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PRUSSIAN *Grubrius* 'GOD OF SPRING AND VEGETATION' IN PERSPECTIVE OF THE ITALIC PANTHEON

The most frequent form of this deity's name is *Pergrubrius* ("Sudauer-büchlein"; Bretke / Bretkūnas 1588) or the corresponding Latin accusative form *Pergrubrium* (Malecki 1551; Łasicki 1615). The variant *Pergrubius* (in "the A print"[1]) without the third *r* has been explained as a copyist's mistake[2]. There also is a version of his name containing *a* instead of *e* in the first syllable *Pargrubius* ("Sudauerbüchlein") where the origin of the *a* is unclear. Bretkūnas (1588), in whose book *Pergrubrius* takes the second place, right after "the first and foremost one" *Okopirmus*, notes that he is a god of everything that grows; it is he who makes grass and leaves grow. Some of the other sources also mention his assistance to the growth of grass and leaves ("Sudauerbüchlein"; "the A print"), other sources describe him as a god of spring (Malecki 1551; Łasicki 1615).

Most information about this deity is contained in a 16th century source called "Sudauerbüchlein: Der vnglaubigen Sudauen ihrer bockheiligung mit sambt andern Ceremonien, so sie tzu brauchen gepflegeth". It describes the first important festival of the year: *Das erste fest irer heiligung halten sie ehe wann der pflug ausgehet. Das Fest heissen sie die heiligung Pargrubij.* "Their first devotional sanctification takes place every time the plough goes out. They call this festival the worship of Pargrubij". Bretkūnas's report is more detailed: *Die Sudawen hielten iehrlich zwey grosse fest ihrer heÿligung vnd solches mit sonderlicher sollemnitet vnd Ceremonien, als das erste heissen sie das Fest Pergrubrij vnd hieltens iehrlich im Fruling, ehe der pflug außging…* "The Sudavs held two sanctifications of their devotion every year, and that with particular solemnity and ceremonies, they called the first one the festivity

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[1] The variant of "Sudauerbüchlein" – see LPG, 299–300.
[2] See LPG, 300; T o p o r o v 1972, 292, fn. 3.

of Pergrubrij and held it every year at the time when the plough first came out…" (see T o p o r o v 1972, 295).

The description in "Sudauerbüchlein" goes on like this: *vnd der Woursch-kaite hebt eine Schalen voll Biers auff mit der hand vnd bittet: du grosser mechtiger Gott Pargrubrius du treibest den winter hinweg vnd gibst In allen landen laub vnd grass, wir bitten dich du wollest unser getreide auch wachsen lassen vnd dempffen alles vnkraut…* (LPG, 247). "And *Wourschkaite* lifts a goblet full of beer in his hand and asks: you, great and mighty god *Pargrubrius*, chase winter out and give leaves and grass to all lands, we ask of you, hope you can make our crops grow, too, and water all weeds".

Elsewhere in "Sudauerbüchlein", we find a succession of gods in accusative form; surprisingly, one of the accusative forms is in Latin and the other three are in German: *Grubrium, Parkunen, Swayxtixen und Pilniten* (LPG, 249). This quotation provides us with exceptionally important information, that is, the name of the god appears here without *Per-/Par-* at the beginning. This *Per-/Par-* is most probably a prefix analogical to Latin "ad"- or "pro-" (*perēit* "to come"). There is also a variant *par-* (*parioth* "to come"). As a preposition, Prussian *per* means "for; over", similarly Lithuanian *peř*, *par̃* "over; by, at", *par-dúoti* "to sell", *par-eĩti* "to come back". In a way similar to *Pergrubrius,* another designation of a supernatural being was formed, *pērgimmans* "Creaturen", where the second constituent is probably related to the verb **gimt*, Lithuanian *gim̃ti* "to be born" (M a ž i u l i s 1996, 256–257, 262–263). Thus the addition of the prefix *per-/par-* might have been in some connection with the name of the festival that was held **for *Grubrius***.

The root **grub-* might come from the Baltic root **grāb-*, cf. Prussian *mūti* (Enchiridion)*, muthi* (Grunau) "mother" *< *mōtē < *mātē(r)* (M a ž i u l i s 1996, 152; 2004, 17–18). Also related to this word might be the second constituent of the Prussian name for "spindle-wood" *wosigrabis < *(v)āzī-grăbīs*, literally "goat's *grabis*" (Elbing Vocabulary 611; M a ž i u l i s 1997, 264–265), where *a* in -*grabis* is derivable from both **a* (cf. *assis* "axle" *< *ak̂sis*) and **ā* (cf. *brāti* & *bratrīkai* "brother" in Enchiridion *< *bʰrātē(r)* & ** bʰrātrᵒ*) – see M a ž i u l i s 2004, 15–18. Outside the Baltic region, as a possible relative, the Slavic name for a "hornbeam" offers itself, which is recorded both with *r* and without it: **grabrъ* & **grabъ*.

It is tempting to add the Old Italic deity **Grăbovius*, recorded in the so-called Iguvian Tables in the Old Umbrian script in the dative form as

Krapuvi, in the newer form of Umbrian written in the Latin script as the dat. sg. *Grabouei* (2x), *Grabouie* (1x), acc. sg. *Graboue*, *Graboui*, voc. sg. *Grabouie* (29x), *Crabouie* (2x). The root vowel *a* can reflect both *a (cf. **kabru** ~ Latin *caprum*) and *ā (cf. **frater** *frater* ~ Latin *fratres*) – see P o u l t n e y 1959, 33. The theonym serves as an epithet of three gods (in dat. sg. and Old / New Umbrian: **iuve** / **iuuve**, **marte** / *marte*, **vufione** / *uofione*, i. e. Iupiter, Mars and Vofionus, also in New Umbrian vocative *di grabouie*, *dei graboui*, *-e*, *-ie*. That is all that may be said about its function. In ancient Italy, only the Etruscan theonym *Crapśti* (Liber Linteus) contains a comparable base. If the final *-ti* is a locative postposition, the theonym would be derived from a hypothetical place-name *Craps*°; alternatively it may have been formed by the 'functional' suffix *-ti* (S t e i n b a u e r 1999, 412). If the internal evidence is exhausted, it is necessary to seek support in external comparisons. There is a series of words and proper names which may be related (see K r e t s c h m e r 1921, 89–96):

Greek or Macedonian γράβιον or γρᾰ́βιον "torch, oakwood" [Strattis, *Phoin* 6, 407 BCE; Amerias apud Athenaeus: Ἀμερίας δὲ γράβιον τὸν φάνον], Modern Greek γράβος (Epirus), γάβρος (Arcadia) "kind of oak", cf. also the glosses γοβρίαι · φανοί, λαμπτῆρες by Hesychius, perhaps metathesized from *γροβίαι, and γράβδις id. [*Etymologicum Magnum*] < *grabi̯° (W a l d e, H o f m a n n 1, 614–615; K r a h e 1955, 43: Macedonian; F u r n é e 1972, 169; B e e k e s 2010, 284);

'Illyrian': personal names Γραβωι (τῶι Ἰλλυριῶι) 'Illyrian king' mentioned c. 355 BCE; Γραβος 'man's name' known from a coin dated to the 1st cent. BCE; ϝερζαν Γραβωνος 'owner's name' on a bronze helmet found in Olympia and dated to the 4th cent. BCE; ethnic name *Grabaei* recorded by Pliny [3, 144: *eo namque tractu fuere Labeatae, Endirudini, Sasaei, Grabaei, proprieque dicti Illyrii et Taulanti et Pyraei*] (K r a h e 1929, 55; 1925, 24);

Slavic *grabъ & *grabrъ "hornbeam / Carpinus betulus": Bulgarian *gábăr*, dial. *gáber*, *gábar*, Macedonian *gaber*, dial. *gabar*, Serbo-Croatian *gràb*, *gràbar*, *gàbar*, *gaber*, Slovenian *gâber*, dial. *grâber*, *grâb*, Slovak *hrab*, Czech *habr*, dial. (Zlín) *hrab*, Upper Sorbian *hrab*, Lower Sorbian *grab*, Polabian pl. *groboi*, Pomerian Slovincian *grå̃ub*, Polish *grab*, arch. & dial. *gab*, Belorussian & Ukrainian *hrab* id., Russian *grab* 'a tree of the *betulae* genus'; *grabina "hornbeam's wood", "forest of hornbeams": Serbo-Croatian *gràbina* "forest of hornbeams", Slovak *hrabina* id., Lower Sorbian *grabina* id., Polish

grabina "hornbeam's wood, forest of hornbeams", Ukrainian *hrabýna* "(one) hornbeam", Russian *grabína* "Carpinus betulus". Cf. also the derived adj. **grabovъ(jь)* & **grabrovъ(jь)*: Bulgarian *gábrov*, Macedonian dial. *gaborov*, Serbo-Croatian *gràbov*, *gàbrov*, *gràbrov*, Slovenian *gábrov*, Slovak *hrabový*, Czech *habrový*, Lower Sorbian *grabowy*, Pomerian Slovincian *grabùǫvï*, Polish *grabowy*, Belorussian *hrabóvy*, Ukrainian *hrabóvyj*, Russian *grábovyj* "of hornbeam" (ESSJ 7, 96–100).

With regard to the dissimilative loss of the 'first *r*' in the Slavic dendronym, it is attractive to think about an analogous process in the Continental Celtic oronym Γαβρῆτα ὕλη, attested by Strabo [VII,1.5.: Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ὕλη μεγάλη Γαβρῆτα ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Σοήβων, ἐπέκεινα δ᾽ ὁ Ἑρκύνιος δρυμός · ἔχεται δὲ κἀκεῖνος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν "And there is also another large forest, Gabreta; it is on this side of the territory of the Suevi, whereas the Hercynian Forest, which is also held by them, is on the far side." – translated by Hamilton and Falconer] or Ptolemy [2, 11.5: ὑφ᾽ ἃ ἔστιν ἡ Γάβρητα ὕλη "the Gabreta Forest is under it", i. e. under the Sudeta Mountains]. For these ancient forests the most natural semantic motivation is based on tree-names, e. g. the Ἑρκύνιος δρυμός cited by Strabo has been interpreted as "oak forest" (cf. EIEC, 407–408). In this perspective, it seems legitimate to think of **Grabrēta*[3] as the forest of *grabr-* trees, as an alternative to the traditionally accepted "goat's forest" (H o l d e r 1896, c. 1510).

The Indo-European Thunder-God was frequently connected with "oak" (cf. also N a g y 1974):

Homer, *Ilias* V,692–695 (translated by A. T. Murray):

| οἳ μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δῖοι ἑταῖροι εἶσαν ὑπ᾽ αἰγιόχοιο **Διὸς περικαλλέϊ φηγῷ**· ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ μηροῦ δόρυ μείλινον ὦσε θύραζε ἴφθιμος Πελάγων, ὅς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος. | "Then his goodly comrades made godlike Sarpedon to sit beneath a **beauteous oak of Zeus** that beareth the aegis, and forth from his thigh valiant Pelagon, that was his dear comrade, thrust the spear of ash." |

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[3] On the suffix *-ēta*, pl. from *-ētum*, forming place-names from characteristic features in Latin, cf. *saxētum* "rocky place" : *saxum* "rock", *arundinētum* "place where reeds grow" : *arundō* "reed", *fīcētum* "fig growth" : *fīcus* "fig", *nucētum* "walnut wood" : *nux* "nut", *querquētum* & *quercētum* "oak wood" : *quercus* "oak" (see B r u g m a n n 1906, 414, 624). Cf. the analysis of the oronym *Sudēta* in B l a ž e k 2009b.

Homer, *Ilias* VII,58–61

κὰδ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων ἐζέσθην ὄρνισιν ἐοικότες αἰγυπιοῖσι **φηγῷ** ἐφ᾽ **ὑψηλῇ πατρὸς Διὸς** αἰγιόχοιο ἀνδράσι τερπόμενοι	"And Athene and Apollo of the silver bow in the likeness of vultures sate them upon the **lofty oak of father Zeus** that beareth the aegis, rejoicing in the warriors..."

Vergil, *Georgica* III,330–34 (translated by J. B. Greenough)

*currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem, sicubi **magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus** ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra*	„From troughs of holm-oak quaff the running wave: But at day's hottest seek a shadowy vale, where some **vast ancient-timbered oak of Jove** spreads his huge branches, or where huddling black ilex on ilex cowers in awful shade."

Lithuanian (B a l y s 1937, 163; quoted after I v a n o v, T o p o r o v 1974, 14–16)
[#241] **Perkūno ąžuolu** *vadinamas Kupiškio...*
"The name 'Perkūnas's oak' is given to the one of Kupiškis..."

[#246] *Praeityje gi toje vietoje buvęs didelis **ąžuolas**, po kurio stovėjęs lietuvių **dievas Perkūnas**. Perkūnui išnykus, žmonės tą vietą pradėję vadinti Perkūnija.*
"You see, there used to be a huge oak in that place below which the Lithuanian god Perkūnas used to stand. When Perkūnas faded away from people's memory, they started to call that place 'Perkūnija'."

Latvian (Š m i t s 1940, #23123; quoted after I v a n o v, T o p o r o v 1974, 15)
*Zlekā bijusi kāda Ozolbirze, kur stāvējis **Pērkona ozols**. To birzi ļaudis turējuši par svētu.*
"It's said there was an Oak Grove in Zleka with Pērkons's Oak in it. That grove was considered to be sacred."

Old Russian ('gramota' of Lev Danilovič, the Prince of Galicia, about the definition of borders in 1302; see I v a n o v, T o p o r o v 1974, 14)
*A otъ toj gory do **Perunova duba** ...* "And from that mountain to the **oak of Perun**..."

In this perspective and with respect to the etymological analysis of probably related words the interpretation of Umbrian **Grăbovius* as "oak deity" (P o k o r n y 1959, 404) is legitimate.

An interesting symmetry of forms with and without *r* offers itself:

suffix	*grāb-	*merk-
with −r-	Prussian *Grubrium*, *Pergrubrius* Slavic **grabrъ*	Latin *Mercurius* Praeneste *Mirc/qurios*
without −r-	Prussian *Pergrubius* ["the A print"] Umbrian **Grăbovius* Slavic **grabъ*	Faliscan *Mercui*, Oscan *Mirikui* Hittite *Markwaya-* Prussian *Markopotis, Merkopete*

N o t e : The comparison of the Prussian theonym *Markopotis, Merkopete* with Italic and Hittite counterparts is discussed in detail in B l a ž e k 2001 and 2009a.

Conclusion

The analyzed facts indicate that Old Prussians worshiped a vegetation god called **Grubrius* (or merely **Grubius*), which seems originally to have been a name of a specific tree species, as the etymological analysis suggests. The Latin and German chronicles recorded his name together with the prefix *per / par* "for" that was part of the name of the festival dedicated to this god. In the level of theonyms, the closest cognate appears in the Umbrian theonym **Grăbovius*, serving as an epithet of three Umbrian gods, Vofionos, Mars, and especially Iove (Iuppiter), the thunder-god. With respect to probable identification of the theonym with some tree, the Slavic dendronym **grabъ* & **grabrъ* "hornbeam" seems a good candidate.

A p p e n d i x 1.
Main sources of information about Prussian *Grubrius*

(I) *Sudauerbüchlein - Der vnglaubigen Sudauen ihrer bockheiligung mit sambt andern Ceremonien, so sie tzu brauchen gepflegeth*; the text is preserved in several manuscripts from the 16th cent. (left – see LPG, 245–246). Very close is the 'print A' (right – see LPG, 299):

Ockopirmus – *der erste Gott Himmels vnd Gestirnes*	***Ockopirnus*** – *den Gott himels vnd der erde*
Swaystix – *der Gott des Lichtes*	***Schwaytestix*** – *der gott des lichtes*
Auschauts – *des Gott der Gebrechen Kranken und Sunden*	***Auschlauis*** [⁺***Auschkauts***] – *der Gott der gebrechen Kranken und gesunden*
Autrimpus – *der Gott des Mehres vnd der grossen Sehe*	***Antrimpus*** – *der Got des mehrs vn der See*
Potrimpus – *der Gott der fliessende Wasser*	***Protrympus*** [⁺***Potrympus***] – *der Gott der fliessenden Wasser*

Bardoayts – *der Schiffe Gott*	**Gardoayts** – *der Schiff Gott*
Pergrubrius – *der lest wachsen laub vnd gras*	**Pergrubius** [+**Pergrubrius**] – *der lest wachsen laub vnnd Gras*
Pilnitis – *der Gott macht reich vnd füllet die Scheuren*	**Piluitus** – *der Gott macht reich vnd füllet die scheunen*
Parkuns – *der Gott des Donners, Plitzen vnd Regens*	**Parcknus** – *der Gott des Donners Blicksens vnnd Regens*
Peckols – *der helle vnd Finsternus ein Gott*	**Pocklus** – *der Gott der Hellen vnd Finsternus*
Pockols – *die fliegende geister oder Teufell*	**Pockollus** – *die fliegenden Geister oder Teuffel*
Puschkayts – *der Erden Gott vnter dem heiligen holtz des Holunders*	**Puschkayts** – *latine Sambucus, der Gott vnter dem Holtze Holunder*
Barstucke – *die kleinen Mennichen*	**Barstucke** – *die kleinen Menlin, die wir die Erdmenlin oder Wichtole nennen*
Markopole – *die Erdtleuthe*	**Markkoppolle** – *die Edelleute*

(II) Johannes Maeletius [Jan Malecki]: *De Sacrificiis Et Idolatria Vetervm Borvssorvm, Liuonum, aliarumque uicinarum gentium* (1551) – see LPG, 295.

...quos ipsi Deos esse credunt, uidelicet:	
Occopirmum,	*deum nautarum, qualis olim apud Romanos fuit **Portunnus**;*
Potrympum,	*deum fluuiorum ac fontium;*
Piluitum,	*deum divitiarum quem latini **Plutum** uocant;*
Pergrubrium,	*deum ueris;*
Pargnum,	*deum tonitruum ac tempestatum;*
Pocclum,	*deum inferni et tenebrarum;*
Poccollum,	*deum aëreorum spirituum;*
Putscaetum,	*deum qui sacros lucos tuetur;*
Auscautum,	*deum incolumitatis et aegritudinis;*
Marcoppolum,	*deum magnatum et nobilium;*
Barstuccas,	*quos Germani Erdmenlen, hoc est, subterraneos uocant...*

(III) Jan Łasicki: *De Diis Samagitarum Caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum* (1615) – see LPG, 362. The list and comments are close to Malecki (2):

...quos ipsi deos esse credunt, uidelicet:	
Occopiruum	*deum coeli et terrae,*
Antrimpum	*maris,*
Gardoeten	*nautarum,*

Potrympum	*deum fluviorum ac fontium,*
Pilnitum	*divitiarum,*
Pergrubrium	*ueris,*
Parguum	*tonitruum ac tempestatum,*
Pocclum	*inferni et tenberarum,*
Pocollum	*aëreorum spirituum,*
Putscetum	*sacrorum lucorum tutorem,*
Auscūtum	*incolumitatis et aegritudinis.*
Marcoppolum	*magnatum et nobilium,*
Barstuccas,	*quos Germani Erdmenlin, hoc est, subterraneos vocant...*

(IV) *Chronicon des Landes Preussen Collogirt durch* Joannem Bretkium *Pfahrern zu Labiau* (1588) – see G e r u l l i s 1926, 119–20. The author presents his list of 14 Prussian deities as follows: *In sonderheÿt aber list man das die Sudawen vierzehen Götter geehret vnd angebetten haben.*

Als **Okopirnus**	*sol sein ein Got des himels vnd gestirns.*
Pergrubrius	*sol ein Gott der Erdengewechs, der laub vnd gras lies wachsen.*
Perkuns	*sal sein ein Gott des donners, plitzens vnd Regens.*
Swaikticks	*sal sein ein Gott des Lichts.*
Piluitus	*sal sein ein Gott der fulle, vnd der Reich machet.*
Auschauts	*Ein Gott der verbrechens* (sic!)*, der die menschen wegen ihrer sunden straffet.*
Puschkaitus	*sal sein ein Gott vber die fruchte der Erden als allerleÿ getreÿdes.*
Barstucke	*solten sein kleÿne menlein des Pußkaiten diener die wir Wicholt nennen.*
Marcopole	*die Erdleute vnd des Pußkeitten diener.*
Antrimpus	*sal sein ein Gott des Meeres vnd der See.*
Potrimpus	*der Gott der fliessender wasser.*
Bardoaits	*Ein Gott vber die Schiffe.*
Pikols	*der Hellen vnd der Finsternis Gott.*
Pikoliuni	*die fliegende Geister oder Teuffel.*

A p p e n d i x 2.
Iguvian tables – selected passages (see P o u l t n e y 1959):

Ia 2–3: **preveres : treplanes : iuve : krapuvi : tre buf : fetu**
"Before the Trebulan Gate sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius"

Ia 11–12: **preveres : tesenakes : tre buf : fetu : marte : krapuvi**
"Before the Tesenacan Gate sacrifice three oxen; sacrifice to Mars Grabovius"

Ia 10–21: **preveres : vehiies : tref : buf : kaleruřuf : fetu : vufione : krapuvi**
"Before the Veian Gate sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus Grabo-
vius"

VIa 22: *pre . uerir . treblaneir . iuue . grabouei buf . treif . fetu*
"Before the Trebulan Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius"

VIb 1: *pre . uerir . tesenocir . buf . trif . fetu marte . grabouei*
"Before the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Mars Grabovius"

VIb 19: *pre . uerir . uehier . buf trif . calersu fetu uofⱷne . grabouie*
"Before the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus
Grabovius"

VIa 22–25: *eso . naratu . uesteis . teio . subocau . suboco* (23) *dei . graboui . ocriper . fisiu .
totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . fos . sei . pacer . sei . ocre . fisei* (24) *tote .
iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . arsie . tio . subocau . suboco . dei . graboue . arsier . frite .
tio . subocau* (25) *suboco . dei . graboue . di . grabouie . tio . esu . bue . peracrei . pihaclu .
ocreper . fisiu . totaper . iouina . irer . nomneper* (26) *erar . nomneper . dei . grabouie . orer .
ose . persei . ocre . fisie . pir . orto . est . toteme . iouine ....*
"Thus shall he speak after making the libation: 'Thee I invoke as the one invoked,
Jupiter Grabovius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the
mount, for the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favourable, be thou propitious
to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of
the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Jupiter Grabovius. Jupiter
Grabovius, thee (I invoke) with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian
Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state.
Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire
hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium"... etc.

PRŪSŲ *Grubrius 'PAVASARIO IR AUGMENIJOS DIEVAS' ITALIKŲ PANTEONO PERSPEKTYVOJE

Santrauka

Senųjų prūsų garbinto augmenijos dievo vardas *Grubrius (ar tik *Grubius) anksčiau galėjęs būti tam tikros medžių rūšies pavadinimas, etimologiškai sietinas su slavų dendronimu *grabъ, *grabrъ 'skroblas'. Lotyniškuose ir vokiškuose šaltiniuose vardas paliudytas su priešdėliu per- / par-, kuris įėjo į šiam dievui skirtos šventės pavadinimo sudėtį. Iš kitų tautų teonimų artimiausias yra umbrų *Grăbovius, vartotas kaip trijų dievų – Vofiono, Marso ir ypač Jupiterio – epitetas.

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