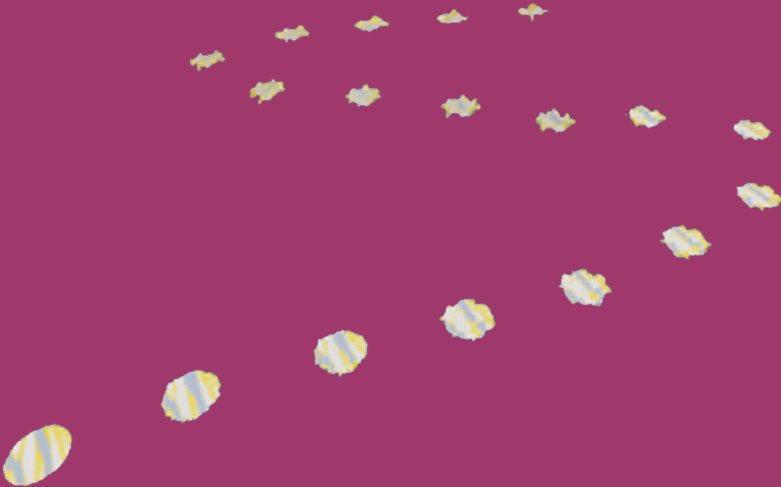


Power, Gender, and Mobility

Aspects of Indo-European Society

Edited by
Riccardo Ginevra
Stefan Höfler
Birgit Anette Olsen

assisted by Janus Bahs Jacquet



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Preface

When linguists and philologists first began systematically analyzing the striking parallels among the Indo-European (IE) languages and reconstructing the features of their prehistoric ancestor, Proto-Indo-European (PIE), they soon realized they were uncovering more than just phonetic systems, words, and phrases. They were also identifying the underlying concepts those terms evoked in the minds of the speakers. Based on the evidence of the IE daughter languages, scholars were able to reconstruct, for example, the word for the domesticated one-toed ungulate, **h₁ékʷos*, or the term for the circular object that rotates around an axle, **k^wékʷlos*. But the words for the ‘horse’ and the ‘wheel’ cannot have been part of the PIE vocabulary by accident: they must have also been a part of the real world that surrounded the speakers of PIE. In other words, the reconstruction of the prehistoric language entails the reconstruction of its speakers’ prehistoric reality, a research interest that scholars of Indo-European studies share with specialists in archaeology and anthropology.

Animals and wooden objects are not the only elements that were recovered on the basis of comparative evidence. The rich inherited vocabulary of the IE daughter languages also allowed for the reconstruction of words for social institutions like ‘youthful war band, sodality’ (**korjós*) and ‘bride price’ (**h₂uēdh₁-mn(-o)-*), of the names of deities belonging to a polytheistic pantheon (e.g., **d̥iē̯us ph₂tēr* ‘Father Sky’ and **h₂éusōs* ‘Dawn’), of elaborate kinship terminology such as ‘daughter-in-law’ (**snusós*) and ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ (**h₁iēnh₂tēr*), and even of verbal roots that refer to such intricate interhuman actions as ‘to change sides, social class, or ownership’ (**h₃erb^h-* or **h₁erb^h-*) or ‘to demand atonement, punish’ (**k^weǵi-*).

The desire to explore these cultural concepts and social institutions alongside linguistic structures led Indo-Europeanists to foster a productive interdisciplinary dialogue with experts in archaeology, anthropology, the history of religions, and – especially in the last decade – ‘ancient DNA’. A number of theorized concepts which had been reconstructed solely on the basis of linguistic data, such as the practice of patrilocal marriages and female exogamy, have now been confirmed or further developed thanks to cross-disciplinary research; and linguistic

reasoning has, in turn, quite frequently been able to support or refute hypotheses made by archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians of religion. It is precisely at this intersection of diverse but complementary approaches to the investigation of prehistoric culture and society that the present volume is situated. It seeks to explore the dynamics of power, gender, and mobility, three concepts that are essential for a profound understanding of the historically attested IE-speaking societies and of the prehistoric society reflected by PIE. In a cross-disciplinary fashion, the book combines linguistic, anthropological, and archaeological perspectives in order to offer a comprehensive analysis of topics ranging from gender roles and female onomastics to power structures and the role of poets as social brokers, from Indo-European legal language and initiation rites to matrimonial practices and age-based social hierarchies. It provides fresh interpretations and new approaches to known material as well as novel explorations and unprecedented analyses of new data.

The first section of the book, *Gender, Power, and Language*, deals with gender as both a grammatical and a social category, its interplay with language, and with the role that power relations have in shaping them both. Ulla Remmer's contribution "How (not) to name a woman in Indo-European: The evidence of female onomastics for the status of women in Indo-European societies" discusses naming patterns for women and girls in Indo-Iranian and other Indo-European traditions as evidence for their lower social status compared to men, illustrated by the fact that a woman's name was often simply a modification of her father's or husband's name. Tackling gender as a grammatical category, Stefan Höfler's chapter "Gender in Indo-European: A synopsis" explores the development of the three-gender system and the origin of the feminine gender in IE, and investigates the role of gender in PIE grammar. In her study "Pan, Pūṣan, and their matrimonial functions", Jil Schermutzki focuses on the long-established etymological and thematic connection between the Greek god Pan and the Indic god Pūṣan, discussing their shared associations with marriage, matrimony, and fertility, which seem to provide further support to Pan and Pūṣan's common descent from an inherited deity. In "The Charioteer Athena as goddess of warriors: Constellations and their role in the prehistory of Greek religion", Michael Janda departs from a comparison of Athena's role in the *Iliad* with the goddess Aṣi's in the Avestan tradition, identifying the latter with the constellation Auriga and investigating the origin of Athena in Indo-European starlore as a female charioteer who travels across the sky. Finally, Michael Weiss's chapter "Quaecumque a Benveniste dicta essent, commenticia esse" is a careful critique of Émile Benveniste's 1969 book, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, probably one of the most cited

works of Indo-European linguistics ever published, with special focus on three etymological topics closely linked to either gender or power: the two variants of the Indo-European ‘male, male animal’ word (**u̯rs-en-* vs. **(h₁)rs-en-*), the institutions of the Latin *cēnsor* and *cēnsus*, and the concept of Latin *auctoritās*.

The second section, *Power, Mobility, and Conflict*, is devoted to the power dynamics that underlie fundamental social institutions, including those linked with spatial and social mobility (such as guest-friendships and patron–client relations), as well as to the conflicts that may arise within them (and the resolution thereof). It explores how these dynamics shape and are shaped by social hierarchies and mobility patterns. Peter Jackson Rova’s Schleicher-inspired study “The wolf, the lamb, and the dog: An Aesopian guide to Indo-European sociology” departs from two Ancient Greek fables and takes them as useful tools to develop a model of Indo-European society that is based on four dimensions, distributed along a horizontal axis between domesticity and savagery, and a vertical one between dominance and submission. In “On the prehistory of legal language and procedure: Repairing a misdeed in Proto-Indo-European and in Core Indo-European”, José Luis García Ramón focuses on the two possible conceptualizations of the reparation of a misdeed attested in the legal lexicon and phraseology of various ancient IE traditions: the misdeed as something that must be ‘repaired, made good’ (likely already PIE), and the misdeed as something that the offender must ‘pay, atone’ for (probably later, Core IE). Riccardo Ginevra’s chapter “Indo-European patrons vs. clients, and the role of poets as social brokers: ‘Leaders’ vs. ‘friends’, and intelligent speakers in the mythologies of Scandinavia, India, and Rome” is devoted to the IE social institution of patron–client relationships, whose power dynamics are investigated through a comparative analysis of Norse, Indic, and Roman myths about ‘intelligent speakers’ (i.e., poets) acting as social brokers or mediators between patrons and their clients. To close the section, Rune Iversen challenges the standard picture of pre-IE Europe as characterized by peaceful societies based on matrilineality and sex egalitarianism in his chapter “The violent Indo-Europeans: Some general thoughts on the martial influence of the Corded Ware on Neolithic societies”, and argues that the violent aspects of early Indo-European societies were already well-established elements in Neolithic Europe.

The third and final section, *Mobility, Gender, and Social Structure*, explores the ways in which mobility – whether spatial, social, or economic – intersects with gender norms and expectations, examining the resultant impacts on societal organization and hierarchies. This section also delves into the cultural and institutional mechanisms, including initiation rites, that regulate mobility and gender, shedding light on the complex interdependencies that shape the lived experienc-

es of individuals within various IE societies. Mikkel Nørtoft's chapter "An update on the Corded Ware culture: Formation and spread, social aspects, human–canid relations, and tooth and shell status items" integrates archaeolinguistic and bioarchaeological data to discuss both general social aspects of migrations from the steppe to Europe and human–canid relationships in (likely IE-speaking) Corded Ware societies, challenging, or at least supplementing, the widespread view that wolves/dogs were associated with young male warrior bands. Discussing inherited vocabulary pertaining to diverse forms of social relationships, Birgit Anette Olsen's study "In-laws and outlaws in Indo-European societies: The master of the house and his circles of interest" explores the various strategies employed by aristocratic clan leaders to establish alliances with neighbours and gradually extend their influence, including exogamous marriages, fosterage, patronage, and guest-friendship. Jan N. Bremmer's chapter "Indo-European initiation: The Greek contribution" is an investigation into how Ancient Greek texts may provide important data for the study of several features of male initiations in IE traditions, such as hairstyles and wandering, and argues for a more differentiated usage of the term *Männerbund* within IE studies. Finally, Kim McCone's contribution "(Proto-)Indo-European age-based male social hierarchies and groupings: Age-grades, sodalities, coevals, age-sets and the origins of Rome's *curiae* (including the *curia* 'senate-house')" proposes the reconstruction of lifelong associations of coevals (so-called 'age-sets') as a prominent feature of Proto-Indo-European society, sets forth the evidence for this social institution in several IE traditions, and discusses the implications of this proposal for the study of linguistic and mythological peculiarities attested in texts from various ancient IE languages.

Focusing on three essential aspects of Indo-European society, namely power, gender, and mobility – of which at least the question of gender, the relations between gender and power, and the role of the unprivileged are still insufficiently investigated – we are here trying to fill a gap in the study of the speakers of early Indo-European varieties and of their world. Extending the perspective from family structure, which was the overarching theme of the preceding volume in the series, *Kin, clan and community in Indo-European society*, to a broader scope of social phenomena, it has been our aim to reassess and elaborate on some of the vital questions raised by Benveniste 55 years ago, many of which still await a final answer.

Some of the chapters are based on papers that were originally presented at the online conference *Power, gender and mobility: Features of Indo-European society*, held on 26–27 March 2021 and organized by several members of the *Roots of Europe* research group at the University of Copenhagen, namely Adam Hyllest-

ed, Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead, Birgit Anette Olsen, Guus Kroonen, Riccardo Ginevra, Simon Poulsen, and Stefan Höfler.

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We also wish to thank our families, friends, and colleagues for their invaluable and constant support, confident that the surrounding social environment is, and always has been, a crucial factor in the activities of all human beings – today as in the past.

The editors

This book is situated at the intersection of diverse but complementary approaches to the investigation of prehistoric culture and society: combining perspectives from linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, and history of religion, it seeks to explore the dynamics of power, gender, and mobility – three concepts that are essential for a profound understanding of the historically attested Indo-European–speaking societies and of the prehistoric society reflected by Proto-Indo-European.

The book offers a comprehensive analysis of topics ranging from gender roles and female onomastics to power structures and the role of poets as social brokers, from Indo-European legal language and initiation rites to matrimonial practices and age-based social hierarchies. It provides fresh interpretations and new approaches to known material as well as novel explorations and unprecedented analyses of new data.

Contributors: Jan N. Bremmer, José Luis García Ramón, Riccardo Ginevra, Stefan Höfler, Rune Iversen, Peter Jackson Rova, Michael Janda, Kim McCone, Mikkel Nørtoft, Birgit Anette Olsen, Ulla Remmer, Jil Schermutzki, and Michael Weiss.



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