

Václav BLAŽEK  
Masaryk University

## BALTO-SLAVIC “SMITH”?

1. Within Baltic a quite unique designation of “smith” appears in Prussian *wutris* “smith” (EV 513: ‘Smyt’). Apparently it cannot be separated from *autre* “smithy” (EV 514: ‘Smede’). The personal name *Wutter* attested in 1414 can belong here (Trautmann 1925, 122). The same proper name probably appears in some toponyms: 1270 *Vutraynen*, 1419 *Wutterkaym*, 1412 *Wtthrowin*, 1400 *Utreyn* (Gerullis 1922, 209, 211). There are two alternative solutions of the reconstruction of the protoform:

(i) *\*utrias* vs. *\*autriā* (cf. Trautmann 1923, 336; Toporov I 174; on the prothesis *w-* before *u* see Smoczyński 1989, 104).

(ii) *\*utrias* vs. *\*utriā*. For *autre* Būga (III 661) and Mažiulis (IV 272) propose the conjecture <sup>+</sup>(*v*)*utre* – in this case no ablaut did operate. Smoczyński (2000, 120) mentions other examples, when *au* or *eu* are used instead of expected *\*u* in Prussian: *dauris* “door” (EV 211) vs. Lithuanian *dūrys* id. or *peuse* “Kiefer” (EV 597) vs. Lithuanian *pūšė/ pušis* id.

2.1. There are no safe correspondences within Baltic. Trautmann (1910, 466) compared *wutris/ autre* with Lithuanian *jūtryna* “fest eingelassenes Schloss einer Tür”, but it is adapted from Russian *nutrjanik* “Einlassschloss” (Fraenkel 1962–65, 199). Toporov (I 175) sought a possible cognate in unclear Latvian *autrs*, attested in the phrase *mežs ir tik autrs, tik atskanīgs* (ME I 231), approximately “The forest is as *autrs*, as sounding” (about echo; I am indebted to Dr. Pavel Štoll for interpretation of this folkloric sentence). But Endzelin/ Hausenberg (1934–38, 189) inform us that: “*autrs* ist ein Druckfehler für *jaūtrs*”, which means “munter, frohsinning, fröhlich” and corresponds with Lithuanian *jautrūs* “frisch; wachsam; leise” (ME II 104). These forms are rather far in both semantics and phonetics from *wutris/ autre*.

2.2. Endzelin (1931, 180) compared Prussian *wutris/ autre* with Lithuanian *utis/ utė* “louse”, Latvian *uts/ ute* id., speculating about a primary verb in the sense “to pierce” (quoted after Fraenkel 1962–65, 1173 and Topo-

rov I 175), which have so to correspond to Slavic \**kolti* “to pierce” vs. Baltic \**kaltei* “to forge”. This idea remains unproven.

2.3. Smoczyński (2000, 205f.) discusses two quite new hypotheses of a borrowing:

- (i) From Middle Low German *wörte* “Arbeiter” < Old Saxon *wurhtio*;
- (ii) From Middle High German \**hütter*, hypothetically derivable from *hütte* “arbeitet”.

3. Most of etymologists connect West Baltic \**utrias* and South Slavic \**vǔtrь*, attested in Old Church Slavonic/Middle Bulgarian *vǔtrь* “χαλκεύς, faber ferrarius; τέκτων, faber lignarius” (Miklosich 1862–65, 113), “artifex, opifex” (SJS 352, e.g. *jegože svsuda ješče vǔtrь smotritь i gladitь or i svętogo sego duxa kakъ jestь vǔtrь razuměti xoščju* in *Besědy na evangelije pagy Grigorija Velikago* = *Homiliae s. Gregorii Magni* 30, 323, 204 respectively; mss. from the 13<sup>th</sup> c.) and Serbian Church Slavonic (16<sup>th</sup> c.) *vǔtrь*. Russian Church Slavonic *vǔtrь* “smith”, *vǔtrь mędjanyj* “τέκτων χαλκου” “coppersmith” (e.g. *Tako že i želězo kromě jestь vǔtrě a xytrostь vь vǔtri, da vьzemb e, jako že xoščetь svsudь, takъ že svtvoritь*. Ioannes Exarchus, *Hexaëmeron*, 1263 – see Sreznevskij I 434), represent apparently the adaptation of the Church Slavonic word (see Trubačev 1966, 337; Toporov I 174). Cf. also the Church Slavonic abstract derivative *vǔtrьstvo* “χαλκευτική, ars fabri” (Miklosich 1862–65, 113).

Middle Bulgarian (13<sup>th</sup> c.) *vǔtrь*, Serbian Church Slavonic (16<sup>th</sup> c.) *vǔtrь*, Russian Church Slavonic *vǔtrь*, e.g. *vǔtrь mędjanyj* “τέκτων χαλκου” (see Trubačev 1966, 337; Toporov I 174). Excluding the possibility of a borrowing from early Polish into Prussian, Trubačev (1966, 337f.) speculates about an opposite direction of borrowing. He is undoubtedly right that a hypothetical, although unattested Polish form <sup>+</sup>*wetrz* could not be adapted in Prussian as \**wutris*. But just this result is quite expectable in the case of borrowing of Russian Church Slavonic *vǔtrь*. It is necessary to stress that Russian Church Slavonic served for several centuries as a literary language in neighbourhood of Prussia, namely in Lithuania and Belorussia.

4. Trubačev (l.c.) sought a connection with Prussian *wetro* “wind” (EV 53), Lithuanian *vėtra* “Sturm (wind), Unwetter”, Slavic \**větrь* “wind” vs. Lithuanian *áudra* “storm”, assuming the semantic equation “smith” = “that who works with bellows”. Although there are no apparent parallels in the semantic development, it is perhaps in principle possible. More difficult is the phonetic explanation. The Balto-Slavic isogloss \**uětro/-ā* “(storm) wind” is derivable from the IE root \**aμ(ē)-* < \**H<sub>2</sub>μεH<sub>1</sub>-* “to blow” (Pokorny 1959,

81-84; LIV 287). But there is no example of the development of this root leading to the zero-grade of the type *\*u-C<sup>o</sup>*.

5. Regarding some of other designations of the “smith (-god)” etymologizable as the “fire-maker” (e.g. Vedic *karmāra-* “blacksmith; artisan, mechanic, artificer” [RV X 72.2] vs. *kalmalikī* “flaming, burning” [RV II 33.8], *kalmalīm-* “splendour, brightness, sparkling” [AV XV 2.1], Hittite *kalmisana-/ kalmesna-* c. “Meteor, Himmelserscheinung”, cf. also *kalmara-* c. “Strahl, Sonnenstrahl” (Tischler 2001, 70); Greek Ἡφαιστος [Il. XVIII 397; VIII 195; Od. IV 617 etc.], Doric Ἄφαιστος, Aeolic Ἄφαιστος, Mycenaean *a-pa-i-ti-jo* [KN I 588.1] = \*Ἀφάιστιος or \*Ἀφάιστιων, perhaps derivable from ἀφή “lightning, kindling”, ἄπτω πυρ “I kindle fire” [Schrader, Nehring II 239, 330], plus the second component *\*aistos*, reflecting maybe *\*ait<sup>h</sup>tos* : αἶθω “I light up, kindle”, cf. αἶθος “burning heat, fire”; Roman fire-god *Volcānus* vs. Old Indic *ulkā* “fire falling from heaven, meteor, firebrand”, in RV IV 4.2 used about the flames of the fire-god Agni; Latin *faber* and Celtic *\*gob-ns /-ens-(n-)*, or *\*gob-nt-s /-ent-(n-)* > Old Irish *gobae*, gen. *gobann*, Middle Welsh *gof*, pl. *gofein*, Gaulish instr. pl. *gobedbi* vs. Lithuanian *gabė* ~ *gubė* “fire” - see Blažek 2008), the idea of Otrębski (1967, 227) to connect the Prussian terms with Slavic *\*vatra* “big fire” seems quite acceptable from the point of view of semantics, but difficult in word formation. And difficult is the Slavic word itself, attested in Bulgarian *vàtra*, Serbo-Croatian *v`àtra*, Slovak/ Czech dial. (Moravia) *vatra* “(big) fire”, Polish *watra* “fire(place), ashes”, Ukrainian *vatra* “fire”, and further in some of the non-Slavic languages of Balkan: Albanian Tosk *vatrë*, Gheg *votrë* “fireplace”, Rumanian *vatră*, Hungarian *vatra* id. It is very probable that the Slovak, Czech, Polish and Ukrainian examples can be ascribed to the culture of the Carpathian pastoralists. And so the word seems to be a heritage of the Dacian substratum (so BER I 123f.). The original form without the prothesis should be preserved in Russian Church Slavonic *ob-atriti* “to inflame”, *ob-aščrenije* “inflammation” (BER I 123f.; ĖSSJ 1, 91–93), but the cluster *-b- + -v-* is regularly simplified in Slavic (ĖSSJ 1, 92). The generally accepted comparison with Avestan *ātar-* “fire”, Armenian *airem* “I burn”, Latin *āter* “black”, Umber *atru*, *adro* “atra” etc. (Pokorny 1959, 69), exclude the initial *v-* in Slavic. The etymology of the Slavic and Prussian words for “smith” based on South Slavic *\*vatra* is so much more complicated. The opposition of the Balto-Slavic forms with the initial *\*u-* against the word *\*ātr-* “fire” resembles the situation of Balto-Slavic *\*ueprias* “pig” vs. Latin *aper* id., Umbrian acc. pl. *abrufi*; Germanic *\*ebura-*

> Old High German *ebur*, Old English *eofor* etc. (Trautmann 1923, 351; Pokorny 1959, 323). In the case of the Balto-Slavic “smith” it is possible to think about a prefix *\*au-* “of” or the verb *\*au(ē)-* “to blow” + reduced root *\*ātr-* “fire”?

6. It is possible to admit a simplification via dissimilation of a compound consisting of *\*ur(H)-/ \*ātr-* ± “burning fire”, where the first component should represent the zero grade of the verb *\*urH-* > Hittite *war-/ur-* “to burn”, *warnu-* “to kindle”, Armenian *vařem* “I kindle”, *vařim* “I burn”; Albanian *vorbë* “Kochtopf”; Lithuanian *vérda* : *vèrti* “kochen, siedern”, Old Church Slavonic *varb* “heath”, *variti* “to cook”; Tocharian *wrātk-* “to cook” (Pokorny 1959, 1166; LIV 689: *\*urH<sub>1?</sub>-*). A continuant semantically closest to the “smithery” appears in the Baltic designation of “copper”: Lithuanian *vārias*, Latvian *vařš* (also “ore, metal”), Prussian (EV 525) *wargien /varjan/* (Mažiulis IV 221); cf. also Prussian (EV 529) *auwerus* “Metallschlacke” (Toporov I 176f.).

It is tempting to speculate about the *nomen agentis* *\*ur(H)-ter/-tr<sup>o</sup>* formed from the same root *\*urH<sub>1?</sub>-* (see above), again with the dissimilative loss of the first *-r-*. But it is necessary to stress that the *nomina agentis* in *\*-ter* are not typical in Balto-Slavic (Brugmann 1906, 336–46; he quoted e.g. Lithuanian *vėtra* “storm” and Old Church Slavonic *větrb* “wind, air”).

7. The Slavic word has usually been derived from *\*utri-*, *\*utrijo-*, but in principle, it is possible to imagine the dissimilation from *\*vōtrrb*, leading to the protoforms of the type *\*urtri-*, *\*urtrijo-*. This dissimilative loss of the first *-r-* in the cluster *\*-rtr-* has analogy e.g. in the mountain name *Tatry*, forming the northwestern part of the Carpathian Mountain chain. The oronym *Tatry*, Ukrainian *Tovtry*, reflect primary *\*Tōtrry*, how it is confirmed in the form *Turtur Mons* recorded in the *Gesta Hungarorum* from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. (Shevelov 1964, 483).

8. No unambiguous etymology was so proposed till the present time. Several hypotheses were discussed above. One may be added. The hypothetical protoform *\*urtri-*, *\*urtrijo-* remarkably resembles such Indo-Iranian forms as Old Avestan *vərəθram.jā* “Widerstandsbrecher” [Yasna 44.16], vs. Young Avestan *vərəθra-* “Verteidigungskraft, Widerstand”, *aiiō-vərəθra-* “mit metallenen Schildern” [Yašt 13.45; translation Wolff 1910, 236], *vərəθrayna-* n. “Brechung des Widerstands, Sieg”, m. “Name eines Gottes”, Middle Persian *wahram* “Kriegesgott, Gott ‘Sieg’”, Vedic *vṛtrá-* n. “restrainer”, m. *Vṛtrá-* “serpent-like demon, son of *Tvaṣtar-*, antagonist of Indra”, cf. *Vṛtra-hán-*

“Vrtra-killer” about Indra and later *Vṛtrāri-* “enemy of Vrtra” also about Indra (EWAI II 573f.; Monier-Williams 1899, 1007). The hypothetical pre-(Balto-)Slavic *\*urtr̥io-* can be interpreted as “belonging to *\*urtro-*” and it is quite realistic about the dragon-like demon’s antagonist, in the Iranian tradition represented by the “smith” (cf. the hero Kāwe, in the classical Persian epic *Šāhnāme*, i.e. “Book of Kings”, “the famous smith of Ispahān who defeated the usurper dragon-like Zakhāk, and established Faridūn on the throne of Persia” – see Steingass 1892, 1010). With the same probability it is possible to understand this derivative as the “*\*urtro-*maker”, concretely “metallic-shield-maker”, hence “smith”. In both cases it seems more probable the borrowing from (Indo-)Iranian into Balto-Slavic or only into Slavic and from here into Prussian, than their common heritage.\*

## BALTŲ IR SLAVŲ „KALVIS“?

### *Santrauka*

Pr. *wutris* „kalvis“ (E 513) ir pietų sl. *\*vǫtrv* „t. p.“ yra lengvai išvedami iš bendros praformos *\*utri-*, *\*utrijo-*. Žinant, kokį vaidmenį bažnytinė slavų kalba kaip oficiali ir rašto kalba vaidino viduramžių Prūsijos ir LDK teritorijose, šio prūsų žodžio slaviška kilmė neatmestina, nors esti ir greičiausiai giminiškų formų kaip *autre* „kalvė“ (E 514) arba asmenvardis *Wutter* (1414). Nė viena iš autoriui žinomų žodžio etimologijų neatrodo įtikinama, todėl pamatuota ieškoti naujo aiškinimo. Geras sprendimas galėtų būti prielaida, kad žodis patyrė disimiliaciją, įgalinančią rekonstruoti praformas *\*urtri-*, *urtr̥io-* (plg. kalno vardą *Tatry* iš *\*Tǫtrry*, – rekonstrukciją remia *Turtur Mons* iš *Gesta Hungarorum*, 13 a.), derančias su tokiomis indų-iranėnų formomis kaip n. av. *vərəθra-* „Verteidigungskraft, Widerstand“, *aiiō-vərəθra-* „mit metallenen Schildern“ [Yašt 13.45]. Turint galvoje specifinį (baltų)-slavų-iranėnų leksikos atitikmenų pobūdį, atrodo patikimiau manyti, kad šis kultūrinis prūsų-pietų slavų žodis yra ne jų bendras paveldas, o iranizmas.

---

\* Acknowledgment. This study originated in cooperation with the Centre for the Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University, Brno, and thanks to the grant No. IAA901640805.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bartholomae, Christian 1904, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig: Teubner.
- BER – *Bälġarski etimologičen rečnik* 1–4, ed. Vladimir Georgiev et al., Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bälġarskata akademija na Naukite, 1962f.
- Bertels, E. Ė. (ed.) 1960, *Firdousi: Šāx-nāme: Kritičeskij tekst*, Moskva: Institut vos-tokovedenija.
- Blažek, Václav 2003[04], Is Fenno-Lappic \*šep̄p̄ä ‘smith’ of (Indo-)Iranian origin? *Philologia Fenno-Ugrica* 9, 1–10.
- Blažek, Václav 2008, Celtic ‘smith’ and his colleagues, in Alexander Lubotsky, Jos Schaeken and Jeroen Wiedenhof (eds.) *Evidence and counter-evidence: Festschrift for F. Kortlandt* 1, Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi, 35–53.
- Brückner, Alexander 1922, Osteuropäische Götternamen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie, *KZ* 50, 159–197.
- Brugmann, Karl 1906, *Grundriss der vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* 2.1, Strassburg: Trübner.
- Buck, Carl Darling 1949, *A Dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages*, Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press.
- Būga, Kazimieras 1958–1962, *Rinkiniai raštai* 1–3, sudarė Zigmās Zinkevičius ir Vytautas Mažiulis, Vilnius: Mokslas.
- EIEC – J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*, London–Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997.
- Endzelins, Jānis 1931, Sīkumi, *Filologu Biedrības Raksti* 11, 180–186.
- Endzelin, Johann, Edith Hausenberg 1934–1938, *Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu K. Mühlēbachs Lettisch-deutschen Wörterbuch*, Riga: Lettisch Kulturfond.
- ĖSSJ – O. N. Trubačev et al. (eds.) *Etimologičeskij slovar’ slavjanskix jazykov*, Moskva: Hayka, 1974f.
- EWAI – Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1–3, Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–2001.
- Fraenkel, Ernst 1962–1965, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1–2, Heidelberg: Carl Winter; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Gerullis, Georg 1922, *Die altpreussischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin–Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- LIV – Helmut Rix with M. Kümmel, T. Zehnder, R. Lipp, B. Schirmer (eds.), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 2001.
- LKŽ – *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* 5, Vilnius: Valst. politinės ir mokslinės lit. 1-kla, 1959.
- LPG – Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Letto-Preussische Götterlehre*, Riga: Lettisch-Literarische Gesellschaft, 1936.
- Mann, Stuart E. 1984–1987, *An Indo-European comparative dictionary*, Hamburg: Buske.
- Mažiulis, Vytautas 1988–1997, *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas* 1–4, Vilnius: Mokslas (1); Mokslo ir enciklopedijų 1-kla(2–3); Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutes (4).

ME – Karl Mühlenbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch 1-4, ergänzt und fortgesetzt von Janis Endzelin*, Riga: Lettische Bildungsministerium, 1923–1932.

Miklosich, Franz 1862, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vindobonae: G. Braumueller.

Monier – Williams Monier 1899 [1993], *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Otrębski, Jan S. 1967, Lat. *autumnus* und griech. ἐνιαντός, KZ 81, 225-232.

Pokorny, Julius 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern–München: Francke.

RGA – Heinrich Beck (ed.) *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973f.

Schrader, Otto, Alfons Nehring 1917–29, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde 1–2*, Berlin–Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Shevelov, George Y. 1964, *A prehistory of Slavic. The historical phonology of Common Slavic*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

SJS – Josef Kurz (ed.), *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského 1*, Praha: Academia, 1966f.

Smoczyński, Wojciech 1989, *Studia balto-słowiańskie 1*, Kraków: Ossolineum.

Smoczyński, Wojciech 2000, *Untersuchungen zum deutschen Lehngut im Altpreussischen*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Sreznevskij, I. I. 1893–1912, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka 1–3*, Sankt Petěrburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk (reprint Moskva: Znak 2003).

Steingass, Francis J. 1892, *Persian-English dictionary*, London: Routledge.

Tischler, Johann 2001, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Innsbruck: IBS 102.

Toporov, Vladimir N. 1975f, *Prusskij jazyk: slovar' 1–5*, Moskva: Nauka.

Trautmann, Reinhold 1910, *Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Trautmann, Reinhold 1923 [1970], *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch<sup>2</sup>*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Trautmann, Reinhold 1925 [1974], *Die altpreussische Personennamen<sup>2</sup>*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Trubačev, Oleg N. 1966, *Remeslennaja terminologija v slavjanskix jazykax*, Moskva: Nauka.

Vasmer, Max, Oleg N. Trubačev, 1986–88, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka 1–4*, Moskva: Progress.

Wolff, Fritz (transl.) 1910, *Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, Strassburg: Trübner.

Václav BLAŽEK

Ryneček 148

26101 Příbram III

Brno

Czech Republic

[blazek@phil.muni.cz]