it pointed to the following ten that symbolized success, the latter being a consequence of pregnancy and of the Proto-Indo-European decimal system. In opposition to this real sacrifice the Indo-Europeans knew a sacrifice of a hundred animals. A hundred meant: very many, uncountably many. This kind of sacrifice was never realized, it belonged to the world of ideal and myth.

## Bibliography

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- Santesson, L. 1993. Eine Blutopferinschrift aus dem südschwedischen Blekinge. In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27, 1993, 241–252.
- Thieme, P. 1952. *Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin.

## 次回研究会の開催予定

第 26 回研究会 (第 55 回羽田記念館定例講演会)

日時: 2005 年 11 月 12 日 (土) 14:00 ~

場所: 京都大学大学院文学研究科附属ユーラシア文化研究センター (羽田記念館)

『過ぎし年月の物語』 -テキストの構造と生成-

佐藤 昭裕 (京都大学大学院文学研究科教授)

司会: 岡本 崇男 (神戸市外国語大学教授)

「聖人伝に何を問うか - 『アルシディーン・ワリー伝』の世界 -」

濱田 正美 (京都大学大学院文学研究科教授)

司会: 井谷 鋼造 (追手門学院大学教授)

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## 編集後記

COE 31 研究会ニューズレター第 14 号をお届けいたします。研究会等、今後も活発に活動して参ります。皆様のあたたかいご支援、ご協力をお願い申し上げます。

## 連絡先

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