TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

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VOL. I.

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TO

Professor MAX MÜLLER, M.A., &c., &c.,

This Work

is

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY PERMISSION.
"I think Scandinavian Paganism, to us here, is more interesting than any other. It is, for one thing, the latest; it continued in these regions of Europe till the eleventh century; 800 years ago the Norwegians were still worshippers of Odin. It is interesting also as the creed of our fathers; the men whose blood still runs in our veins, whom doubtless we still resemble in so many ways. . . . There is another point of interest in these Scandinavian mythologies, that they have been preserved so well."—Carlyle's "Hero-Worship".

What Mr. Carlyle says of the Scandinavian will of course apply to all Teutonic tradition, so far as it can be recovered; and it was the task of Grimm in his Deutsche Mythologie to supplement the Scandinavian mythology (of which, thanks to the Icelanders, we happen to know most) with all that can be gleaned from other sources, High-Dutch and Low-Dutch, and build it up into a whole. And indeed to prove that it was one connected whole; for, strange as it seems to us, forty years ago it was still considered necessary to prove it.

Jacob Grimm was perhaps the first man who commanded a wide enough view of the whole field of Teutonic languages and literature to be able to bring into a focus the scattered facts which show the prevalence of one system of thought among all the Teutonic nations from Iceland to the Danube. In this he was materially aided by his mastery of the true principles of Philology, which he was the first to establish on a firm scientific basis, and which enabled him to trace a word with certitude through the strangest disguises.

The Comparative Mythology of all nations has made great strides since Grimm first wrote his book; but as a storehouse of facts within his special province of Teutonic Mythology, and as a clue to the derivation and significance of the Names of persons and things
in the various versions of a myth, it has never been superseded and perhaps it never can be. Not that he confines himself to the Teutonic field; he compares it at every point with the classical mythus and the wide circle of Slavic, Lettic and occasionally of Ugric, Celtic, and Oriental tradition. Still, among his Deutsch kindred he is most at home; and Etymology is his forte. But then etymology in his hands is transfigured from random guessing into scientific fact.

There is no one to whom Folk-lore is more indebted than to Grimm. Not to mention the loving care with which he hunted up his Kinder und Haus-märchen from all over Germany, he delights to detect in many a nursery-tale and popular custom of to-day the beliefs and habits of our forefathers thousands of years ago. It is impossible at times to forbear a smile at the patriotic zeal with which he hunts the trail of his German gods and heroes; the glee with which he bags a new goddess, elf, or swan-maid; and his indignation at any poaching Celt or Slav who has spirited away a mythic being that was German born and bred: "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more?"

The present translation of the Deutsche Mythologie will, like the last (fourth) edition of the original, be published in three volumes; the first two of which, and part of the third, will contain the translation of Grimm's text, and the remainder of the third volume will consist of his own Appendix and a Supplement.

The author's second and third editions (1844 and 1854) were each published in 2 vols., accompanied by an Appendix consisting, first, of a short treatise on the Anglo-Saxon Genealogies, and secondly, of a large collection of the Superstitions of various Teutonic nations. This Appendix will form a part of our Vol. III. After Grimm's death his heirs entrusted to Prof. E. H. Meyer, of Berlin, the task of bringing out a fourth edition, and including in it such additional matter as the author had collected in his note-books for future use. If Grimm had lived to finish his great Dictionary, which engrossed the latter years of his life,\(^1\) he would, no doubt, have incorporated

\(^1\) He used to say, he had a book ready to run out of each of his ten fingers, but he was no longer free.
the pith of these later jottings in the text of his book, rejecting much that was irrelevant or pleonastic. The German editor, not feeling himself at liberty to select and reject, threw the whole of this posthumous matter into his third volume (where it occupies 370 pages), merely arranging the items according to the order of subjects in the book, and numbering each by the page which it illustrates. This is the Supplement so frequently referred to in the book, under the form ("see Suppl."). I have already introduced a few extracts from it in the Foot-notes, especially where it appeared to contradict, or materially to confirm, the author's opinion expressed in the text. But in the present English edition it is intended to digest this Supplement, selecting the most valuable parts, and adding original articles by the editor himself and by other gentlemen who have devoted special attention to individual branches of the science of Folk-knowledge. A full classified Bibliography and an accurate and detailed Index to the whole work will accompany the book. It is hoped by this means to render the English Edition as complete and serviceable as possible.

Grimm's Preface to the edition of 1844, giving a vigorous résumé of the book, and of the whole subject, will, as in the German accompany Vol. II. There is so much in it, which implies the reader's acquaintance with every part of the book, that I have felt bound to keep it where I find it in the original.

The only additions or alterations I have ventured to make in the text are the following:—

1. The book bristles with quotations in various languages, for the most part untranslated. An ordinary German reader might find the Old and the Middle High German about as intelligible as an ordinary Englishman does Anglo-Saxon and Chaucer respectively. But when it comes to making out a word or passage in Old Norse, Greek, and even Slavic, I must suppose the author to have written for a much more limited and learned public than that which, I hope, will find this English edition sufficiently readable. I have therefore translated a great many words and sentences,
where the interest, and even the argument, of the paragraph depended on the reader's understanding the quotations. To have translated all that is not English would have swelled the size of the book too much. Apart from such translation, any additions of my own are always placed in square brackets [ ], except a few notes which bear the signature “Trans.”.

2. For the sake of clearness, I have divided some of the chapters (XII. to XVI.) into smaller sections with headings of their own.

3. I have consulted the English reader's convenience by substituting the $w$ and $\omega$, which he is accustomed to see in Anglo-Saxon words, for Grimm's $v$ and $\ddot{a}$, as ‘wäg’ instead of ‘väg’. I have also used the words ‘Dutch, Mid. Dutch’ in a wider sense comprehending all the Teutonic dialects of the Netherlands, instead of coining the awkward adjective ‘Netherlandish’.

One word on the title of the book. Ought not “Deutsche Mythologie” to be translated German, rather than Teutonic Mythology? I am bound to admit that the author aimed at building up a Deutsch mythology, as distinct from the Scandinavian, and that he expressly disclaims the intention of giving a complete account of the latter, because its fulness would have thrown the more meagre remains of the Deutsch into the shade. At the same time he necessarily draws so much upon the richer remains of the Norse mythology, that it forms quite a substantive portion of his book, though not exhaustive as regards the Norse system itself. But what does Grimm mean by Deutsch? To translate it by German would be at least as misleading in the other direction. It would not amongst us be generally understood to include—what he expressly intends it to include—the Netherlands and England; for the English are simply a branch of the Low German race which happened to cross the sea. I have therefore thought, that for the English ear the more comprehensive title was truer to the facts on the whole than the more limited one would have been.
CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

From the westernmost shore of Asia, Christianity had turned at once to the opposite one of Europe. The wide soil of the continent which had given it birth could not supply it long with nourishment; neither did it strike deep root in the north of Africa. Europe soon became, and remained, its proper dwelling-place and home.

It is worthy of notice, that the direction in which the new faith worked its way, from South to North, is contrary to the current of migration which was then driving the nations from the East and North to the West and South. As spiritual light penetrated from the one quarter, life itself was to be reinvigorated from the other.

1 In a book that deals so much with Heathenism, the meaning of the term ought not to be passed over. The Greeks and Romans had no special name for nations of another faith (for εὐρώδος, βάρβαροι were not used in that sense); but with the Jews and Christians of the N.T. are contrasted έθνος, έθνεα, έθνους. Lat. gentes, gentiles; Ulphilas uses the pl. θιουδός, and by preference in the gen. after a pronoun, thái θιουδό, sumái θιουδό (I. W. 4, 441, 457), while θιουδίκος translates έθνικός. Cal. 2, 14. As it was mainly the Greek religion that stood opposed to the Judeo-Christian, the word "Ελλην also assumed the meaning έθνικός, and we meet with Αλληνικός = έθνικός, which the Goth would still have rendered θιουδίκος, as he does render "Ελληνες θιουδός, John 7, 35, 12, 30. 1 Cor. 1, 24. 12, 13; only in 1 Cor. 1, 22 he prefers Κρήκος. This Ελλην = gentilis bears also the meaning of giant, which has developed itself out of more than one national name (Hau, Avar, Tchudi); so the Hellenic walls came to be heathenish, gigantic (see ch. XVII). In Old High German, Notker still uses the pl. duce for gentiles (Graff 5, 128). In the meanwhile pagus had expanded its narrow meaning of κόμη into the wider one of agrer, campus, in which sense it still lives on in It. paese, Fr. pays; while paganus began to push out gentilis, which was lapsing into the sense of nobilis. All the Romance languages have their pagano, payen, &c., nay, it has penetrated into Bohem. pohan, Pol. pogania, Lith. pagonas [but Russ. pogan =unclean]. The Gothic χάθθι κάμπαs early developed an adj. χάθθισ agrestis, campestris = paganus (Ulph. in Mark 7, 26 renders ελληνις by χάθθισ), the Old H.Г. heida an adj. heidan, Mid. H.Г. and Dutch heide heiden, A.S. heig hædin, Engl. heath heathen, Old Norse hêdi heidin; Swed. and Dan. use hedning. The O.H.Г word retains its adj. nature, and forms its gen. pl. heidanêro. Our present heide, gen. heiden (for heiden, gen. heiden) is erroneous, but current ever since Luther. Full confirmation is afforded by Mid. Lat. agrestis = paganus, e.g. in the passage quoted in ch. IV from Vita S. Agili; and the 'wilde heiden' in our Heldenbuch is an evident pleonasm (see Supplement).
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The worn out empire of the Romans saw both its interior convulsed, and its frontier overstept. Yet, by the same mighty doctrine which had just overthrown her ancient gods, subjugated Rome was able to subdue her conquerors anew. By this means the flood-tide of invasion was gradually checked, the newly converted lands began to gather strength and to turn their arms against the heathen left in their rear.

Slowly, step by step, Heathendom gave way to Christendom. Five hundred years after Christ, but few nations of Europe believed in him; after a thousand years the majority did, and those the most important, yet not all (see Suppl.).

From Greece and Italy the Christian faith passed into Gaul first of all, in the second and third centuries. About the year 300, or soon after, we find here and there a christan amongst the Germans on the Rhine, especially the Alamanni; and about the same time or a little earlier among the Goths. The Goths were the first Teutonic people amongst whom christianity gained a firm footing; this occurred in the course of the fourth century, the West-goths leading the way and the East-goths following; and after them the Vandals, Cepi-da and Rugii were converted. All these races held by the Arian doctrine. The Burgundians in Gaul became Catholic at the beginning of the fifth century, then Arian under their Visigoth rulers, and Catholic again at the commencement of the sixth century. The Suevi in Spain were at first Catholic, then Arian (about 469), until in the sixth century they, with all the West-goths, went over likewise to the Catholic church. Not till the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth did christianity win the Franks, soon after that the Alamanni, and after them the Langobardi. The Bavarians were converted in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Frisians, Hessians and Thuringians in the eighth, the Saxons about the ninth.

Christianity had early found entrance into Britain, but was checked by the irruption of the heathen Anglo-Saxons. Towards the close of the sixth and in the course of the seventh century, they also went over to the new faith.

The Danes became christians in the tenth century, the Norwegians at the beginning of the eleventh, the Swedes not completely

1 Waitz's Ulfila, p. 35.
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till the second half of the same century. About the same time Christianity made its way to Iceland.

Of the Slavic nations the South Slavs were the first to adopt the Christian faith: the Carentani, and under Heraclius (d. 640) the Croatians, then, 150 years after the former, the Moravians in the eighth and ninth centuries. Among the North Slavs, the Obotrites in the ninth, Bohemians and Poles in the tenth, Sorbs in the eleventh, and Russians at the end of the tenth.

Then the Hungarians at the beginning of the eleventh, Livonians and Lettons in the twelfth, Esthonians and Finns in the twelfth and thirteenth, Lithuanians not even till the commencement of the fifteenth.

All these data are only to be taken as true in the main; they neither exclude some earlier conversions, nor a longer and later adherence to heathenism in limited areas. Remoteness and independence might protect the time-honoured religion of a tribe. Apostates too would often attempt at least a partial reaction. Christianity would sometimes lead captive the minds of the rich and great, by whose example the common people were carried away; sometimes it affected first the poor and lowly.

When Chlodowig (Clovis) received baptism, and the Salian Franks followed his lead, individuals out of all the Frankish tribes had already set the example. Intercourse with Burgundians and West-Goths had inclined them to the Arian doctrine, while the Catholic found adherents in other parts of Gaul. Here the two came into collision. One sister of Chlodowig, Lanthild, had become an Arian Christian before his conversion, the other, Albofled, had remained a heathen; the latter was now baptized with him, and the former was also won over to the Catholic communion. But even in the sixth and seventh centuries heathenism was not yet uprooted in certain districts of the Frankish kingdom. Neustria

1 Fourteen Bohemian princes baptized 845; see Palacky 1, 110. The Middle North-slavs—Biaderi, Tolenzi, Ycini, Cireipani—still heathen in the latter half of the 11th century; see Helmoif 1, 21. 23 (an. 1066). The Rugians not till 1168; Helm. 2, 12. 13.

2 *baptizata est Albofledis... Lanthildis *chrismata est, Greg. Tur. 2, 31. So among the Goths, *chrismation is administered to Sigibert's wife Bruncchild (4, 27), and to Ingund's husband Herminichild (5, 38, who assumes the new name of Joannes. The Arians appear to have *re-baptized converts from Catholicism; Ingund herself was compelled by her grandmother-mother in law Goisuntha \textsuperscript{ }2 ut *re baptizaretur'. Rebaptizare katholicos, Engippii vita Severini, cap. 8.
had heathen inhabitants on the Loire and Seine, Burgundy in the Vosges, Austrasia in the Ardennes; and heathens seem still to have been living in the present Flanders, especially northwards towards Friesland.\(^1\) Vestiges of heathenism lingered on among the Frisians into the ninth century, among the Saxons into the tenth, and in like manner among the Normans and Swedes into the eleventh and twelfth.\(^2\) Here and there among the northern Slavs idolatry was not extinct in the twelfth century, and not universally so among the Finns and Lithuanians in the sixteenth and seventeenth\(^3\); nay, the remotest Laplanders cling to it still.

Christianity was not popular. It came from abroad, it aimed at supplanting the time-honoured indigenous gods whom the country revered and loved. These gods and their worship were part and parcel of the people's traditions, customs and constitution. Their names had their roots in the people's language, and were hallowed by antiquity; kings and princes traced their lineage back to individual gods; forests, mountains, lakes had received a living consecration from their presence. All this the people was now to renounce; and what is elsewhere commended as truth and loyalty was denounced and persecuted by the heralds of the new faith as a sin and a crime. The source and seat of all sacred lore was shifted away to far-off regions for ever, and only a fainter borrowed glory could henceforth be shed on places in one's native land.

The new faith came in escorted by a foreign language, which the missionaries imparted to their disciples and thus exalted into a sacred language, which excluded the slighted mother-tongue from almost all share in public worship. This does not apply to the Greek-speaking countries, which could follow the original text of the christian revelation, but it does to the far wider area over which the Latin church-language was spread, even among Romance populations, whose ordinary dialect was rapidly emancipating itself from the rules of ancient Latin. Still more violent was the contrast in the remaining kingdoms.

The converts of the heathen, sternly devout, abstemious, mortifying the flesh, occasionally peddling, headstrong, and in

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1 Authorities given in Ch. IV.—Conf. lex Frisionum, ed. Gaupp, p. xxiv, 19, 47. Heathenism lasted the longest between Laubach and the Weser.
2 Formannæ sögur 4, 116. 7, 151.
3 Wedekind's notes 2, 275, 276. Rhesa dainos, p. 333. The Lithuanians proper converted 1387, the Samogits 1413.
slavish subjection to distant Rome, could not fail in many ways to offend the national feeling. Not only the rude bloody sacrifices, but the sensuous pleasure-loving side of heathenism was to them an abomination (see Suppl.). And what their words or their wonder-working gifts could not effect, was often to be executed against obdurate pagans by placing fire and sword in the hands of christian proselytes.

The triumph of Christianity was that of a mild, simple, spiritual doctrine over sensuous, cruel, barbarizing Paganism. In exchange for peace of spirit and the promise of heaven, a man gave his earthly joys and the memory of his ancestors. Many followed the inner prompting of their spirit, others the example of the crowd, and not a few the pressure of irresistible force.

Although expiring heathenism is studiously thrown into the shade by the narrators, there breaks out at times a touching lament over the loss of the ancient gods, or an excusable protest against innovations imposed from without1 (see Suppl.).

The missionaries did not disdain to work upon the senses of the heathen by anything that could impart a higher dignity to the Christian cultus as compared with the pagan: by white robes for subjects of baptism, by curtains, peals of bells (see Suppl.), the lighting of tapers and the burning of incense.2 It was also a wise or politic measure to preserve many heathen sites and temples by simply turning them, when suitable, into Christian ones, and assigning to them another and equally sacred meaning. The heathen gods even, though represented as feeble in comparison with the true God, were not always pictured as powerless in themselves; they were perverted into hostile malignant powers, into demons, sorcerers and giants, who had to be put down, but were nevertheless credited with a certain mischievous activity and influence. Here and there a heathen tradition or a superstitious custom lived on by merely changing the names, and applying to Christ, Mary and the saints what had formerly been related and believed of idols (see Suppl.). On the other hand, the piety of christian priests suppressed and destroyed a multitude of heathen monuments, poems and beliefs, whose annihilation history can hardly cease to

lament, though the sentiment which deprived us of them is not to be blamed. The practice of a pure Christianity, the extinction of all trace of heathenism was of infinitely more concern than the advantage that might some day accrue to history from their longer preservation. Boniface and Willibrord, in felling the sacred oak, in polluting the sacred spring, and the image-breaking Calvinists long after them, thought only of the idolatry that was practised by such means (see Suppl.). As those pioneers 'purged their floor' a first time, it is not to be denied that the Reformation eradicated aftergrowths of heathenism, and loosing the burden of the Romish ban, rendered our faith at once freer, more inward and more domestic. God is near us everywhere, and consecrates for us every country, from which the fixing of our gaze beyond the Alps would alienate us.

Probably some sects and parties, non-conformity here and there among the heathen themselves, nay, in individual minds a precocious elevation of sentiment and morals, came half-way to meet the introduction of Christianity, as afterwards its purification (see Suppl.). It is remarkable that Old Norse legend occasionally mentions certain men who, turning away in utter disgust and doubt from the heathen faith, placed their reliance on their own strength and virtue. Thus in the Sólar lioð 17 we read of Vébegi and Rádey 'a sik þau trúðu,' in themselves they trusted; of king Hákôn (Fornm. sög. 1, 35) 'konungr gerir sem allir aðrir, þeir sem trúa á mätt sinn ok megin,' the king does like all others who trust in their own might and main; of Barðr (ibid. 2, 151) 'ek trúi ekki á skurfóð eðr fiandr, hefi ek þvi lengi trúat á mätt minn ok megin,' I trust not in idols and fiends, I have this long while, &c.; of Hjörleifr 'vildi aldri blótta,' would never sacrifice (Landn. 1, 5.7); of Hallr and Thórir goðlausss 'vildu eigi blótta, ok trúðu á mätt sinn' (Landn. 1, 11); of king Hrólfur (Fornm. sög. 1, 98) 'ekki er þess getit at Hrólfur konungur ok kappar hans hafi nokkurn tíma blótat goð, heldr trúðu á mätt sinn ok megin,' it is not thought that king H. and his champions have at any time, &c.; of Örvaroddr (Fornald. sög. 2, 165; cf. 505) 'ekki vandist blótum, því hann trúði á mätt sinn ok megin'; of Finnbeogi (p. 272) 'ek trúi á sialfan mik.' This is the mood that still finds utterance in a Danish folk-song (D.V. 4, 27), though without a reference to religion:
and it is Christian sentiment besides, which strives to elevate and consecrate the inner man (see Suppl.).

We may assume, that, even if Paganism could have lived and luxuriated a while longer, and brought out in sharper relief and more spontaneously some characteristics of the nations that obeyed it, yet it bore within itself a germ of disorganisation and disruption, which, even without the intervention of Christian teaching, would have shattered and dissolved it.\(^1\) I liken heathenism to a strange plant whose brilliant fragrant blossom we regard with wonder; Christianity to the crop of nourishing grain that covers wide expanses. To the heathen too was germinating the true God, who to the Christians had matured into fruit.

At the time when Christianity began to press forward, many of the heathen seem to have entertained the notion, which the missionaries did all in their power to resist, of combining the new doctrine with their ancient faith, and even of fusing them into one. Of Norsemen as well as of Anglo-Saxons we are told, that some believed \textit{at the same time} in Christ and in heathen gods, or at least continued to invoke the latter in particular cases in which they

\(^1\) Old Norse sagas and songs have remarkable passages in which the gods are coarsely derided. A good deal in Lokasenna and Harbard's song may pass for rough joking, which still leaves the holiest things unshaken (see Suppl.). But faith has certainly grown fainter, when a daring poet can compare O'Sinn and Freyja to dogs (Fornm. sög. 2, 207. Islend. sög. 1, 11. ed. nov. 372. Nialss. 160); when another calls the gods rängeyg (squint-eyed, unfair) and rokindusta (Fornm. sög. 2, 154). When we come to Freyr, I shall quote a story manifestly tending to lessen the reverence for him; but here is a passage from Oswald 2913: \textquoteleft din got der ist ein junger tór (fool), ich wil glouben an den alten.'—If we had a list of old and favourite \textit{dogs'-names}, I believe we should find that the designations of several deities were bestowed upon the brute by way of degradation. Vilk. saga, cap. 230. 235, has handed down \textit{Thor} (but cf. ed. nov., cap. 263) and \textit{Paron}, one being the O.N., the other the Slav name in the Slovak form \textit{Parom} = \textit{Perum} ch. VIII. With the Saxon herdsmen or hunters \textit{Thunor} was doubtless in use for dogs, as perhaps \textit{Donner} is to this day. One sort of dog is called by the Poles \textit{Gromulais} (Linde 1, 759a. 2, 798), by the Bohemians \textit{Hřmiles} (Jungm. 1, 759) = Thunder, Forest-thunder. In Helbling 4, 441 seq. I find a dog \textit{Wünsch} (not Wünsch). Similar to this is the transference of national names to dogs: the Bohemian \textit{Bodrok} is a dog's name, but signifies an Obotrite (Jungm. 1, 150); \textit{Säm} in the Nialssaga seems to mean a Same, \textit{Sabme} = Lapp; Helbling 4, 458 has a \textit{Frank} (see Suppl.).
had formerly proved helpful to them. So even by christians much later, the old deities seem to have been named and their aid invoked in enchantments and spells. Landnámabók 3, 12 says of Helgi: 'hann trúði ðæ Krist, en þó hét hann ðæ Thór til sæfara ok hardræða ok alls þess, er homum þótt meðtustr varða'; he believed in Christ, and yet he called upon Thor in voyages and difficulties, &c. Hence the poets too transferred heathen epithets to Christ. Beda 1, 15 relates of Redwald, an East-Anglian king in the beginning of the 7th century: 'rediens domum ab uxore sua, a quibusdam perversis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei depravatus, habuit posteriora pejora prioribus, ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum, et Christo servire videretur et diis quibus antea serviebat, atque in codem fano et altare habebat in sacrificium Christi et arulam ad victimas daemoniorum' (see Suppl.). This helps to explain the relapses into paganism.

The history of heathen doctrines and ideas is easier to write, according as particular races remained longer outside the pale of baptism. Our more intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Roman religion rests upon writings which existed before the rise of Christianity; we are oftener at fault for information as to the altered shape which that religion had assumed among the common people in Greece and Italy during the first centuries of our era. Research has yet to penetrate, even deeper than it has done, into the old Celtic faith; we must not shrink from recognizing and examining Celtic monuments and customs on ground now occupied by Germans. Leo's important discovery on the real bearings of the Malberg glossary may lead to much. The religion of the Slavs and Lithuanians would be far more accurately known to us, if these nations, in the centuries immediately following their conversion, had more carefully preserved the memory of their antiquities; as it is, much scattered detail only wants collecting, and traditions still alive in many districts afford rich material. On the Finnish mythology we possess somewhat fuller information.

Germany holds a middle place, peculiar to herself and not unfavourable. While the conversion of Gaul and that of Slavland were each as a whole decided and finished in the course of a very few centuries, the Teutonic races forsook the faith of their fathers very gradually and slowly, from the 4th to the 11th century. Remains of their language too have been preserved more fully and
from the successive periods. Besides which we possess in the works of Roman writers, and especially Tacitus, accounts of the earlier undisturbed time of Teutonic heathenism, which, though scanty and from a foreign source, are yet exceedingly important, nay invaluable.

The religion of the East and South German races, which were converted first, is more obscure to us than that of the Saxons; about the Saxons again we know incomparably less than about the Scandinavians. What a far different insight we should get into the character and contents of the suppressed doctrine, how vastly the picture we are able to form of it would gain in clearness, if some clerk at Fulda, Regensburg, Reichenau or St. Gall, or one at Bremen, Corvei or Magdeburg, had in the eighth, ninth or tenth century, hit upon the plan of collecting and setting before us, after the manner of Saxo Grammaticus, the still extant traditions of his tribe on the beliefs and superstitions of their forefathers! Let no one tell me, that by that time there was nothing more to be had; here and there a footprint plainly shows that such recollections could not really have died out. And who will show me in Sweden, which clung to heathenism longer and more tenaciously, such a composition as actually appeared in Denmark during the twelfth century? But for this fact, would not the doubters declare such a thing impossible in Sweden? In truth, the first eight books of Saxo are to me the most welcome monument of the Norse mythology, not only for their intrinsic worth, but because they show in what an altered light the ancient faith of the people had to be placed before the recent converts. I especially remark, that Saxo suppresses all mention of some prominent gods; what right have we then to infer from the non-mention of many deities in the far scantier records of inland Germany, that they had never been heard of there?

Then, apart from Saxo, we find a purer authority for the Norse religion preserved for us in the remotest corner of the North, whither it had fled as it were for more perfect safety,—namely, in Iceland. It is preserved not only in the two Eddas, but in a multitude of Sagas of various shape, which, but for that emigration

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1 As late as the tenth century the heroic tale of Walther and Hildemund was poetized in Latin at St. Gall, and a relié of heathen poetry was written down in German [deutlich, a misprint for deutsch?], probably at Merseburg.
coming to the rescue, would probably have perished in Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

To assail the genuineness of the Norse mythology is as much as to cast doubt on the genuineness and independence of the Norse language. That it has been handed down to us both in a clearer and an obscurer shape, through older and more modern authorities, makes it all the easier to study it from many sides and more historically.

Just as little can we fail to perceive the kinship and close connexion of the Norse mythology with the rest of Teutonic mythology. I have undertaken to collect and set forth all that can now be known of German heathenism, and that exclusively of the complete system of Norse mythology. By such limitation I hope to gain clearness and space, and to sharpen our vision for a criticism of the Old German faith, so far as it stands opposed to the Norse, or aloof from it; so that we need only concern ourselves with the latter, where in substance or tendency it coincides with that of inland Germany.

The antiquity, originality and affinity of the German and Norse mythologies rest on the following grounds:

1. The undisputed and very close affinity of speech between the two races, and the now irrefutably demonstrated identity of form in their oldest poetry. It is impossible that nations speaking languages which had sprung from the same stock, whose songs all wore the badge of an alliteration either unknown or quite differently applied by their neighbours, should have differed materially in their religious belief. Alliteration seems to give place to christian rhyme, first in Upper Germany, and then in Saxony, precisely because it had been the characteristic of heathen songs then still existing. Without prejudice to their original affinity, it is quite true that the German and the Norse dialects and poetries have their peculiarities of form and finish; but it would seem incredible that the one race should have had gods and the other none, or that the chief divinities of the two should have been really different from one another. There were marked differences no doubt, but not otherwise than in their language; and as the Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old High German dialects have their several points of superiority over the Old Norse, so may the faith of inland Germany have in many points its claims to distinction and individuality.
INTRODUCTION.

2. The joint possession, by all Teutonic tongues, of many terms relating to religious worship. If we are able to produce a word used by the Goths in the 4th century, by the Alamanni in the 8th, in exactly the same form and sense as it continues to bear in the Norse authorities of the 12th or 13th century, the affinity of the German faith with the Norse, and the antiquity of the latter, are thereby vindicated.

3. The identity of mythic notions and nomenclature, which ever and anon breaks out: thus the agreement of the O.H.G. muspilli, O. Sax. mudspelli, with the Eddie muspell, of the O.H.G. itis, A. Sax. ides, with the Eddie dis, or of the A. Sax. brosinga mene with the Eddie brisinga men, affords perfectly conclusive evidence.

4. The precisely similar way in which both there and here the religious myths tacks itself on to the heroic legend. As the Gothic, Frankish and Norse genealogies all run into one another, we can scarcely deny the connexion of the veiled myths also which stand in the background.

5. The mingling of the mythic element with names of plants and constellations. This is an uneffaced vestige of the primeval intimate union between religious worship and nature.

6. The gradual transformation of the gods into devils, of the wise women into witches, of the worship into superstitious customs. The names of the gods have found a last lurking-place in disguised ejaculations, oaths, curses, protestations. There is some analogy between this and the transfer of heathen myths from goddesses and gods to Mary and the saints, from elves to angels. Heathen festivals and customs were transformed into christian, spots which heathenism had already consecrated were sometimes retained for churches and courts of justice. The popular religion of the Catholics, particularly in the adoration of saints, includes a good many and often graceful and pleasing relics of paganism (see Suppl.).

7. The evident deposit from god-myths, which is found to this day in various folk-tales, nursery-tales, games, saws, curses, ill-understood names of days and months, and idiomatic phrases.

8. The undeniable intermixture of the old religious doctrine with the system of law; for the latter, even after the adoption of

1 Conf. our 'donner! hammer!' the Serv. 'lele! lado!' the Lat. 'pol! aedepol! me herde! me castor! medius!idius,' &c.
the new faith, would not part with certain old forms and usages (see Suppl.).

In unravelling these complex relations, it appears indispensable not to overlook the mythologies of neighbouring nations, especially of the Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, wherever they afford confirmation or elucidation. This extension of our scope would find ample reason and justification in the mere contact (so fruitful in many ways) of the languages of those nationalities with Teutonic ones, particularly of the Celtic with Old Frankish, of the Finnish and Lithuanian with Gothic, and of the Slavic with High German. But also the myths and superstitions of these very nations are peculiarly adapted to throw light on the course taken by our domestic heathenism in its duration and decadence.

Against the error which has so frequently done damage to the study of the Norse and Greek mythologies, I mean the mania of foisting metaphysical or astronomical solutions on but half-discovered historical data, I am sufficiently guarded by the incompleteness and loose connexion of all that has been preserved. My object is, faithfully and simply to collect what the distortions early introduced by the nations themselves, and afterwards the scorn and aversion of christians have left remaining of heathenism; and to enlist fellow-labourers in the slow task of securing a more solid store of facts, without which a general view of the substance and worth of our mythology is not to be attained (see Suppl.).
CHAPTER II.

GOD.

In all Teutonic tongues the Supreme Being has always with one consent been called by the general name God. The dialectic varieties are: Goth. guðr, A.S., O.S., O. Fris. god, O.H.G. cot, O. Norse godr; Swed. Dan. god, M.H.G. got, M.L.G. god; and here there is a grammatical remark to make. Though all the dialects, even the Norse, use the word as masculine (hence in O.H.G. the acc. sing. cotan; I do not know of a M.H.G. goten), yet in Gothic and O. Norse it lacks the nom. sing. termination (-s, -r) of a masc. noun, and the Gothic gen. sing. is formed guðs without the connecting vowel i, agreeing therein with the three irreg. genitives mans, fadrus, brôðers. Now, as O.H.G. has the same three genitives irreg., man, fatar, pruodar, we should have expected the gen. cot to bear them company, and I do not doubt its having existed, though I have nowhere met with it, only with the reg. cotes, as indeed mannes and fateres also occur. It is more likely that the sanctity of the name had preserved the oldest form inviolate, than that frequent use had worn it down. The same reason preserved the O.H.G. spelling cot (Gramm. 1, 180), the M. Dut. god (1, 486), and perhaps the Lat. vocative deus (1, 1071). Moreover, God and other names of divine beings reject every article (4, 383. 394. 404. 424. 432); they are too firmly established as proper nouns to need any such distinction. The der got in MS. 2, 260a. is said of a heathen deity.

On the radical meaning of the word God we have not yet arrived at certainty; it is not immediately connected with the adj.

1 The drift of these remarks seems to be this: The word, though used as a masc., has a neut. form; is this an archaism, pointing to a time when the word was really neuter; or a mere irregularity due to abtrition, the word having always been masc.?—Trans.

2 Saxo does not inflect Thor; Uhland p. 198.

3 The Slav. bogh is connected with the Sanskr. bhága felicitas, bhakta devotus, and bhaj colere; perhaps also with the obscure bahts in the Goth. andbahts minister, editur; conf. p. 20, note on boghát, dives. Of ṭeós, deus we shall have to speak in ch. IX.
good, Goth. göds, O.N. göör, A.S. god, O.H.G. cuot, M.H.G., guot, as the difference of vowel shows; we should first have to show an intermediacy of the gradations gida gad, and gada göd, which does take place in some other cases; and certainly God is called the Good. It is still farther removed from the national name of the Goths, who called themselves Gutans (O.H.G. Kuzun, O.N. Gotar), and who must be distinguished from O.N. Gautar (A.S. Geátas, O.H.G. Kózà; Goth. Gautós ?).

The word God has long been compared with the Pers. Khodâ (Bopp, comp. gram., p. 35). If the latter be, as has been supposed, a violent contraction of the Zend qvādāta (a se datus, incréatus, Sanskr. svādāta, conf. Dēvadatta Θεόδοτος, Mitradatta Ἡλιόδοτος, Sridātta), then our Teutonic word must have been originally a compound, and one with a very apt meaning, as the Servians also address God as samozazdāni bòzhe! self-created God; Vuk 741.

The O.H.G. cot forms the first half of many proper names, as Cotadio, Cotascalh, Cotafrit, Cotahram, Cotakisal, Cotaperah, Cotafint, but not so that we can infer anything as to its meaning; they are formed like Irmandio, Hiltiscalh, Sikufrit, and may just as well carry the general notion of the Divine Being as a more definite one. When cot forms the last syllable, the compound can only stand for a god, not a man, as in Irmincet, Hellicot.

In derivatives Ulphilas exchanges the TH for a D, which explains the tenuis in O.H.G.; thus guda-faurhts (god-fearing) Luke 2, 25, gagudei (godliness) Tit. 1, 1; though the dat. sing. is invariably guða. Likewise in speaking of many gods, which to Christians would mean idols, he spells guða, using it as a neuter, John 10, 34-5. The A.S. god has a neut. pl. godu, when idols are meant (cod. exon. 250,2. 254,9. 278,16.). In like manner the O.H.G. and M.H.G. compound apcot, apcot (false god) is commonly neuter, and forms its pl. apcotir; whether the M.H.G. 'der aptgot' in Geo. 3254. 3302 can be correct, is questionable; we have taken to

1 οὖς εἰς ἄγαθος εἰ μὴ εἰς ἄθεος, Mark 10, 18, Luke 18, 19, which in Gothic is rendered 'ni hvashin þinðēgs alja ains Guð', but in A.S. 'nis nán man göð lutom God ána'. God is the giver of all good, and himself the highest good, sumnum bonum. Thus Plato names him τὸ ἄγαθόν.

2 In Gothic the rule is to change TH into D before a vowel in inflection, as, faðs, fadís, lada, fað; haubð, -dis, -da, -ð. The peculiarity of guð is that it retains TH throughout the sing., guð, guðs, guða, guð; though in pl. and in derivatives it falls under rule again.—Trans.
using *abgott* as a masc. throughout, yet our pl. *götter* itself can only be explained as originally neuter, since the true God is one, and can have no plural; and the O.H.G. *cótà*, M.H.G. *gote* contain so far a contradiction. In Ulph. *afguds* is only an adj., and denotes impius Sk. 44, 22; *afgudei* impietas, Rom. 11, 26; *eiðōla* he translates by *galiuga* (figmenta), 1 Cor. 5, 10. 10, 20. 23, or by *galiugaguda*, 1 Cor. 10, 20; and *eiðōleíov* by *galiugè* stáds, 1 Cor. 8, 10. Another N.H.G. expression *götze* I have discussed, Gramm. 3, 604; Luther has in Deut. 12, 3 'die *götzen* ihrer *götter*, making *götze*—idolum. In Er. Alberus fab. 23, the *götz* is a demigod1 (see Suppl.). The O.N. language distinguished the neut. *god* idolum from the masc. *god* deus. Snorri 119 says of Sif 'it hàrfagra god,' the fairhaired god; I do not know if a heathen would have said it.

In curses and exclamations, our people, from fear of desecrating the name of God, resort to some alteration of it:2 *potz* wider! *potz* tausend! or, *kotz* tausend! *kotz* wunder! instead of Gottes; but I cannot trace the custom back to our ancient speech. The similar change of the Fr. *dieu* into *bieu*, *bleu*, *guieu*3 seems to be older (see Suppl.).

Some remarkable uses of the word *God* in our older speech and that of the common people may also have a connexion with heathen notions.

Thus it is thrown in, as it were, to intensify a personal pronoun (see Suppl.). Poems in M.H.G. have, by way of giving a hearty welcome: *gote* unde mir willekomen; Trist. 504. Frib. Trist. 497.

1 Writers of the 16-17th centuries use *ölgötze* for statue (Stieler says, from an allegorical representation of the apostles asleep on the Mount of Olives, *öl* = oil). Hans Sachs frequently has ‘den *ölgötzen* tragen’ for doing house drudgery, I. 5, 418d 528l. III. 3, 24v 49l. IV. 3, 37v 99v. The O.H.G. *coz*, simpuvium Numae (Juvenal 6, 343), which Graff 4, 154 would identify with *götze*, was a vessel, and belongs to *giozan*—fundere.

2 Such a fear may arise from two causes: a holy name must not be abused, or an unholy dreaded name, e.g., that of the devil, has to be softened down by modifying its form; see Chap. XXXIII, how the people call formidable animals by another name, and for Donner prefer to say donnerwetter (Dan. *tordenveir* for Thursday), donnerwettstein (wetterstein or wetstein ?), donnerkeil, donner-wäsche, dummer. In Form. sög. 10, 283 we have Oddiner for *Oddin*; perhaps Wotansheer (Woden's host) was purposely changed into Mutesheer; whether Phol into Fálant, is worth considering.

3 Sangbieu (sang de Dieu), corbieu (corps de D.), vertublieu (vertu de D.), morblieu (mort de D.), parblieu (par D.), vertuguieu, vertugoi (vertu de D.), morgoiu (mort de D.), &c. As early as Renart 18177, por la char bien. So the Engl. cock's bones, *'od's* bones, *'od*s wounds, *'zounds, &c. Conf. Weber metr. rom. 3, 284.
"gote sult ir willekomen sin, iurem lande unde mir (ye shall be welcome to God, your country, and me); Trist. 5186. got ärîst, dar nách mir, west willekomen; Parz. 305, 27. wis willekomen mir und got; Frauend. 128, 13. sit mir got wilkommen1; Eilh. Trist. 248. rehte got wilkommen mir; Dietr. 5200. Nu sit ouch mir got wilkommen; Dietr. 5803. sit willekomen got und ouch mir; Dietr. 4619. nu wis mir got wilkommen; Oswalt 208. 406. 1163. 1268. 1393. 2189. du soll grôz willekomen sin dem richen got unde mir; Lanz. 1082. wis mir unde ouch got wilkommen; Ls. 1, 514. Occasionally gote stands alone: diu naht si gote willekomen; Iw. 7400, explained in the note, p. 413, as ‘devoted to God,’ though it only means ‘to-night be (thou) welcome’. Upper Germany has to this day retained the greeting ‘gottwilche, gottwillkem, gottikum, skolkum’ (Stald. 1, 467. Schm. 2, 84). I do not find it in Romance poems; but the Saxon-Latin song of the 10th century on Otto I. and his brother Heinrich has: sid wilicomo bêtthin goða ende mi. The Supreme Being is conceived as omnipresent, and is expected, as much as the host himself, to take the new-comer under his protection; so the Sloveny say to the arriving guest ‘bôgh tè vsprimi, God receive you!’2 and we to the parting guest ‘God guide, keep, bless you!’ We call it commending or committing one to God, M.H.G. gote ergeben, Er. 3598. I compare with these the Hail! called out to one who arrives or departs (heill ver þu! Sæm. 67a 86b), with which are also associated the names of helpful gods: heill þu farir, heill þu ðsyniom sêr! fare thou well, be thou well by (the aid of) the Asynior; Sæm. 31a. heill scaltu Agnarr, allz þic heilan bîr vera tîr vera! Sæm. 40.

In the same way the name of the omniscient God emphasizes an assurance of knowledge or ignorance: daz weiz got unde ich; Trist. 4151. den schatz weiz nu nieman wan (except) got unde min; Nib. 2308, 3.3 This comfortable combination of I with God has for its counterpart the opprobrious one of a thou with devil, ch. XXXIII. Here too the got alone is enough: ingen vet min sorg utan gud; Svenska visor 2, 7. That we are fully justified in

1 The omission of and between the two datives is archaic, conf. Zeitschr. f. d. a. 2, 190.
2 Bagë waz primi, gralva Venus! Frauend. 192, 20; conf. 177, 14.
3 hie haert uns anders nieman dan got unde diu waltvogellin; Ecke 96. niemen bevinde daz wan er und ich und ein kleinez vogellin, das mac wol getriuwe sin; Walth. 40, 15. Birds play the spy on men’s privacy.
referring these modes of speech so far back as to the heathen time, is shown by a remarkable passage in Fornald. sog. 1, 380: ek hugða engan kunna nema mik ok Oðinn. By secrets which none can know save Oðinn and to whomsoever he has whispered them, his divinity is at once revealed, Sæm. 38, b, 95, b, Fornald. sog. 1, 487. Not quite parallel are phrases such as: daz geloube goto unde mir; Amis 989. in unde goto von himile klage ich unser leit; Nib. 1889, 3. ik klage goto unde in; Richtsteig landr. 11. 16. 37. sanc die messe beide goto u. in; Parz. 378, 25. Wh. 289, 5. neic si im unde goto; Iv. 6013. Also in O.Fr., jel te pardoins de diu et de mi; Mones untersuch. 245. Sometimes the Evil One is named by the side of the Deity: goto noch den tiwel loben; Iv. 1273. in beschirmet der tiwel noch goto; Iv. 4635, i.e. no one protects him.

Poems of the Middle Ages attribute human passions to God; especially is He often pictured in a state of complacency and joy (see Suppl.), and again in the contrary state of wrath and vengeance. The former is favourable to the creation of eminent and happily endowed men: goto was an einer süenzhen zuht, do'ir Parziválen worhte (in amiable trim—form, training—when he made Percival); Parz. 148, 26. goto der was vil senftes muotes, dô er geschuof sô reine ein wip; MS. 1, 17. goto der was in fröiden, dô er dich als ebene maz (so evenly meted); MS. 1, 22. goto in grossen freuwnden was, dô er dich schuof (i.e., created wine); Altd. bl. 1, 413. goto der was in höhem worde, dô er geschuof die reinen fruht, wan ime was gar voel ze muote; MS. 1, 24. goto si zer warldte brâhtle, dô ze freuundn stuont sin muot; Wigal. 9282. goto der was vil vol gemuot, dô er schuof sô reinem wibe tugent, wûnne, scheene an libe; MS. 1, 201. goto was gezierde milte, der si beide schuof nach lobe; Troj. 19922. goto selb in richen freuonden was, dô er ir lip als ebene maz; Misc. 2, 186. ich weiz daz goto in fröiden was, dô er niht, frouwe, an dir vergaz waz man ze lobe sol schouwen. Ls. 1, 35. So a troubadour sings: belha domna, de cor y enteuilidu Dios, quan formet vostre cors amoros; Rayn. 1, 117. It is an equally heathen

1 The Gothic gavairthi = peace.
2 To the creative God rejoicing in his work, the M.H.G. poets especially attribute diligence and zeal: an den henden lac der gotes fliz; Parz. 88, 15. jach, er trieghe den gotes fliz; Parz. 140, 5. goto het sinen fliz gar ze wünsche wol an si geleit; Wigal. 4130. ich wæn goto selbe worhte dich mit siner gotlicher hant; Wigal. 9723. zwäre goto der hât geleit sine kunst und sine kraft, sinen fliz und sine meisterschaft an disen lóblichen lip; Iv. 1685. So in
sentiment, that imputes to God a propensity to gaze at human beauty, or to do whatever men do: got möhte selbe gerne sehen die selben juncfrouwen; Fragm. 22\textsuperscript{a}. gott möht in (him, i.e. the musician) gerne haeren in sinen himelkœren; Trist. 7649. den slac scolte got selbe haben gesehen (should have seen that stroke); Rol. 198, 18. Karl 72. got selbe möht ez gerne sehen ; Trist. 6869. ein paneiz (diadem), daz in got selber möhte sehen ; Frauend. 84, 16. gestritten daz d'engel möhten haeren in den niun kœren ; Willeh. 230, 27. si möhte râch betwingen mite (might nigh compel withal) eines engels gedane, daz er vil lhite einen wane durch si von himele tate (fail from heaven for her) ; Iv. 6500 (imitated by Ottoear 166\textsuperscript{a}). ich weiz daz wol, daz sin got nicht verdrütze ; MS. 2, 127\textsuperscript{a}. ir här gelich dem golde, als ez got wünschen solde ; MS. 2 62\textsuperscript{b}. sin swert dat geinc (ging, went) an siner hant, dat got selve vrâchde mère (would ask to know), we der ritter wère? dey engele mnosten lachen, dat hey is sus kunde machen ; Haupts zeitschr. 3, 24. this hilarity of the attendant guardian-angels (ch. XXVIII) or valkiurs must be thought of in connexion with the laughing of ghosts (ch. XXXI). In Hartmann's Erec, when Enite's white hands groomed (begiengen) a horse, it says 355: und wære, daz got hien erde rite, ich wun, in gmenocte da mite, ob er solhen marstaller hâte. This view of a sympathizing, blithe and gracious god, is particularly expressed in the subst. haldi, O.N. hyllî: Oðins hyllî ; Sæm. 47\textsuperscript{a}. Ullar hyllî ok allra goða ; Sæm. 45\textsuperscript{b}. On the other hand, of the primitive sensuous representation of an angry avenging deity (see Suppl.), the most striking example will be treated of presently in ch. VIII, under Donar, thunder.\textsuperscript{1} The idea recurs several times in the Edda and elsewhere: reiðr er þer Oðinn, reiðr er þer Asabrâgr ; Sæm. 85\textsuperscript{b}. Oðinn ofreiðr ; Sæm. 228\textsuperscript{b}. reið varð þa Freyja oc ñasaði ; Sæm. 71\textsuperscript{b}.—she was wroth, 

\textsuperscript{1} Piacula ire deùm, Liv. \textsuperscript{2} 2, 9. deos iratos habeam! dii immortales hominibus irasci et successere consueverunt, Cic. pro Rosc. 16. And Tacitus on this very subject of the Germans: propitium an irati dîi, Germ. 5. \textit{ira dei}, Hist. 4, 26. \textsuperscript{2} infensi Batavis dîi, Hist. 5, 25. And in the Mid. Ages: in odium Dei omniumque sanctorum habeas ! Vita Meinwerci, cap. 13 \textsuperscript{3} § 95. crebrescentibus janjanque cotûdie Dei justo judicio in populo diversis calamitatisbus et flagellis . . . quid esset in quo Deus offensus esset, vel quibus placarí possit operibus ; Pertz 2, 547.
and snorted or panted, as the angry wolf in Reinh. XLII spirtles out his beard. guðin reid ordin; Formn. sog. 2, 29. 231. goda gremi (deorum ira) is announced; Egilss. 352. at grémia god (offendere deos); Formald. sog. 2, 69. was ino god álbygan; Hel. 157, 19. than wírild in waldand gram, mahtig möðay; Hel. 41, 16 (elsewhere: diu Sælde, or the world, earth, is gram). ein zornec got in daz geböt (bade them), daz uns hie snohlen mit ir her; Parz. 43, 28. hie ist geschehen gotes ræche; Reinh. 975. got wil vervüieren sinen zorn; Osw. 717. ich wæne daz got reoche da selbe sinen anden (wreak his vengeance); Gudr. 845, 4. daz riuwe got! (God rue it); Trist. 12131. daz cz got immer riuwe! Trist. 11704. The Lex Bajuv. 6, 2, in forbidding Sunday labour, says: quia talis causa vitanda est, quae Deum ad iracundiam provocat, et exinde flagellantur in frugibus et penuriam patimur. How coarse were the expressions still used in the 17th century! "An abuse that putteth God on his mettle, and maketh him to hold strict and pitiless inquisition, that verily he shall, for saving of his honour, smite thereinto with his fists"; and again: "to run upon the spears of an offended jealous God."1 A wicked man was in the Mid. Ages called gote leide, loathed by God. One form of imprecation was to consign a man to God's hatred: ùz in gotes haz! Trist. 5449. ùz strichet (sheer off) balde in gotes haz! Trist. 14579. nu vart den gotes haz alsam ein beswiht von mir hin! Frauend. 109, 12. mich hát der gotes haz bestanden; Kl. 518. iuch hát rehte gotes haz (al. foul weather, the devil, &c.) daher gesendet beide; Iv. 6104. só müeze ich haben gotes haz; Altd. w. 3, 212. varet hen an godes haz! Wiggert 2, 47. nu mueze er gewinnen gotes haz; Roth 611. In like manner the MLG. godsat hebbe! Huyd. op St. 2, 350. Reinaert 3196.2 But, what deserves particular notice, this formula 'in gotes haz,' or in ace. without prepos. 'gotes haz varn, strichen' has a perfect parallel in another which substitutes for God the sun, and so heightens the heathenish colouring; ir sult farn der sunnen haz! Parz. 247, 26. var der sunnen haz! Unprinted poems of Rüediger 46. hebe dich der sunnen haz! Er. 93. nu ziuhe in von mir der sunnen haz! Helnbr. 1799. si hiezen in strichen in der sunnen haz; Erac. 1100. hiez in der sunnen haz hin varn; Frauend. 375, 26. A man so cursed does not deserve to have the sun shine on him kindly.

1 Hartmann on benedictions, Nürnberg. 1680, p. 158, 180.
2 Serious illness or distress is habitually called 'der gotes slac,' ströke.
The Vandal Gizerich steps into his ship, and leaves it to the winds where they shall drive it to, or among what people he shall fall that God is angry with, ἐφ' οὗς ὁ θεός ὑγμυσταί. Procop. de bello Vand. 1, 5.

Such hostile attitude breeds now and then a rebellious spirit in men, which breaks out in promethean defiance and threats, or even takes a violent practical turn (see Suppl.). Herodotus 4, 94 says of the Thracians: οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήνες καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπῆν τοξεύωντες ἀνώ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεύσι τῷ θεῷ. If the god denied the assistance prayed for, his statue was flung into the river by the people, immersed in water, or beaten. In the Carolingian romances we repeatedly come upon the incident of Charles threatening the Deity, that if he deny his aid, he will throw down his altars, and make the churches with all their priests to cease from the land of the Franks; e.g. Ferabr. 1211, 1428, &c. So dame Breide too threatens to uncover the altar and break the holy relics; Orendel 2395; and Marsilies actually, after losing the battle, has the houses of his gods pulled down; Rol. 246, 30. If the vintage failed, the statue of Urban was thrown into a bath or the river.¹ The Arcadians would scourge their Pan with squills (σκίλλαις), when they returned bootless from the chase (Theocr. 7, 106). The Greeks imputed to their gods not only anger and hate, but envy, love of mischief, νέμεσις.

Epithets of God (see Suppl.). In our modern speech: der liebe, liebste, gnädige;² grosse, gute, allmächtige. In our older tongue: hêrre got der guote; Reinh. 1296. Gute frau, 276. hêrro the gödo; Hel. 78, 3. 90, 6. fró mín the gödo; 143, 7. gwedege trehtin; Reinh. 1309.—Freq. the rich God: thie rîkeo Christ; Hel. 1, 2. rîki god; Hel. 195, 9. rîki drohtin; Hel. 114, 22. der rîche got von himele; Roth. 4971. got der rîche; Nib. 1793, 3. Trist. 2492. durch den rîchen got von himel, Morit. 3526. der rîche got mich ie gesach; V.d. wibe list 114.³—Cot almahtico, cot heilae; Wesso-

¹ When lightning strikes, our people say: If God can burn, we can build again; Ettners hehamme, p. 16.
² Where God is, there is grace and peace; of a solemn spot it is said: Here dwells der liebe Gott! And, to drive den lieben Gott from a person's room (Lessing 1, 243), means, to disturb a solitary in his sanctum.
³ OHG. rîhî dives, potens, also beatus; and dives is near akin to Divus, as Dis, Ditis springs out of divit. From the Slav. bôghî is derived bôghât (dives), Lith. bagotas; compare ops, in-ops (Russ. u-bôghiy), opulentus with Ops, the Bona Dea. Conf. Diefenb. celt. 1, 196.
brunn. Gebet. mahtig drohtin; Hel. 2, 2. freá ælmihtig; Cædm. 1, 9, 10, 1. se ælmihtiga wealdend; Thorpe's anal. 83. mannó multisto (largissimus); Wessobr. Geb. vil miller Christ; Cod. pal. 350, 56. —The AS. has freq.: éce dryhten, æternus; Cædm. 246, 11. Beow. 3382. 3555. 4655. Also: witig god, sapiens; Beow. 1364, 2105. Cædm. 182, 24. witig dryhten; Beow. 3101. 3679. Cædm. 179, 8. witig wuldercnyng; Cædm. 242, 30.— Waltant got; Hild. waldindinger got; Roth. 213. 523. 1009. 2332. 4031. waltant Krist: OV. 25, 91. Gudr. 2243. (AS.) waldend; Cædm. 9, 25. wuldres wealdend; Beow. 4. heofnes wealdend; Cædm. 17, 15. peoda wealdend. fæder alwealda; Beow. 630. (OS.) waldand; Hel. 4, 5, 6, 6. waldand god 3, 17. waldand drohtin 1, 19. alovaldo 4, 8, 5, 20. 8, 2. 69, 23. This epithet is not found in the Edda. The notion of 'wielding', dominari, regere, is further applied to the Supreme Being in the phrase es walten, Parz. 568, 1. En. 7299. 10165. 13225. So our godwalt's! M. Dut. godwounds! Huyd. op St. 2, 548. Our acc. in 'das walt Gott!' is a blunder; Agricola 596. Praet. weltb. 2, 50. —God is occasionally called the Old: der alte Gott lebt noch, i.e. the same as ever. A.S. cæld metod. MHG. hât got sin all gemüete; Wh. 66, 20. der alde got; Roth. 4401. popul. 'der alte Vater'. In a Servian song (Vuk 2, 244. Montenegro 101), bógh is named 'stari krvnik', the old blood-shedder, killer; and in Frauenlob MS. 2, 214b der alte friedel (sweetheart). The 13th century poets sometimes use the Lat. epithet altissimus, Wh. 216, 5. 434, 23. Geo. 90, 401; with which may be compared the MHG. diu hohste hant, Parz. 484, 6. 487, 20. 568, 8. Wh. 134, 7. 150, 14. and the OHG. zi waltanteru henti, OV. 25, 91.—The 'all-wielding’ God is at the same time the all-seeing, all-knowing, all-remembering; hence it is said of fortunate men, that God saw them, and of unfortunate, that God forgot them: (OHG.) kesah tih kot! = O te felicem! N. Boeth. 145. (MHG.) gesach in got! = happy he! Altd. bl. 1, 347. só mir got ergaz; Troj. kr. 14072. só hât got min vergezen; Nib. 2256, 3. wie gar iuwer got vergaz (how utterly God forgot you); Ivw. 6254. got min vergaz; Ecke 209. got hæte sin vergezen; Trist. 9243. genædelicher trehtin, wie vergeze då ie min sō? Trist. 12483. For other examples, see Gramm. 4, 175. —God, by regarding, guards: daz si got iemer schouwe! Ivw. 794. O. Engl. God you see! God keep you in his sight!
Among substantive epithets are several which God has in common with earthly rulers (see Suppl.) — Gothic frúñja OS. fróho, fró, AS. fróð; which name I shall treat of more fully by and by.

—OHG. truchtíν, MHG. trechtíν, OS. drohtíν, AS. dryhtíν, ON. drottínn. — OHG. héríro, MHG. hérre, which however, when used of God, is never contracted into her, any more than Dominus into the Romance dominus, don. — Conspicuous above all is the name Father (see Suppl.). In the Edda, aifóðr. (Sæm. 46b 88a 154b. Sn. 3. 11. 17), herfaðír, herja faðír, valfaðír are applied to Öðinn as the father of all gods, men and created things. Such compounds are not found in the other dialects, they may have sounded heathenish; though the AS. could use fæder alwealdal, Beow. 630, and the idea of God as Father became more familiar to the christians than to heathens. The OHG. altfáťar = grandfather, O. i. 3, 6. AS. caldfáder, Beow. 743. 1883, I have nowhere seen applied to God. As the Greeks coupled together Zévs πατήρ, esp. in the voc. Zéw πάτερ, and the Romans Jupiter, Diespiter, Dispiter, Mars pater,1 as well as Δημήτηρ, Δαμάτηρ, Terra mater, so the Lettons bestow on almost every goddess the epithet mahté, mahmina = mater, matercula (Böttner 244. Bergmann 142), on which we shall have more to say hereafter. To all appearance, father Goth. fadr is connected with fáþs lord, as pater πατήρ is with πότις, πόσις, Lith. pats. — The AS. metod, metod, Cædm. 223, 14. cald metod, Beow. 1883. sóð metod, Beow. 3222. OS. metod, Hel. 4, 13. 15, 17. 66, 19, an expression which likewise appears in the Edda, miótuðr Sæm. 226b 241b, seems to signify Creator, as verbally it bears the sense of mensor, moderator, finitor. The full meaning of metod will not be disclosed, till we have a more exact knowledge of the relation between the Goth. mitan (to mete) and máitan (to cut), the OHG. mëzan and meizan; in the Lat. mëtiri and mëtere, besides there being no shifting of consonant (d for t), the quantity is inverted. The ON. miótuðr appears to be also sector, messor; in Snorri 104. 105, the wolf's head with which Heimdall was killed is called 'miótuðr Heimðallar,' and the sword is 'mans miótuðr'; so in Fornald. sög. p. 441, 'manna miótuðr' (see Suppl.). In MHG. too, the poets use mezzan of exquisite symmetry in creating: dò sin (Wunsch's) gewalt ir bilde maz; Troj. 19626. got selb in

1 Jane pater! Cato 134; but what can Dissunapiter mean in the remarkable conjuring-spell, Cato 160?
richen frönden was, dò er ir lip als ebene maz; Misc. 2, 186. er sol ze rehte lange mezzon, der an si sò ebene maz, daz er an si zer wehte nie nach vollem wunche weder des noch des vergaz; MS. 1, 154b. got der was in fröden, dò er dich als ebene maz; MS. 1, 22b wer kunde in sò gemaßen, Tit. 130. 1. anders denne got uns maz, dò er ze werke über mich gesaz, Parz. 518, 21. ‘ein bilde mezzon’ is therefore the same thing as ‘ein bilde scheffen’ to create (Troy. 19805), or giezen to cast, mould (Walth. 45, 25. MS. 1, 195b, 2, 226b); and in Suchenwirt 24, 154 it says: ‘got het geyozzen âf ir ir, ir mündel rôt und wiz ir kel’; which throws a significant light on the Gothic tribal name Göuts, A.S. Geît OHG. Köz (see Suppl.).—AS. scippend, creator, OHG. secfo, seephio, MHG. scheppere, Wh. 1, 3. NHG. schöpfen.—Some of these names can be strung together, or they can be intensified by composition: drohtin god, Hel. 2, 13. waldand frô min, Hel. 148, 14. 153, 8. freá dryhten, Beow. 62. 186. lif-fred, Cædm. 2, 9. 108, 18. 195, 3. 240, 33. Beow. 4. The earthly cunning with a prefix can be used of God: vuldoreyning, king of glory, Cædm. 10, 32. hevan-cunning, Hel. 3, 12, 18. 4. 14. 5, 11. and synonymously with these, rodora ward, Cædm. 11, 2. or the epic amplification, irmin-got obana ab hevane, Hild. got von himele, Nib. 2090, 4. 2114, 1. 2132, 1. 2136, 1.

Of such epic formulas (see Suppl.), beautiful specimens, all of one tenour, can be cited from the poets, especially the Romance: they are mostly borrowed from God’s dwelling-place, his creative power, his omnipotence, omniscience and truth:—Dios aquel, que esta en alto, Cid 800. 2352. 2465. qui la amont el seint cel maint (abides), Ren. 26018. qui maint el firmament, Berte 129. 149. der hôho sizet unde nideriu sihet, N. ps. 112, 5. qui haut siet et de loing mire, Ren. 11687. qui haut siet et loins voit, Berte 44, 181. Guitecl. 2, 139. der über der blauen decke sitzt, Melander Jocoseria 1, 439. cot almahtico, dû himil inti erla gaworahtós (wroughtest heaven and earth), Wessobr. Geb. cel senhor, qui lo mon a creat, Ferabr. 775. qui tot le mont forma, Berte 143. que feizt nueyt e dia, Ferabr. 3997. per ayce sehanhor que fetz cel e rozada (sky and dew), Ferabr. 2994. 4412. qui fist ciel et rousee, Berte 28. 66. 111. 139. 171. 188. Aimon 876. qui feis mer salee, Berte 67. qui fist et mer et onde, Méon 3, 460. des hant daz mer gesalzen hât, Parz. 514, 15. qui fait courre la nue, Berte
136. 183 (\textit{νεφελήγερε} \textit{Zeōs}). par celui qui fait toner, Ren. 16658. 17780. par qui li soleus raie, Berte 13. 81. der himel und erde geböt und die mergrieden zelt (counts the sea-sands, or pebbles), Mar. 18. der der sterne zal weiz, Wh. 466, 30. der die sterne hât gezalt, Parz. 629, 20. der uns gap des mânen (moon's) schin, Wh. 476, 1. qui fait croit et les vins et les blez, Ferabr. 1634. der mir ze lebene geriet (planned), Nib. 2091, 4. Kl. 484. der mir ze lebene geböt (bade), Roth. 215. 517. 4552. der uns daz leben geböt, Mar. 24. (M. Dut.) bi den here die mi ghebôt (Gramm. 4, 134), die mi ghwrochte, Elegast 345. 451. 996. qui tot a a baillier (oversee), Berte 35. qui tot a a garder, Berte 7. que totz nos a jutgier, Ferabr. 308. 694. 1727. the man-cunnies forwardôt, Hel. 152, 5. qui sor tos homes puet et vaut, Méon 4, 5. dominus qui omnia potest, Docum. of 1264 in Wenk 3, no. 151. wider den nieman vermac, A. Heirn. 1355. der aller wunder hât gewalt, Parz. 43, 9. der git unde nimt (gives and takes), Parz. 7 9. der weinen und lachen geschuof, Wh. 258, 19. der beidiu krumpe unde sleht gescuof (both crooked and plain), Parz. 264, 25. der ane sihet alle getougen (secrets), Diut. 3, 52. der durch elliu herzen siht, Frld. 355. der in diu herze siht, Wh. 30, 29. der ie daz guote geriet (aye the good devised), Greg. 2993. ther suntílôso man (sinless), O. iii. 21, 4. dem nie voller genâden zeran (tear, waste), Er. 2490. qui onques ne menti (nunquam mentitus), Berte 82. 96. 120. 146. Méon 3, 8. icil dieu qui ne ment, et qui fist tot quanque mer serre, Ren. 19338. er mik skôp ok öllu reðr, Formm. sóg. 1, 3. så er öllu reðr, ibid. 8, 107. er sólina hefði skapat, ibid. 1, 242. höt à þann sem sólina skapaði, Landn. p. 139. 

If, in some of the preceding names, epithets and phrases descriptive of God, unmistakable traces of Heathenism predominate, while others have barely an inkling of it, the following expressions are still more indisputably connected with the heathen way of thinking.

In the Norse mythology, the notion of a Deus, Divus, if not of the uppermost and eldest, yet of a secondary rank, which succeeded to power later, is expressed by the word \textit{ás,} pl. \textit{æsir} (see Suppl.). \textit{Landás} (Egilss. pp. 365-6) is patrimon numen, and by it Thor, the chief god of the North, is designated, though \textit{ás} and \textit{allmiðtki ás} is given to Oðinn (Landn. 4, 7). \textit{ásmegin} is divine power: tha vex
honum âsmegi'n halfu, Sn. 26. fœraz i âsmegi'n, Sn. 65. But the name must at one time have been universal, extending over Upper Germany and Saxony, under such forms as: Goth. OHG. âns, pl. anseis, cust, AS. ās, pl. ās (conf. our gans, with ON. gâs, pl. gœss, AS. gœs, pl. gês; and hôse = hansa). It continued to form a part of proper names: Goth. Ansila, OHG. Anso; the OHG. Anshelm, Anshilt, Anspald, Ansnöt correspond in sense to Cotahelm, Cotahilt, &c.; AS. Osweald, Oslâf, Osdæg, Osrêd; ON. Asbiörn,1 Asdis, Asgautr, Aslaug, Asmundr, &c.— Now in Ulphilas Lu. 2, 41-2, âns denotes a beam, δοκός, which is also one meaning of the ON. ās, whether because the mighty gods were thought of as joist, rafter and ceiling of the sky, or that the notions of jugum and mountain-ridge were associated with them, for ās is especially used of jugum terre, mountain-ridge, Dan. bierg-aas (dettiâs = sliding beam, portcullis, Landn. 3, 17). But here we have some other striking passages and proofs to weigh. An AS. poem couples together ‘ēsa gescot’ and ‘ylla gescot,’ the shots of anses and of elves, jaculum divorum et geniorum, just as the Edda does æsir and álmar, Sæm. 3b 71a 82a 83b. Jornandes says, cap. 13: Tum Gothi, magna potiti per loca victoria, jam proceres suos quasi qui fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed semideos, id est anses (which would be anseis) vocavere. What can be plainer? The Norse æsir in like manner merge into the race of heroes, and at much the same distance from an elder dynasty of gods whom they have dethroned. And here the well-known statement of Suetonius and Hesychius,2 that the Etruscans called the gods āsares or āsi, may fairly be called to mind, without actually maintaining the affinity of the Etruscan or Tyrrenian race with the ancient German, striking as is the likeness between τυρρηνός, τυρσηνός and the ON. ãurs, OHG. durs.3

The significance of this analogy, however, is heightened, when

1 Ursus divinus, Asbirna (ursa divina), for which the Waltharius has the hybrid Ospirn, prop. Ansprin; conf. Reinh. fuchs p. cexev. For Asketill, Osectyl, see end of ch. III.
3 Unfortunately ãurs is a giant, and durs a demon, which, if they have anything to do with the τυρσηνοί, would rather imply that these were a hostile and dreaded people.—Trans.
we observe that the Etruscan religion, and perhaps also the Roman and the Greek, supposed a circle of *twelve* superior beings closely bound together and known by the name of *diù consentes* or *complices* (see Suppl.), exactly as the Edda uses the expressions *höpt* and *bönd*, literally meaning vincula, for those high numina (Sæm. 24\(^a\), 89\(^b\), Sn. 176, 204), and also the sing. *hapt* and *band* for an individual god (Sæm. 93\(^b\)). Though *haptbandun* in the Merseburg poem cannot with certainty be taken to mean the same thing (the compound seems here to denote mere bodily chains), it is possible that *deus* and *δίος* are referable to *δέω* I bind; that same 'ans' a yoke, is the same thing as the 'brace and band' of all things; neither can we disregard the fact that *twelve* is likewise the number of the Norse æsir; conf. Sæm. 3\(^b\): 'æsir or þvi liði' of the set, kindred.

Some other appellations may be added in support. In the earliest period of our language, the neut. *ragin* meant consilium. Now the plural of this, as used in the Edda, denotes in a special manner the plurality of the gods (see Suppl.). *Regin* are the powers that consult together, and direct the world; and the expressions *blið regin*,\(^1\) *holl regin* (kind, merciful gods), *uppregin*, *ginregin* (supercilious potestates) have entirely this technical meaning. *Ragnar-vaðr* (Goth. raginê riqvis? dimness, darkness of gods) signifies the end of the world, the setting of the divine luminaries. Sæm. 89\(^b\) has "rògnir ok regin" coupled together, rògnir (cf. 196\(^a\)) being used to distinguish the individual *raginceis* (raguneis?), masc. These ON. regin would be Goth. regina, as the höpt and bönd are Gothic hafta and banda, all neut.—The same heathen conception peeps out in the OS. *veganiscapu*, *veganogiscapu*, Hel. 79, 13, 103, 3, equivalent to fatum, destiny, the decree and counsel of the gods, and synonymous with *wurdgiscapu*, Hel. 103, 7, from *wurd*, fatum. And again in *metologiscapu*, Hel. 66, 19, 147, 11. We have seen that *metod* likewise is a name for the Supreme Being, which the christian poet of the Heliand has ventured to retain from the

\(^1\) The blithe, happy gods; when people stepped along in stately gorgeous attire, men thought that gods had appeared: *menn hagðu at æsir veri þar komnum,* Landn. 3, 10. The Völs. saga c. 26 says of Sigurð: 'þat hygg ec at her þari einum of godwum,' I think that here rides one of the gods. So in Parz. 36, 18: 'aldà wip und man verjach, si ne gesachen nic helt so wunnelech, ir yote im solten sin gelich' (declared, they saw never a hero so winsome, their gods must be like him). The more reason is there for my note on Siegfried (ch. XV), of whom the Nib. 84, 4 says: der dort so hérlichen gát? (see Suppl.).
heathen poetry. But these gen. plurals regano, metodo again point to the plurality of the binding gods.

The collection of Augustine's letters contains (cap. 178), in the altercatio with Pascentius, a Gothic or perhaps a Vandal formula sihora armen, the meaning of which is simply κύριε ἐλένασων.\(^1\) Even if it be an interpolation, and written in the fifth or sixth century, instead of at the end of the fourth, it is nevertheless remarkable that sihora should be employed in it for God and Lord. Ulphilas would have said: frinja armai. The inf. armen, if not a mistake for arme, might do duty as an imperative; at the same time there is a Finn. and Esth. word armo signifying gratia, misericordia. But sihora, it seems, can only be explained as Teutonic, and must have been already in heathen times an epithet of God derived from his victorious might (see Suppl.). Goth. sigis, ON. sigr, OHG. sigu, AS. sige victoria, triumphus. Oðinn is styled sigrygd, sigýr, sigfōdrur; and the Christian poets transfer to God sigdrôhtin, Hel. 47, 13. 114, 19. 125,6. sigdrôhten, Cædm. 33, 21. 48, 20. sigmetod, Beow. 3544. vīgsigor, Beow. 3108.\(^2\) elsewhere sigoradrôhten, sigorafreda, sigorawcaldend, sigoragod, sigoræcning. It is even possible that from that ancient sihora sprang the title sira, sire still current in Teutonic and Romance languages.\(^3\)

The gods being represented as superi and uppregin, as dwelling on high, in the sky, uphimin, up on the mountain height (ās, ans), it was natural that individual gods should have certain particular mountains and abodes assigned them.

Thus, from a mere consideration of the general names for God and gods, we have obtained results which compel us to accept an intimate connexion between expressions in our language and conceptions proper to our heathenism. The 'me and God,' the gracious and the angry God, the frōho (lord) and the father, the beholding, creating, measuring, casting, the images of ans, fastening, band,

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1 The Tchereimisses also pray 'juma sirlaga,' and the Tchuvashes 'tora sirlag,' i.e., God have mercy; G. J. Müllers saul. russ. gesch. 2, 339. The Morduins say when it thunders 'pashangini Porguini pas,' have mercy, god Porguini; Georgi description 1, 64.

2 den sig hât got in siner hant, MS. 2,16.

3 Gott. anz. 1833, pp. 471-2. Diez however raises doubts, Roman. gram. 1, 41.
and ragin, all lead both individually, and with all the more weight collectively, into the path to be trod. I shall take up all the threads again, but I wish first to determine the nature and bearings of the cultus.
CHAPTER III.

WORSHIP.

The simplest actions by which man expressed his reverence1 for the gods (see Suppl.), and kept up a permanent connexion with them, were Prayer and Sacrifice. Sacrifice is a prayer offered up with gifts. And wherever there was occasion for prayer, there was also for sacrifice (see Suppl.).

Prayer.—When we consider the word employed by Ulphilas to express adoration, we at once come upon a correspondence with the Norse phraseology again. For προσκυνεῖν the Goth. equivalent is inveita, inváit, invitum, Matt. 8, 2. 9, 18. Mk. 5, 6. 15, 19. Lu. 4, 7-8. John 9, 38. 12, 20. 1 Cor. 14, 25; and once for ἀπαίζομαι, Mk. 9, 15 (see Suppl.). Whether in using this word the exact sense of προσκύνησις was caught, may be doubted, if only because it is invariably followed by an acc., instead of the Greek dat. In Mod. Greek popular songs, προσκυνεῖν is used of a vanquished enemy’s act of falling to the ground in token of surrender. We do not know by what gesture inveitan was accompanied, whether a bowing of the head, a motion of the hand, or a bending of the knee. As we read, 1 Cor. 14, 25: drusands ana andaveizn (=antlitz), inveitě guď; a suppliant prostration like προσκύνησις is not at variance with the sense of the word. An OS. giwitan, AS. gewitan, means abire; could inveitan also have signified merely going up to, approaching? Paul. Diac. 1, 8 twice uses accedere. Fraveitan is vindicare. Now let us compare the ON. vīta inclinare,2 which Biörn quotes under veit, and spells, erroneously, I

1 Verehrung, O.H.G. éra, Goth. prob. ãiza. The O.H.G. érón is not merely our ehren, to honour, but also verehren, revereri (as reverentia is adoration, cultus); A.S. wære, O.S. gewæþon. All that comes from the gods or concerns them is holy, for which the oldest Teutonic word is Goth. wīh, O.H.G. wih; but only a few of the O.H.G. documents use this word, the rest preferring heiλac, O.S. has only héλag, A.S. hālig, O.N. hælgr. On the connexion of wīh with the subst. wīh, more hereafter. Frón denotes holy in the sense of dominicus.

2 Cleasby-Vigfusson gives no meaning like inclinare, either under vīta ‘to fine,’ or under vīta ‘to wit.’—TRANS.
think, vita. From it is derived veita (Goth. váitjan ?); veita heîdr, honorem peragere; veita tiôir, sacra peragere; veitsla, epulum, Goth. váitislô ?\(^1\)

The Goth. bida preces, bidjan precari, rogare, orare, are used both in a secular and a spiritual sense. The same with OHG. pêta and pîltan; but from pêta is derived a pêlônadorare, construed with acc. of the person whom: O.i. 17, 62. ii. 14, 63. nidarfallan joh mîh bêlôn, O. ii. 4, 86-9. 97. iii. 11, 25. T. 46, 2. 60, 1. pê tôta inan, Diut. 1, 513\(^4\). But bêlôn can also express a spiritual orare, T. 34, 1, 2, 3. bêlo-man cultores, O. II. 14, 68. In MHG. I find bêlen always followed by the prep. an (see Suppl.): bêten an diu abgot, Barl. 72, 4. an ein bile bêten, ibid. 98, 15. sô inuoz si iemer mê nách gote sin min anebêt, she must after God be my (object of) adoration, Ben. 146. Our bitten ask, beten pray, anbeten adore, are distinct from one another, as bitte request is from gebet prayer. The OS. bêlôn is not followed by acc., but by prep. te : bêlôn te minun barna, Hel. 33, 7. 8 ; and this of itself would suggest what I conjectured in my Gramm. 2, 25, that bidjan originally contained the physical notion of jacere, prosterni, which again is the only explanation of Goth. badi klîndîov a bed, and also of the old badu, AS. beado = caedes, strages.\(^2\)—The AS. New Test. translates adorare by ge-câô-medan, i.e., to humble oneself. The MHG. flehen, when it signifies supplicare, governs the dat.: gote flehen, Aegid. 30. den goten vlêhen, Parz. 21, 6. Wh. 126, 30. Tîrl. Wh. 71\(^5\); but in the sense of demulcere, solari, the acc., Parz. 119, 23. 421, 25. Nib. 499, 8 (see Suppl.).\(^3\) It is the Goth plâihan, fovere, consolari. An OHG. flehôn vovere I only know from N. cap. 8, Bth. 178, and he spells it flehôn: ten (acc. quem) wir flehoton. We say ' zu gott flehen,' but ' gott anflehen.'—The Goth. aîhtrôn pôrosèîîxèstbaî, pôrosaitêîn expresses begging rather than asking or praying. The OHG. diçcan, OS., thiggian, is both precari and impetrare, while AS. piggan, ON., piggaî, is invariably

\(^1\) Bopp, Comp. gran. p. 128, identifies inveita with the Zend nivâcôthayâmi invoco.

\(^2\) What was the physical meaning of the Slav. moliti rogare, molitise orare, Boh. modlíti se, Pol. modliè sièf? The Sloven. moliti still means porrigere, conf. Lith. meldziu rogo, inf. melsti, and malda oratio. Pruss. madla, conf. Goth. maîljan loqui, maîleins loquela, which is next door to oratio.

\(^3\) 1w. 3315 vlégete got; but in the oldest MS. vlêchete gote.
impetrare, accipere, so that asking has passed over into effectual asking, getting (see Suppl.).

Another expression for prayer is peculiar to the Norse and AS. dialects, and foreign to all the rest: ON. bón or bon, Swed. Dan. bön, AS. bén, gen. bene f., Cædm. 152, 26, in Chaucer bone, Engl. boon; from it, bèna supplex, bènsian supplicare. Lastly the Icel. Swed. dyrka, Dan. dyrke, which like the Lat. colere is used alike of worship and of tillage, seems to be a recent upstart, unknown to the ON. language.

On the form and manner of heathen prayer we lack information; I merely conjecture that it was accompanied by a looking up to heaven, bending of the body (of which bidjan gave a hint), folding of hands, bowing of knees, uncovering of the head. These gestures grow out of a crude childlike notion of antiquity, that the human suppliant presents and submits himself to the mighty god, his conqueror, as a defenceless victim (see Suppl.). Precari deos culumque suspicere is attested by Tacitus himself, Germ. 10. Genuflectere is in Gothic knussjan, the supplicare of the Romans was flexo corpore adorare. Falling down and bowing were customs of the christians too; thus in Hel. 47, 6. 48, 16. 144, 24 we have: te bedu hnigan. 58, 12: te drohtine hnigan. 176, 8: te bedu fullan. 145, 3: gilmeg an kniobeda. In the Sólarlið is the remarkable expression: henni ec laut, to her (the sun) I bowed, Sæm. 126\(^a\); from lúa inclinare. falla á knē ok lúta, Vikl. saga cap. 6. nu strauk kongsdöttir sinn legg, ok maelti, ok sér í loptið upp, (stroked her leg, and spoke, and looks up to the sky), Vikl. saga cap. 61. So the saga of St. Olaf tells how the men bowed before the statue of Thor, lutu þvi skrimslí, Forfrm. sög. 4, 247. fell til íardar fyrrir likneski (fell to earth before the likeness). Forfrm. sög. 2, 108. The Langobards are stated in the Dial. Gregorii M. 3, 28 to have adored submissis cervicibus a divinely honoured goat's head. In the Middle Ages people continued to bow to lifeless objects, by way of blessing them, such as a loved country, the road they had traversed, or the day.\(^1\) Latin writers of the time, as Lambert, express urgent entreaty by pedibus provolvi; the attitude was used not only to

\(^1\) Dem stige nigen, Iw. 5837. dem wege nigen, Parz. 375, 26. dem lunde nigen, Trist. 11532. nigen in daz lant, Widal. 4018. nigen in eliu lant, Iw. 7755. in die wert nigen, Fraænd. 163, 10. den stigen und wegen segen tuon, Iw. 257 (see Suppl.).
God, but to all whom one wished to honour: neig im ūf den fuoz, Morolt 41b. hie viel sie ūf sinen vuoz, Iv. 8130. ouch nige ich ir unz ūf den fuoz, MS. 1, 155a. valle für si (fall before her), und nige ūf ir fuoz, MS. 1, 54a. buten sich (bowed) weinende ūf sinen vuoz, Greg. 355. neig im nider ūf die hant, Dietr. 55b. These passages show that people fell before the feet, and at the feet, of him who was to be reverenced: wilt fallan te minun fōtun, bedōs te minun barma, Hel. 33, 7. sich bōt ze tal (bowed to the ground) gein sinen füezen nieder, Wh. 463, 21 An O. Boh. song has: ‘sie klaneti bohu,’ to bow before God, Königinh. hs. 72; but the same has also the un-Teutonic ‘se bītī w čelo přede bohy,’ to beat one’s brow before God.

Uncovering the head (see Suppl.) certainly was from of old a token of respect with our ancestors, which, like bowing, was shown to deity as well as to kings and chiefs. Perhaps the priests, at least those of the Goths, formed an exception to this, as their name pileati is thus accounted for by Jornandes, quia opertis capitis tians litabant, while the rest of the people stood uncovered. In a survival of heathenish harvest-customs we shall find this uncovering further established, ch. VII. In Nicolai Magni de Göw registrum superstitionum (of 1415) it is said: Insuper hodie inveniuntur homines, qui cum noviluniun primo viderint flecis genibus adorant vel deposito caputio vel pilco, inclinato capite honorant alloquendo et suscipiendo.3 An AS. legend of Cùberht relates how that saint was wont to go down to the sea at


2 The tcelo-bitnaya, beating of the forehead in presenting a petition, was prohibited in Russia by Catherine II. Conf. pronis vultibus adorare, Helmold 1, 38.

3 What else I have collected about this practice, may be inserted here: elevato a capite pilco alloquitur seniorem, Dietm. Merseb. p. 824 (an. 1012). subdata cyclare surgens inclinat honeste, Ruoldleib 2, 93. Odofredus in 1. secundo loco digest. de postulando: Or signori, hic colligimus argumentum, quod aliquis quando veniet coram magistratun debet ei revereri, quod est contra Ferrarienses, qui, si essent corum Deo, non extraherent sibi capellum vel birretum de capite, nec flexis genibus postularent. Pilleus in capite est, Isengrimus 1139. oster la chape (in saluting). Meon 4, 261. gelippift den huot, Ms H. 3, 330. sinen huot er abenum, hiemit eret er in alsō, Wigal. 1436. er zōch durch sin hübscheit den huot gezogenlichen abe, Troj. 1775. dō stauent er ūf geswinde
night, and standing up to his neck in the briny breakers, to sing his prayers, and afterwards to kneel down on the shingles, with palms stretched out to the firmament.\(^1\) Lifting up and folding of the hands (see Suppl.) was also practised to a master, particularly to a feudal lord. In Ls. 3, 78 we have 'bat mit zertānen armen,' prayed with outspread arms. The Old Bavarian stapfšakēn (denial of indebtedness) was accompanied by elevation of the hands, R.A. 927 (see Suppl.). It is not impossible that the christian converts retained some heathen customs in praying. In a manuscript, probably of the 12th century, the prayers are to be accompanied by some curious actions: só miz (measure) den ubir dīn herza in modum crucis, unde von dem brustlešile zuo demo nabile, unde miz denne von eime rippe unz an daz andire, unde sprich alsus. Again: só miz denne die rehtun hant von deme lengistin vingire unz an daz resti (wrist), unde miz denne von deme dūmin zuo deme minnisten vingire. One prayer was called 'der vane (flag) des almehtigin gotis'; nine women are to read it nine Sundays, 'sō ez morginet'; the ninth has to read the psalm Domini est terra, in such a posture 'daz ir lib niet ruore die erde, wan die ellebogin unde diu chinic,' that her body touch not the ground, except at the elbows and knees; the others are all to stand till the lighted candle has burnt out; Diut. 2, 292-3.

We cannot now attach any definite meaning to the Gothic aviliudōn evxariateiv; it is formed from aviliusd xāris, which resembles an O. Sax. alat, olat gratiae; does it contain liuð cantus, and was there moreover something heathenish about it? (See Suppl.) The old forms of prayer deserve more careful collecting; the Norse, which invoke the help of the gods, mostly contain the...

\(^1\) Was gewunud þat he wolde gán on niht tó sé, and standan on þam sealtum brìmē, ðô his swaran, singende his gebed, and síðan his eneown on þam eosis gebyge, ástrehtum handbredum tó heofenlicium rodere; Thorpe's analecta, pp. 76-7. homil. 2. 138. [I have thought it but fair to rescue the saint from a perilous position in which the German had inadvertently placed him by making him "wade into the sea up to his neck, and kneel down to sing his prayers."—TRANS.]—In the O.Fr. jeu de saint Nicolas, Tervagant has to be approached on bare elbows and knees; Legrand fabl. 1, 343.
verb *duga* with the sense propitium esse: *bíd* ec Ottari öll göð *duga* (I Ot. pray all, &c.), Sæm. 120b. *bídja þá disir duga,* Sæm. 195a. *Duga* means to help, conf. Gramm. 4, 687. There is beauty in the ON. prayer: *bídjom herjafóðr í hugom sitja* (rogemus deum in animis sedere nostris), Sæm. 113m, just as Christians pray the Holy Ghost to descend: *in herzen unsén sázi,* O. iv. 5, 30 (see Suppl.).

Christians at prayer or confession looked toward the East, and lifted up their arms (Bingham lib. xi. cap. 7, ed. hal. 3, 273); and so we read in the Kristinbalkr of the old Gulathing law: ‘*ver skulum lúta austr,* oc *bídja til ens helga Krists or ok friðar,*’ we must bow east, and pray the holy Christ for plenty and peace (conf. Syntagma de baptismo p. 65); in the Waltharius 1159: *contra orientalem prostratus corpore partem precatur;* in AS. formulas: *edstiveward ic* stande; and in Troj. 9298. 9642: *kèret iuch gèn òrient.* The heathens, on the contrary, in praying and sacrificing, looked Northwards: *horfa (turn) í norðr,* Formm. sog. 11, 134. *leit* (looked) í *norðr,* Sæm. 94a. beten gegen mitternacht, Keisersperg omeiss 49b. And the North was looked upon by the christians as the unblessed heathen quarter, on which I have given details in RA. 808; it was unlucky to make a throw toward the north, RA. 57; in the Lombard boundary-treaties the northern tract is styled ‘nulla ora,’ RA. 544. These opposite views must serve to explain a passage in the Roman de Renart, where the fox prays *christianly,* and the wolf *heathenly,* Reinh. fuchs p. xli.μ

As the expressions for asking and for obtaining, pp. 30, 31, are identical, a prayer was thought to be the more effectual, the more people it was uttered by:

`got enwolde so manegem munde
sín genâde niht versagen. Wigal. 4458.
die juncvrouwen bâten alle got,
nu ist er só gnædec unt só guot
unt só reine gemuot,
daz er niemer kunde
só manegem sùezen munde
betelichiu dinc versagen. Iw. 5351.`

1 At the abrenuntiatio one had to face the sunset, with wrinkled brow ( fronts caperata), expressing anger and hatred; but at the confession of faith, to face the sunrise, with eyes and hands raised to heaven; Bingham lib. xi. cap. 7. § 12.14. Conf. Joh. Olavii synt. de baptismo, pp. 64-5.
in (to the nuns) wären de münde só royt,
so wes si god báden,
of syt mit vlize dåden,
he ið in nummer inkünde
dem rösenröten münde
bedelicher dinge versagen.


SACRIFICE.—The word opfer, a sacrifice, was introduced into German by Christianity, being derived from the Lat. offerro. offerre. The AS. very properly has only the verb offrian and its derivative offung (oblatio). In OHG., from opfarón, oppforón there proceeded also a subst. opfar, MHG. ofherm and ofher; and from Germany the expression seems to have spread to neighbouring nations, ON. offr, Swed. Dan. offer, Lith. appiera, Lett. uppuris, Esth. okuer, Fin. uhri, Boh. oféra, Pol. ofíara, Sloven. offer. Everywhere the original heathen terms disappeared (see Suppl.).

The oldest term, and one universally spread, for the notion 'to worship (God) by sacrifice,' was blótan (we do not know if the Goth. pret. was báiblót or blótáida); I incline to attach to it the full sense of the Gk. θέυω (see Suppl.). Ulphilas saw as yet no objection to translating by it σέβεσθαι and λατρεύειν, Mk. 7, 7.

1 Mock-piety, hypocrisy, was branded in the Mid. Ages likewise, by strong phraseology: er wil gotë die füue abezzen (eat the feet off), Ls. 3, 421. Fragn. 28°. Mones anz. 3, 22. unserm Herrgott die füess abbeissen wollen (bite off), Schmeller 2, 231. den heiligen die füess abbeten wollen (pray the saints' feet off them), Simplic. 1, 4, 17. herrgottbeisser, Höfer 2, 48. herrgottfisler (fusler), Schmid 1, 93. heiligenfresserin, 10 chen, p. 62. So the Ital. mongiaparadiso, Fr. mangeur de crucifix, Boh. Pol. liciobrazek (licker of saints). A sham saint is indifferently termed kapeltrete, tempeltrete, tempelrinne, Mones scuasp. p. 123, 137 (see Suppl.).

2 Not from operari, which in that sense was unknown to the church, the Romance languages likewise using It. offerre, Sp. ofrecer, Fr. offrir, never operare, obrar, ouvrer; the same technical sense adheres to offerta, ofrenda, offrande. From obleta come the Sp. oblen, Fr. oublie, and perhaps the MHG. oblei, unless it is from eulogia, oblogia. From ofre and offerta are formed the Wel. offrif, Ir. offrion, offrion, offrail. Lastly, the derivation from ferre, offere, is confirmed by the German phrase ‘ein opfer bringen, darbringen.’

3 Ophar, opfer could hardly be the Goth. áibr δοροφ, in which neither the vowel nor the consonant agrees. The Wel. abert, Gael. ioldairt, Ir. iodbaire, (sacrificium) probably belong also to offerta.

4 When Sozomen hist. eccl. 6, 37 in a narrative of Athanaric uses προσκύνειν kai θέυω, the Gothic would be inveutan jah blótan.
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Lu. 2, 37; he construes it with an acc. of the person: blótan fráujan is to him simply Deum colere, with apparently no thought of a bloody sacrifice. For λατρεία Rom. 12, 1, he puts blótinansus, and for θεοσεβής John 9, 31 gnūðblóstreis. The latter presupposes a subst. blōstr (cultus, oblatio), of which the S is explained in Gramm. 2, 208. Usblótains (παράκλησις) 2 Cor. 8, 4 implies a verb usblótjan to implore. Cædmon uses the AS. blótan pret. blēt, onblótan pret. onblēt, of the Jewish sacrifice, and follows them up with acc. of thing and dat. of person: blótan sunu (filium sacrificare) 173, 5. onblēt pret lāc Gode (obtulit hostiam Deo) 177, 21. In Ælfræd’s Orosius we have the same blótan pret. blōtte. I derive from it blētian, later blessian, to bless. The OIG. pluozan, pret. pliez and pluozta, appears only in glosses, and renders libare, litare, victimare, immolare, Gl. Hrab. 959b 960a 966b 968b. Diut. 1, 245, 258a. No case-construction is found, but an acc. of the thing may be inferred from partic. kaplōzanu immolata. A subst. pluostar sacrificium, bluostar, Is. 382. Gl. emm. 411. Gl. jun. 209. T. 56, 4. 95, 1021; pluostarhās idolium, Gl. emm. 402. pluozhās fanum, pluozstrār sacrifcator, ibid. 405. It is plain that here the word has more of a heathen look, and was not at that time used of Christian worship; with the thing, the words for it soon die out. But its universal use in Norse heathendom leaves no doubt remaining, that it was equally in vogue among Goths, Alamanni, Saxons, before their conversion to christianity. The ON. verb blōta, pret. blēt and blōtaði, takes, like the Gothic, an acc. of the object worshipped; thus, Grágás 2, 170, in the formula of the trygdanál: svā viða sem (as widely as) kristnir menn kirkior sokía, heiðnir menn hōf blōta (fana colunt); and in the Edda: Thrór blōta, mik blōta, blōtaði Oðin. Sæm. 111a, 113b, 141a, 165a2; always the meaning is sacrificio venerari. So that in Goth. and ON. the verb brings out more the idea of the person, in OHG. and AS. more that of the thing. But even the O.Dan. version of the OT. uses blōthe immolare, blōthmáðh

1 The Gl. Hrab. 954a: bacha, plōstar, is incomplete; in Gl. Ker. 45. Diut. 1, 166a it stands: bacha sacrifivat, plōstar plōzit, or zēpar plōzit; so that it is meant to translate only the Lat. verb, not the subst. bacha (ζακχών). Or perhaps a better reading is ‘bachat’ for bacchatar, and the meaning is ‘non sacrificat’.

2 Landn. 1, 2: blōtaði hrafna þria, worshipped three ravens, who were going to show him the road; so, in Sæm. 141a, a bird demands that cows be sacrificed to him; the victim itself is ON. blōt, and we are told occasionally: fekk at blōti, ak blōti miklu, offered a sacrifice, a great sacrifice, Landn. 2, 29.
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libamina, blotelsä holocaustum, Molbech’s ed. pp. 171, 182, 215, 249. Also the O.Swed. Uplandslag, at the very beginning of the church-balkr has: ængin skal affguðum blotac, with dat. of person, implying an acc. of the thing.—The true derivation of the word I do not know. At all events it is not to be looked for in blōð sanguis, as the disagreeing consonants of the two Gothic words plainly show; equally divergent are the OHG. pluozan and pluot from one another; besides, the worship so designated was not necessarily bloody. A remarkable passage in the Livonian rhyming chronicle 4683 tells of the Sameits (Schamaits, Samogits):

ir bluotkiri der warf zuo hant
sin lóz nách ir alden site,
zuo hant er bluotete alles mite
ein quek.

Here, no doubt, an animal is sacrificed. I fancy the poet retained a term which had penetrated from Scandinavia to Lithuania without understanding it himself; for bluotkiri is merely the O.Swed. blótkarl, heathen priest; the term is foreign to the Lithuanian language.

A few more of these general terms for sacrifice must be added (see Suppl.).—OHG. antheiz (hostia, victima), Diut. 1, 240a, 246, 258, 278a; and as verbs, both anheizōn and inheizan (immolare), Diut. 1, 246, 258.—OHG. insakēn (litare), Gl. Hrab. 968b, insakēt pim (delibor), ibid. 959a, 960a, to which add the Bavarian stapfsakēn, RA. 927; just so the AS. onseegan, Cod. exon. 171, 32, 257, 23. onseegan tō tiebre (devote as sacrifice), Cædm. 172, 30. tiber onsaegde, 90, 29, 108, 17. tifer onseege, Ps. 65, 12. lāc onsege Cod. exon. 254, 19, 257, 29; lāc onsaegde, Cædm. 107, 21, 113, 15. Cod. exon. 168, 28. gild onsaegde, Cædm. 172, 11. and onsaegēnes (oblatio).—As inheizan and onseegan are formed with the prefix and-, so is apparently the OHG. inēihan pim (delibor), Hrab. 960b, which would yield a Goth. andúikan; it is

1 Letter for letter it agrees with φλυτός ω I light up, burn, which is also expressed in ἱερος and the Lat. sulpho; but, if the idea of burnt-offering was originally contained in blotam, it must have got obscured very early.

2 Even in MHG. the word seems to have already become extinct; it may survive still in terms referring to place, as blotzgraben, blotzergarten in Hessen, conf. the phrase ‘blotzen müssen,’ to have to fork out (sacrifice) money. An old knife or sword also is called blotz (see Suppl.).
from this OHG. ineilhan, which I think Graff 1, 128 has misread ireihan, that a later neilhan immortal, libare Graff (2, 1015) seems to have risen by aphaeresis (Gramm. 2, 810), as neben from ineben; conf. eichôn (dicare, vindicare), Graff 1, 127. To this place also belongs the OHG. pifelahan (libare, immortal), Diut. 1, 245. 248. —All this strictly denotes only the 'on-saying,' dedication, consecration of the offering; and it follows from the terminology at least that particular objects were selected beforehand for sacrifice.\(^1\) Thus a[n]theiz is elsewhere simply a vow, votum, solemn promise, intheizan vovere; hence also the AS. onseeghan has determinative substantives added to it.

In the same sense biudan (offerre) seems to have been in use very early, AS. lâc bebedan, Cædm. 173, 9. ON. bodn (oblatio). From this biudan I derive biuds (mensa), ON. bíoðr (discus), AS. beod (mensa, lanx), OHG. piot, from its having originally signified the holy table of offerings, the altar.

The Goth. fullafahjan (with dat. of pers.) prop. to please, give satisfaction, is used for λατρεύειν, Lu. 4, 8 (see Suppl.).—In Mk. 1, 44. Lu. 5, 14 albairean adferre, προσφέρειν, is used of sacrifice; and in AS. the subst. bring by itself means oblatio; so Wolfram in Parz. 45, 1 says: si bráhten opfer vil ir goten, and Fundgr. II. 25: ein lam zophphere bráhte.—It is remarkable that the Goth. saljan, which elsewhere is intransitive and means divertere, manere [put up, lodge, John 1, 39. 40] is in Lu. 1, 9. Mk. 14, 12. 1 Cor. 10, 20. 28 used transitively for θυμιάω and θεύειν, and hunsla saljan, John 16, 2 stands for λατρείαν προσφέρειν, which brings it up to the meaning of OHG. and AS. sellan, ON. selja, tradere, to hand over, possibly because the solemn presentation included a personal approach. The OHG. pigangan (obire) is occasionally applied to worship: pigane (ritus), Diut. 1, 272\(^a\). afgoda begangan, Lacomblet 1, 11.—Gildan, kiltan, among its many meanings, has also to do with worship and sacrifice; it was from the old sacrificial banquets that our guilds took their name. OS.waldandes (God's) gëld, Hel. 3, 11. 6. 1. that gëld læstian, Hel. 16, 5. AS. brynegild, holocaustum, Cædm. 175, 6, 177, 18. gild onseeghan, 172, 11. Abel's offering is a gild, 60, 5. deofolgild, idololatria, Beda 3, 30. Cod.

\(^1\) So the O.Boh. obiecati obiet (Königinh. hs. 72) is strictly opfer verheissen, to promise or devote an offering.
exon. 245, 29. 251, 24. hæðengield, Cod. exon. 243, 23. OHG. heidankelt sacrilegium: gote ir gelt bringent, Warn. 2906. offer=uncghelstar, sacrificium, Is. 395. dhiu blóstar irl ghelstro, Is. 382. —Peculiar to the AS. dialect is the general term líce, neut., often rendered more definite by verbs containing the notion of sacrifice: onblót þæt líce gode, Cædm. 177, 26. dryhtne líce brohton, 60, 2. líce bebeodan, 173, 9. líce onsægde, 107, 21. 113, 15. ongan líce, 90, 19 (see Suppl.). The word seems to be of the same root as the Goth. masc. láiks (saltatio), OHG. leih (ludus, modus), ON. leikr, and to have signified at first the dance and play that accompanied a sacrifice, then gradually the gift itself.\(^1\) That there was playing and singing at sacrifices is shown by the passages quoted further on, from Gregory's dialogues and Adam of Bremen.

The following expressions I regard as more definite (see Suppl.). Ulph. in Rom. 11, 16 renders ἀπαρχῇ, the offering of firstfruits at a sacrifice, delibatio, by utfarskæfts, which I derive not from skapan, but from skaban (shave) radere, since ἀπαρχαί were the first clippings of hair off the victim's forehead, Odyss. 14, 422. 3, 446. If we explain it from skapan, this word must have passed from its meaning of creare into that of facere, immolare.—The Goth. vitotl is lex, the OHG. vitólt (Graff 1, 1112. Fundgr. 1, 398) both lex and eucharistia, the Fris. vitat invariably the latter alone; just as zakón in Serv. has both meanings [but in Russ. only that of lex]. —Ulph. translates θυσία by Goth. hunsl, Matt. 9, 13. Mk. 9, 49. Lu. 2, 24; then again ἀπερεῖαν προσφέρειν in John 16, 2 by hunsla saljan, where the reference is expressly to killing. And θυσιαστήριον is called hunslastaðs, Matt. 5, 23-4. Lu. 1, 11. But the corresponding AS. hæsl, Engl. housel, allows of being applied to a Christian sacrament, and denotes the eucharist, hæselgong the partaking of it, hæselfat the sacred vessel of sacrifice; conf. Cædm. 260, 5 hæselfatu hālegu for the sacred vessels of Jerusalem. Likewise the ON. hússl in the Norw. and Swed. laws is used in a christian, never in a heathen sense. No hunsal is found in OHG.; neither can I guess the root of the word.—Twice, however, Ulph.

\(^1\) Serv. prilög offering, what is laid before, prilozhit to offer; Sloven. dar, darina, daritva = dobrov. [Russ. darú sviatýye = děbá ćepr means the eucharist.] The Sloven aldo, bloodless offering, seems not to be Slavic, it resembles Hung. aldocát. θυσία is rendered in O. Slav. by zhrtve (Kopitar's Glagol. 728), in Russ. by shertva [fr. zharit to roast, burn? or zhrati devour, zhēra glutton?]
renders ἀὐλοὶ by sángős, pl. sángodeis, Mk. 12, 33. Rom. 12, 1. I suppose he thought of the sacrifice as that of an animal slaughtered and boiled; the root seems to be sángan to seethe, and the ON. has sángdr a ram, probably because its flesh is boiled. In Eph. 5, 2 we have 'hunsl jah sángær' side by side, for προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν, and in Skeir. 37, 8 gasaljands sik hunsl jah sóaut.—The OHG. zépar is also a sacrifice in the sense of hostia, victimia, Hymn. 10, 2. 12, 2. 21, 5. Gl. Hrab. 965b. Diut. 240a 272a (see Suppl.). We could match it with a Goth. tibr, if we might venture on such an emendation of the unique áibr δῆρων, Matt. 5, 23 (conf. Gramm. 1, 63). My conjecture that our German ungeziefer (vermin), formerly ungeziber, and the O.Fr. atoivre also belong to this root, has good reasons in its favour. To this day in Franconia and Thuringia, ziefer, geziefer (insects) not only designate poultry, but sometimes include even goats and swine (Reinwald henneb. id. 1, 49. 2, 52, conf. Schm. 4, 228). What seems to make against my view is, that the A.S. tiber cannot even be restricted to animals at all, Cædm. 90, 29. 108, 5. 172, 31. 175, 3. 204, 6. 301, 1. sigetiber, 203, 12. sigortifer, Cod. exon. 257, 30; on the contrary, in 60, 9 it is Cain’s offering of grain that is called tiber, in distinction from Abel’s gield; and in Ælf. gl. 62b we find wintifer, libatio. But this might be a later confusion; or our ungeziefer may have extended to weeds, and consequently zépar itself would include anything fit for sacrifice in plants and trees. Meanwhile there is also to be considered the ON. tafna, victimina and esca ferarum.—Lastly, I will mention a term peculiar to the ON. language, and certainly heathen: forn, fem. victimina, hostina, fornina, immolare, or instead of it fornifera, conf. Formn. sög. 1, 97 2, 76. this fornra at the same time, according to Biörn, meaning elevare, tollere. AS. forn porcus, porcaster (?).

1 Rom. 12, 1. ‘present your bodies a living sángo’ was scarcely a happy combination, if sángos conveyed the notion of something boiled! Can nothing be made of sángan satiare soothe (Milton’s ‘the soothest shepherdl’ = sweetest, Goth. sótista)?

2 Grimm’s law of change in mutes has many exceptions: pater father feder vater (4 stages instead of 3, so mater); sessel a settle, and sattel a saddle, both from sit sat; treu true, but trinken drink, &c.—TRANS.

3 Cædm. 9, 2: þa seo tid gewät ofer tiber sceacan middangeardes. This passage, whose meaning Thorpe himself did not rightly seize, I understand thus: As time passed on over (God’s) gift of this earth. The inf. sceacan (elabi) depends on gewät; so in Judith anal. 140, 5: gewiton on fleám sceacan, began to flee; and still more freq. gewiton gangan.
If the ó did not hinder, we could identify it with the adj. forn vetus, forn sorcerer, fornasckia sorcery, and the OHG. furnic antiquus, priscus, canus (Graff 3, 628); and in particular, use the same glosses for the illustration of baccha pluostar. Forin would then be the term applied by the christians to heathen sacrifices of the former olden time, and that would easily glide into sorcery, nay, there would be an actual kinship conceivable between zépar and zovpar (zauber, magic), and so an additional link between the notions of sacrifice and sorcery, knowing as we do that the verbs garawan, wihan and perhaps zouwan [AS. gearwian to prepare, Goth. veihan to consecrate, and tajjan to bring about] are applicable to both, though our OHG. karo, karawi victima, Graff 4, 241 (Germ. gar, AS. gearw, yare) expresses no more than what is made ready, made holy, consecrated. We shall besides have to separate more exactly the ideas vow and sacrifice, Mid. Lat. votum and census, closely as they border on one another: the vow is, as it were, a private sacrifice.

Here then our ancient language had a variety of words at its command, and it may be supposed that they stood for different things; but the difficulty is, to unravel what the differences in the matter were.

Sacrifice rested on the supposition that human food is agreeable to the gods, that intercourse takes place between gods and men. The god is invited to eat his share of the sacrifice, and he really enjoys it. Not till later is a separate divine food placed before him (see Suppl.). The motive of sacrifices was everywhere the same: either to render thanks to the gods for their kindnesses, or to appease their anger; the gods were to be kept gracious, or to be made gracious again. Hence the two main kinds of sacrifice: thank-offerings and sin-offerings. When a meal was eaten, a head of

1 The Skr. kru, sacrifice, or accord. to Benfey 2, 307 process, comes from kti facere, and in Latin, facere (agnis, vitula, Virg. ecl. 3, 77) and operari were used of the sacred act of sacrifice; so in Grk, πείζεν = ἔρθεν, Beot. ἐρέδεν of offering the hecatomb, and ἐρόεις is ἔργεις, our wirken, work, ἐπιφρέεις Od. 17, 211. θεοί, πέμπειν, ὄρασι, Athenæus 6, 403, as ὄρας for θεοί, so ὄρας = θύσια. The Catholic priest also uses consaêcre, perficzere for consecrate (Cesar. bei-terbac. 9, 27); compare the αλητικ πλούσιον facere in Burcard of Worms 10, 16 and p. 1938. The Lat. agere signified the slaughterings of the victim.

2 Sünd-opfer, strictly, conciliatory offerings; but as these were generally identical with Sünd-opfer, sin-offerings, I have used the latter expression, as short and familiar.—Trans.
game killed, the enemy conquered (see Suppl.), a firstling of the cattle born, or grain harvested, the gift-bestowing god had a first right to a part of the food, drink, produce, the spoils of war or of the chase (the same idea on which tithes to the church were afterwards grounded). If on the contrary a famine, a failure of crops, a pestilence had set in among a people, they hastened to present propitiatory gifts (see Suppl.). These sin-offerings have by their nature an occasional and fitful character, while those performed to the propitious deity readily pass into periodically recurring festivals. There is a third species of sacrifice, by which one seeks to know the issue of an enterprise, and to secure the aid of the god to whom it is presented (see Suppl.). Divination however could also be practised without sacrifices. Besides these three, there were special sacrifices for particular occasions, such as coronations, births, weddings and funerals, which were also for the most part coupled with solemn banquets.

As the gods show favour more than anger, and as men are oftener cheerful than oppressed by their sins and errors, thank-offerings were the earliest and commonest, sin-offerings the more rare and impressive. Whatever in the world of plants can be laid before the gods is gay, innocent, but also less imposing and effective than an animal sacrifice. The streaming blood, the life spilt out seems to have a stronger binding and atoning power. Animal sacrifices are natural to the warrior, the hunter, the herdsman, while the husbandman will offer up grain and flowers.

The great anniversaries of the heathen coincide with popular assemblies and assizes. In the Ynglinga saga cap. 8 they are specified thus: þá skyldi blóta i mótí vetri (towards winter) til árs, enn at miðjum vetri blóta til gróðrar, it þriðja at sumri, þat var sigrblót (for victory). In the Olafs helga saga cap. 104 (Formm. sög. 4, 237): en þat er síðr þeirra (it is their custom) at hafa blót á haustum (autumn) ok fagna þa vetri, annat blót hafa þeir at miðjum vetri, en hit þriðja at sumri, þa fagna þeir sumari; conf. ed. holm, cap. 115 (see Suppl.). The Autumn sacrifice was offered to welcome the winter, and til árs (pro annone ubertate); the Midwinter sacrifice til gróðrar (pro feracitate); the Summer one to welcome the summer, and til sigs (pro victoria). Halfdan the Old

1 RA. 245. 745. 821-5.
held a great midwinter sacrifice for the long duration of his life and kingdom, Sn. 190. But the great general blót held at Upsal every winter included sacrifices 'til års ok friðar ok sigs,' Formn. sög. 4, 154. The formula sometimes runs 'til árbótar' (year's increase), or 'til friðar ok vetrarrars göðs (good wintertime). In a striking passage of the Gutalagh, p. 108, the great national sacrifices are distinguished from the smaller offerings of cattle, food and drink: 'firi þann tima oe lengi eptir siðan troþu menn á hult oc á hauga, vi ok staf-garþa, oc á haiþin guþ blótþu þair synum oc dyðrum sinum, oc fíþþi miþ mati oc mungati, þat gierþu þair eptir vantro sinni. Land alt haiþi sir hoystu blótan miþ falki, ellar haiþi hugi þripinngr sir. En sméri þing haiþu mindri blótan med, fíþþi mati oc mungati, sum haita supnautar; þi et þair supþu allir saman.'

_Easter-fires, Mayday-fires, Midsummer-fires_, with their numerous ceremonies, carry us back to heathen sacrifices; especially such customs as rubbing the sacred flame, running through the glowing embers, throwing flowers into the fire, baking and distributing large loaves or cakes, and the circular dance. Dances passed into plays and dramatic representations (see ch. XIII, drawing the ship, ch. XXIII, and the witch-dances, ch. XXXIV). Afzelius 1, 3 describes a sacrificial play still performed in parts of Gothland, acted by young fellows in disguise, who blacken and rouge their faces (see ch. XVII, sub fine). One, wrapt in fur, sits in a chair as the _victim_, holding in his mouth a bunch of straw-stalks cut fine, which reach as far as his ears and have the appearance of sow-bristles: by this is meant the boar sacrificed at Yule, which in England is decked with laurel and rosemary (ch. X), just as the devil's offering is with rue, rosemary and orange (ch. XXXIII).—

The great sacrificial feast of the ancient Saxons was on Oct. 1, and is traced to a victory gained over the Thuringians in 534 (see ch. VI); in documents of the Mid. Ages this high festival still bears the name of the _gemeinwoche_ or common week (see ch. XIII, Zisa), Würdtevin dipl. magnunt. 1 praef. III-V. Scheffers Haltaus p. 142. conf. Höfers östr. wb. 1, 306. Another chronicle places it on Sept. 25 (Ecc. fr. or. 1, 59); Zisa's day was celebrated on Sept. 29, St. Michael's on the 28th; so that the holding of a _harvest-offering_ must be intended all through.—In addition to the great festivals, they also sacrificed on special occasions, particularly when famine or
disease was rife; sometimes for long life: 'blòta til långlifi,' Landn. 3, 4; or for favour (thockasaeld) with the people: 'Grimr, er blòtinn var dauðr (sacrificed when dead) für thokkasaeld, ok kallaðr kamban,' Landn. 1, 14. 3, 16. This epithet kamban must refer to the sacrifice of the dead man's body; I connect it with the OHG. pichimpida funus, Mid. Dut. kimban come, Diut. 2, 207a. conf. note to Andr. 4.

Human Sacrifices are from their nature and origin expiative; some great disaster, some heinous crime can only be purged and blotted out by human blood. With all nations of antiquity they were an old-established custom; the following evidences place it beyond a doubt for Germany (see Suppl.). Tac. Germ. 9: Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostis litare fas habent. Germ. 39: stato tempore in silvam coeunt, caesoque publice (in the people's name) homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Tac. Ann. 1, 61: lucis propinquis barbarae arear, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones maecedem. Tac. Ann. 13, 57: sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Cattis exitiosius fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo voto equi, viri, cuncta victa occidionem dantur. Isidori chron. Goth., aera 446: quorum (regum Gothorum) unus Radagaisus . . . Italiam belli feritate aggreditur, promittens sanguinem Christianorum diis suis litare, si vinceret. Jornandes cap. 5: quem Martem Gothi semper asperrima placavere cultura, nam victimae ejus mortes fuere caprorum, opinantes bellorum praesulem aptius humani sanguinis effusione placandum. Orosius 7, 37 of Radagaisus, whom he calls a Scythian, but makes him lead Gothis to Italy: qui (ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi generis) sanguinem diis suis propinave ducaverat.

2 Conf. Ces. de B. Gall. 6, 17 on the worship of Mars among the Gauls; and Procop. de B. Goth. 3, 14 on the Slavens and Antes: thev vn vgr ëva ton tìs àstropìs ðemomugìv òpàtòv kòron mnòv auòv ðerìzounòv éina, kai ðouvòv auòv ðvàs òvs kai ìrèia ðàpàsta. . . . òlà' épéidhìv autòv én pòsìn ðìs ðìs àvìntus éìpì, õ vòsò ðlòsìv õì õì ðòlaìvì ðìs ðìs sòtìmìv ántàs õì õì ðìs ðòsìs autòs ðìsìs õùsìsìa.
3 Of him Augustine says, in sermo 105, cap. 10: Radagayus rex Gothorum . . . Romae . . . Jori sacrificabat quotidie, multílabtútrque ubique, quod a sacrificiis non desisteret.
Sacramentum: Procopius de bello Goth. 2, 15 of the Thulites, i.e. Scandinavians:  
θύσαι δὲ ἐνδεικτικάτα ιερεία πάντα καὶ ἐναρξήσουσι. τῶν δὲ ιερείων σφίζι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπὸς ἑστιν, ὄντερ ἄν δοριλα-λωτὸν προήσαμεν πρὸς τὸν. τούτων γὰρ τῷ Ἀρεί θύσαιν, ἐπεὶ θεῶν αὐτῶν νομίζοντο μέγιστον εἶναι. Ibid. 2, 14, of the Heruli: πολύν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὀμιλοῦσαν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς Ἐρικειοι, δείκταν δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡσσίων ἱλασκεδαι ὀνοματε τοὺς ἑδοκες εἶναι. Ibid. 2, 25, of the already converted Franks at their passage of the Po: ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι, παίδις τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Ούρων, οὕτε ἐνταῦθα εὑρόν ἐρευνὸν τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀρχοθίνια τὸν πολέμον ἐρρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸς παλαιάς δόξης ἀφλισσον, θυσίαις τε κράσαινοι ἐκ νωπῶν καὶ ἄλλα ὀνόματα ἵπτοντες, ταὐτῇ τε τὰς μαυτείας ποιούμενοι. Sidonius Apollinaris 8, 6 of the Saxons: mos est remeaturs decimum quemque captorum per aequales et cruciaris poenas, plus ob hoc tristi quo superstitiosos ritum necare. Capitul. de partib. Saxon. 9: si quis hominem diabolo sacrificaverit et in hostiam, more paganorum, daemonibus obtulerit. Lex Frisionum, additio sap. tit. 42: qui funam effregereit . . . immolatur diis, quorum templo violavit; the law affected only the Frisians ‘trans Laubachi,’ who remained heathens longer. What Strabo relates of the Cimbri, and Dietmar of the Northmen, will be cited later. Epist. Bonif. 23 (ed. Würt.): hoc quoque inter alia crimina agi in partibus illis dixisti, quod quidam ex fidelibus ad immolandum paganis sua venundent mancipia; masters were allowed to sell slaves, and Christians sold them to heathens for sacrifice. The captive prince Graecus Avar de (a) Suevis peculis more litatus (ch. XIII, the goddess Zisa).  

1 Adam of Bremen de situ Daniae cap. 24, of the Lithuanians: dracones adorant cum volucribus, quibus etiam vivos litant homines, quos a mercatoribus emunt, diligenter omnino probatos, ne maculam in corpore habeant.  

2 Hence in our own folk-tales, the first to cross the bridge, the first to enter the new building or the country, pays with his life, which meant, falls a sacrifice. Jornandes cap. 25, of the Huns: ad Scythiam propter, et quantos-cunque prius in ingressu Scytharum habueru, litavere Victoriae.
taken, was supposed to bring luck. In folk-tales we find traces of
the immolation of children; they are killed as a cure for leprosy,
they are walled up in basements (ch. XXXV. XXXVI, end); and
a feature that particularly points to a primitive sacrificial rite is,
that toys and victuals are handed in to the child, while the roofing-in
is completed. Among the Greeks and Romans likewise the victims
fell amid noise and flute-playing, that their cries might be drowned,
and the tears of children are stifled with caresses, 'ne flebilis hostia
immoletur'. Extraordinary events might demand the death of
kings' sons and daughters, nay, of kings themselves. Thoro offers
up his son to the gods; Worm mon. dan. 285. King Oen the Old
sacrificed nine sons one after the other to Oðin for his long life;
Yngl. saga cap. 29. And the Swedes in a grievous famine, when
other great sacrifices proved unavailing, offered up their own king
Dómaldi; ibid. cap. 18.

Animal sacrifices were mainly thank-offerings, but sometimes
also expiatory, and as such they not seldom, by way of mitigation,
took the place of a previous human sacrifice. I will now quote the
evidences (see Suppl.). Herculem et Martem concessis animalibus
placant, Tac. Germ. 9; i.e., with animals suitable for the purpose
(Hist. 5, 4), 'concessum' meaning sacrum as against profanum;
and only those animals were suitable, whose flesh could be eaten
by men. It would have been unbecoming to offer food to the god,
which the sacrificer himself would have disdained. At the same
time these sacrifices appear to be also banquets; an appointed
portion of the slaughtered beast is placed before the god, the rest is
cut up, distributed and consumed in the assembly. The people
thus became partakers in the holy offering, and the god is regarded
as feasting with them at their meal (see Suppl.). At great sacri-
fices the kings were expected to taste each kind of food, and down
to late times the house-spirits and dwarfs had their portion set
aside for them by the superstitious people.—Quadraginta rustici a
Langobardis capiti carnes immolatitias comedere compellebantur,
Greg. M. dial. 3, 27; which means no more than that the heathen
Langobards permitted or expected the captive Christians to share
their sacrificial feast. These 'immolatitiae carnes' and 'hostiae im-

1 I do not know how compellere can be softened down to 'permitting or
expecting'.—Trans.
molatitiae, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt’ are also mentioned in Bonifaci epist. 25 and 55, ed. Würdtw.

In the earliest period, the *Horse* seems to have been the favourite animal for sacrifice; there is no doubt that before the introduction of Christianity its flesh was universally eaten. There was nothing in the ways of the heathen so offensive to the new converts, as their not giving up the slaughter of horses (*hrossa-slátr*) and the eating of horseflesh; conf. Nialss. cap. 106. The Christian Northmen reviled the Swedes as *hross-aturnar*; Formm. sög. 2, 309. Fagrsk. p. 63. King Hákon, whom his subjects suspected of Christianity, was called upon ‘at hann skyldi eta *hrossaslátr’; Saga Hák. göða cap. 18. From Tac. ann. 13, 57 we learn that the Her munduri sacrificed the *horses* of the defeated Catti. As late as the time of Boniface (Epist. ed. Würdtw. 25. 87 Serr. 121. 142),¹ the Thuringians are strictly enjoined to abstain from horseflesh. Agathias bears witness to the practice of the Alamanni: ἑπτοὺς τε καὶ βόσ, καὶ ἀλκα ἀττα μυρία καρατομοῦντες (beheading), ἑπιθειάζουσι, ed. bonn. 28, 5.—Here we must not overlook the cutting off of the head, which was not consumed with the rest, but consecrated by way of eminence to the god. When Cæcina, on approaching the scene of Varus’s overthrow, saw horses’ heads fastened to the stems of trees (equorum artus, simul *truncis arborum antefixa ora*, Tac. ann. 1, 61), these were no other than the Roman horses, which the Germans had seized in the battle and offered up to their gods² (see Suppl.). A similar ‘immolati diis *equi abeissum caput*’ meets us in Saxo gram. p. 75; in the North they fixed it on the neidstange (nióstöng, stake of envy) which gave the power to bewitch an enemy, Egils. p. 389. In a Hessian kindermärchen (no. 89) we have surviving, but no longer understood, a reminiscence

¹ Inter cetera *agrestem caballum* aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, plerosque et *domesticum*, hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps sinas. And . imprinis de volatilibus, id est, graculis et cornicularis atque eiconis, quae omnino cavendae sunt ab eis christianorurn, etiam et fabri et lepores et equi silvatici multo amplius vitandi. Agam, Hieronymus adv. Jov. lib. 2 (ed. basil. 1553. 2, 75). Sarrnatae, Quadi, Vandalii et innumerabiles aliae gentes equorum et vulpinum carnibus delectantur. Otto frising. 6, 10. audiat, quod Pecenati (the wild Poschenere, Nib. 1280, 2) et hi qui Falones vocantur (the Valwen, Nib. 1279, 2. Tit. 4907), crudis et immundis carnibus, utpote *equinis et calinis* usque Hodie vesuntur. Rol. 98, 20 of the heathen: sic *exzent* diu ros. Witches also are charged with eating horseflesh (see Suppl.).

² Also in that passage of Jornandes about Mars: huic *truncis* suspendebantur *exuviae*.
of the mysterious meaning of a suspended horse's head.\(^1\)—But on horse-sacrifices among the heathen Norse we have further information of peculiar value. The St. Olaf's saga, cap. 113 (ed. holm. 2, 181), says: þat fylgði ok þeirri sögn, at þar væri drepit naut ok hross til árbótar (followed the saying that there were slain neat and horse for harvest-boot). A tail-piece at the very end of the Hervararsaga mentions a similar sacrifice offered by the apostate Swedes at the election of king Svein (second half of 11th century): var þa framleidt hross eitt à þingit, ok höggvit i sundr, ok skip til áts, en riþuðu blöðinu blöttré; köstuðu þá allir Sviar kristni ok hòfst blót; then was led forward a horse into the Thing, and hewed in sunder, and divided for eating, and they reddened with the blood the blöt-tree, &c. Fornald. sóg. 1, 512. Dietmar of Merseburg's description of the great Norse (strictly Danish) sacrificial rite, which however was extinct a hundred years before his time, evidently contains circumstances exaggerated legendwise and distorted; he says 1, 9: Sed quia ego de hostiis (Northmannorum) mira audivi, haec indiscussa praeterire nolo. est unus in his partibus locus, caput istius regni, Lederun nomine, in pago qui Selon\(^2\) dicitur, ubi post novem annos mense Januario, post hoc tempus quo nos theophaniam domini celebramus, omnem conuenerunt, et ibi diis suis met lxxxx. et ix. homines, et totidem equos, cum canibus et gallis pro accipitribus oblatis, immolant, pro certo, ut praedixi, putantes hos eisdem erga inferos servituros, et commissa crimina apud eosdem placaturos. quam bene rex noster (Heinrich I. an. 931) fecit, qui eos a tam excecrando ritu prohibuit!—A grand festive sacrifice, coming once in nine years, and costing a considerable number of animals—in this there is nothing incredible. Just as the name hecatomb lived on, when there was nothing like that number sacrificed, so here the legend was likely to keep to a high-sounding number; the horror of the human victims perhaps it threw in bodily. But the reason alleged for the animal sacrifice is evidently wide of the mark; it mixes up what was done

\(^1\) Gregory the Great (epist. 7, 5) admonishes Branichild to take precautions with her Franks, 'ut de animalium capitibus sacrificiala sacrilega non exhibeant.'

\(^2\) Sélon for Sêlond, ON. Sælundr, afterwards Sioland, Seeland, i.e., Zealand. Léderum, the Sax. dat. of Lèdera, ON. Hleidra, afterwards Léthra, Leire; conf. Goth. hleipra tabernaculum.
at funerals with what was done for expiation. It was only the bodies of nobles and rich men that were followed in death by bondsmen and by domestic and hunting animals, so that they might have their services in the other world. Suppose 99 men, we will say prisoners of war, to have been sacrificed to the gods, the animals specified cannot have been intended to escort those enemies, nor yet for the use of the gods, to whom no one ever set apart and slaughtered horses or any beasts of the chase with a view to their making use of them. So whether the ambiguous *eisdem* refers to homines or diis (as eosdem just after stands for the latter), either way there is something inadmissible asserted. At the new year's festival I believe that of all the victims named the horses alone were sacrificed; men, hounds and cocks the legend has added on. How Dietmar's story looks by the side of Adam of Bremen's on the Upsal sacrifice, shall be considered on p. 53.

Among all animal sacrifices, that of the *horse* was preeminent and most solemn. Our ancestors have this in common with several Slavic and Finnish nations, with Persians and Indians: with all of them the horse passed for a specially sacred animal.

Sacifice of Oxen (see Suppl.). The passage from Agathias (*τπονος τε καὶ βόος*) proves the Alamannic custom, and that from the Olafssaga (*naut ok hross*) the Norse. A letter to Saint Boniface (Epist. 82, Würtdw.) speaks of ungodly priests 'qui *tauros et hircos diis paganorum inmolabunt.' And one from Gregory the Great ad Mellitum (Epist. 10, 76 and in Beda's hist. eccl. I, 30) affirms of the Angles: *boves* solent in sacrificio daemonum *multos* occidere.

1 With Siguðr's servants and hawks are burnt, *Sæm. 225b*; elsewhere horses and dogs as well, conf. RA. 344. Asvitius, morbo consumptus, cum *cane et equo* tereno mandatur antro; Saxo gram. p. 91, who misinterprets, as though the dead man fed upon them: *nee contentus equi vel camis esu*, p. 92.

2 'Pro accipitribus' means, that in default of hawks, cocks were used. Some have taken it, as though dogs and cocks were sacrificed to deified birds of prey. But the 'pro' is unmistakable.

3 Conf. Bopp's Nalas and Damajanti, p. 42, 268. The Hyperboreans sacrificed *asses* to Apollo; Pindar Pyth. 10. Callimach. fr. 187. Anton. Liberal. *metam. 20.* The same was done at Delphi; Bäckh corr. inscr. I, 807. 809. In a Mod. Greek poem ταδάφου, *λίκου καὶ ἀλατοῦς δεὶγμας* vv. 429-434, a similar offering seems to be spoken of; and Hagek's böhm. chron. p. 62 gives an instance among the Slavs. That, I suppose, is why the Silesians are called *ass-eaters* (*Zeitvertreiber* 1668, p. 153); and if the Göttingers receive the same nickname, these popular jokes must be very old in Germany itself (see Suppl.).
The *black ox* and *black cow*, which are not to be killed for the household (Superst. 887),—were they sacred sacrificial beasts? Val. Suplít, a free peasant on the Samland coast (Samogitia or Semi-galia), sacrificed a *black bull* with strange ceremonies.\(^1\) I will add a few examples from the Norse. During a famine in Sweden under king Dömald: \(\text{x}^\text{a}\) efldó (instituted) Svar blót stôr at Uppsólum, it fyrsta haust (autumn) blótnóu þeir yxnum; and the oxen proving insufficient, they gradually went up to higher and higher kinds; Yngl. saga, c. 18. \(\text{x}^\text{a}\) gekk hann til hofs (temple) Freyss, ok leiddi þagat *uxan gamlan* (an old ox), ok mælti svá: ‘Freyr, ná gef ek þer uxa þenna’; en uxanum brá svá við, at hann qvað við, ok fell niðr dauðr (dealt the ox such a blow, that he gave a groan and fell down dead); Islend. sög. 2, 348. conf. Vigaglumssaga, cap. 9. At a formal duel the victor slew a *bull* with the same weapons that had vanquished his foe: \(\text{x}^\text{a}\) var leiddr fram *gráða§yngr mikill* ok *gamall*, var þat kallat *blótnaut*, þat skyldi sá höggva er sigr hefði (then was led forth a bull mickle and old, it was called blót-neat, that should he hew who victory had), Egísl. p. 506. conf. Kormakssaga p. 214-8.—Sacrifice of *Cows*, Sæm. 141. Formnm. sög. 2, 138. —The Greek *ékátoróµßh* (as the name shows, 100 oxen) consisted at first of a large number of neat, but very soon of other beasts also. The Indians too had sacrifices of a hundred; Holzmann 3, 193.\(^2\)

**Boars, Pigs** (see Suppl.). In the Salic Law, tit. 2, a higher composition is set on the *majalis sacrivus* or *votivus* than on any other. This seems a relic of the ancient sacrifices of the heathen Franks; else why the term *sacrivus*? True, there is no vast difference between 700 and 600 den. (17 and 15 sol.); but of animals so set apart for holy use there must have been a great number in heathen times, so that the price per head did not need to be high. Probably they were selected immediately after birth, and marked, and then reared with the rest till the time of sacrificing.—In Frankish and Alamannic documents there often occurs the word *frisceging*, usually for *porcellus*, but sometimes for *agnus*, occasionally in the more limited sense of porcinus and agninus; the word may by

\(^{1}\) Berlin. monatschr. 1802. 8, 225. conf. Lucas David 1, 118-122.

\(^{2}\) In many districts of Germany and France, the butchers at a set time of the year lead through the streets a *fatted ox* decked with flowers and ribbons, accompanied by drum and fife, and collect drink-money. In Holland they call the ox *belder*, and hang gilded apples on his horns, while a butcher walks in front with the axe (beil). All this seems a relic of some old sacrificial rite.
its origin express recens natus, new-born, but it now lives only in the sense of porcellus (friscing). How are we to explain then, that this OHG. *friscing* in several writers translates precisely the Lat. *hostia, victima*, holocaustum (Notker cap. 8, ps. 15, 4. 26, 6, 33, 1. 39, 8. 41, 10. 43, 12. 22. 50, 21. 115, 17. *österfrising*, ps. 20, 3. lamp unkawemmit kakepan erdu friscing, *i.e.* lamb unblemished given to earth a sacrifice, Hymn 7, 10), except as a reminiscence of heathenism? The Jewish paschal lamb would not suggest it, for in frising the idea of porcellus was predominant.—In the North, the expiatory boar, *sönargöltr*, offered to Freyr, was a periodical sacrifice; and Sweden has continued down to modern times the practice of baking loaves and cakes on Yule-eve in the shape of a boar. This *golden-bristled* boar has left his track in inland Germany too. According to popular belief in Thuringia, whoever on Christmas eve abstains from all food till suppertime, will get sight of a young *golden pig, i.e.* in olden times it was brought up last at the evening banquet. A Lauterbach ordinance (weisthum) of 1589 decreed (3, 369), that unto a court holden the day of the Three-kings, therefore in Yule time, the holders of farm-steads (hübner) should furnish a clean *goldferch* (gold-hog) gelded while yet under milk; it was led round the benches, and no doubt slaughtered afterwards. So among the Welsh, the swine offered to the gods

2 Gutgesells beitr. zur gesch. des deutschen alterthums, Meiningen 1834, p. 138.
3 This passage from the Lauterb. ordn. I can now match by another from those of Vinkbuch in the Alamann country. It says 1, 436: the provost shall pick out in the convent a *swine worth 7 schilling pfennig*, and as soon as harvest begins, let it into the convent crewyard, where it must be allowed generous fare and free access to the corn; there it is left till the Thursday after St. Adolf's day, when it is slaughtered and divided, half to the farm-bailiff, half to the parish; on the same day there is also a distribution of bread and cheese to the parish.—The price of seven shillings fallies with the seven and a half fixed by the Lauterbach ordn., and is a high one, far exceeding the ordinary value (conf. Gött. anz. 1827, pp. 336-7); it was an arrangement long continued and often employed in these ordinances, and one well suited to a beast selected for sacrifice. The Lauterbach *goldferch*, like that of Vinkbuch, is doled out and consumed at a festive meal; the assize itself is named after it (3, 370); at Vinkbuch the heathenish name only has been forgotten or suppressed. Assuredly such assize-feasts were held in other parts of Germany too. St. Adolf was a bishop of Strasburg, his day falls on August 29 or 30 (Conr. v. Dankr. namenh. p. 117), and the assize therefore in the beginning of September. Swine are slaughtered for the household when winter sets in, in Nov. or Dec.; and as both of these by turns are called *schlachtmonat*, there might linger in
became one destined for the King's table. It is the 'swín ealgylden, eofor irenreheard' of the Anglo-Saxons, and of its exact relation to the worship of Frôho (Freyr) we have to treat more in detail by and by. The Greeks sacrificed swine to Dêmêtrē (Ceres), who as Nerthus stands very near to Niôrdr, Freyr and Freyja.

Rams, Goats (see Suppl.).—As friscing came to mean victimæ, so conversely a name for animal sacrifice, Goth. sæuðs, seems to have given rise to the ON. name for the animal itself, sæðr = wether. This species of sacrifice was therefore not rare, though it is seldom expressly mentioned, probably as being of small value. Only the saga Hâkonar göða cap. 16 informs us: þar var oþ dreppinn (killed) allskonar smali, ok svá hross. Smali (μῦλα) denotes principally sheep, also more generally the small beasts of the flock as opposed to oxen and horses, and as ‘alls konar (omnis generis)’ is here added, it seems to include goats. The sacrifice of he-goats (hircos) is spoken of in the above-quoted Epist. Bonif. 82. In the Swedish superstition, the water-sprite, before it will teach any one to play the harp, requires the sacrifice of a black lamb; Svenska folkv. 2, 128. Gregory the Great speaks once of she-goats being sacrificed; he says the Langobards offer to the devil, i.e., to one of their gods, caput capræ, hoc ei, per circuitum currentes, carmine nefandum dedicantes; Dial. 3, 28. This head of a she-goat (or he-goat ?) was reared aloft, and the people bowed before it. The hallowing of a he-goat among the ancient Prussians is well known (Luc. David 1, 87, 98). The Slavonian god Triglav is represented with three goats' heads (Hanka's zbjrka 23). If that Langobardic 'carmen nefandum' had been preserved, we could judge more exactly of the rite than from the report of the holy father, who viewed it with hostile eyes.

About other sacrificial beasts we cannot be certain, for of Dietmar's dogs and hawks and cocks, hardly any but the last are to be depended on (see Suppl.). But even then, what of domestic poultry, fowls, geese, pigeons? The dove was a Jewish and Christian

this also a reference to heathen sacrifices; an AS. name for Nov. is expressly blôt mônéo. The common man at his yearly slaughtering gets up a feast, and sends meat and sausages to his neighbours (conf. múčhī, Stalder 2, 525), which may be a survival of the common sacrifice and distribution of flesh. It is remarkable that in Servia too, at the solemn burning of the badnyak, which is exactly like the yule-log (eh. XX, Fires), a whole swine is roasted, and often a sucking pig along with it; Vuk's Montenegro, pp. 103-4.
sacrifice, the Greeks offered cocks to Asklepios, and in Touraine a white cock used to be sacrificed to St. Christopher for the cure of a bad finger (Henri Estienne cap. 38, 6). Of game, doubtless only those fit to eat were fit to sacrifice, stags, roes, wild boars, but never bears, wolves or foxes, who themselves possess a ghostly being, and receive a kind of worship. Yet one might suppose that for expiation unecatable beasts, equally with men, might be offered, just as slaves and also hounds and falcons followed the burnt body of their master. Here we must first of all place Adam of Bremen’s description (4, 27) of the great sacrifice at Upsala by the side of Dietmar’s account of that at Hlethra (see p. 48):—Solet quoque post novem annos communis omnium Sveoniarum provinciarum solennitas celebrari, ad quam nulli praestatur immunitas; reges et populi, omnes et singuli sua dona ad Ubsolam transmittunt, et, quod omni poena crudelius est, illi qui jam induerunt christianitatem ab illis ceremoniis se redimunt. Sacrificium itaque tale est: ex omni animante quod masculine est, novem capita offeruntur; quorum sanguine deos tales placari mos est. Corpora autem suspenduntur in lucum qui proximus est templo. Is enim lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singulae arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinæ credantur. Ibi etiam canes, qui pendent cum hominibus, quorum corpora mixtim suspensa narravit mihi quidam christianorum se septuaginta duo vidisse. Ceterum naeniae, quae in ejusmodi ritibus libatoriis fieri solent, multiplicies sunt et inhonestae, ideoque melius reticendae.—The number nine is prominent in this Swedish sacrificial feast, exactly as in the Danish; but here also all is conceived in the spirit of legend. First, the heads of victims seem the essential thing again, as among the Franks and Langobards; then the dogs come in support of those Hlethra ‘hounds and hawks,’ but at the same time remind us of the old judicial custom of hanging up wolves or dogs by the side of criminals (RA. 685-6). That only the male sex of every living creature is here to be sacrificed, is in striking accord with an episode in the Reinardus, which was composed less than a century after Adam, and in its groundwork might well be contemporary with him. At the wedding of a king, the males of all quadrupeds and birds were to have been slaughtered, but the cock and gander had made their escape. It looks to me like a legend of the olden time, which still circulated in the 11-12th centuries, and which even a nursery-tale (No. 27, the Town-
musicians) knows something of. Anyhow, in heathen times male animals seem to be in special demand for sacrifice. As for killing one of every species (and even Agathias's καὶ ἄλλα ἄρττα μυρία does not come up to that), it would be such a stupendous affair, that its actual execution could never have been conceivable; it can only have existed in popular tradition. It is something like the old Mirror of Saxony and that of Swabia assuring us that every living creature present at a deed of rapine, whether oxen, horses, cats, dogs, fowls, geese, swine or men, had to be beheaded, as well as the actual delinquent (in real fact, only when they were his property); or like the Edda relating how oaths were exacted of all animals and plants, and all beings were required to weep. The creatures belonging to a man, his domestic animals, have to suffer with him in case of cremation, sacrifice or punishment.

Next to the kind, stress was undoubtedly laid on the colour of the animal, white being considered the most favourable. White horses are often spoken of (Tac. Germ. 10. Weisth. 3, 301. 311. 831), even so far back as the Persians (Herod. 1, 189). The frising of sacrifice was probably of a spotless white; and in later law-records snow-white pigs are pronounced inviolable. The Votiaks sacrificed a red stallion, the Tcheremisses a white. When under the old German law dun or pied cattle were often required in payment of fines and tithes, this might have some connexion with sacrifices; for witchcraft also, animals of a particular hue were requisite. The water-sprite demanded a black lamb, and the huldres have a black lamb and black cat offered up to them (Asb. 1. 159). Saxo Gram. p. 16 says; rem divinam facere furvis hostiis; does that mean black beasts?—We may suppose that cattle were

1 Or will any one trace this incident in the Reynard to the words of the Vulgate in Matt. 22, 4: tauri mei et altilia occisa sunt, venite ad nuptias; which merely describe the preparations for the wedding-feast? Any hint about males is just what the passage lacks.

2 The Greeks offered male animals to gods, female to goddesses, II. 3, 103: a white male lamb to Helios (sun), a black eve lamb to Ge (earth). The Lithuanians sacrificed to their earthgod Zemiennik utriusque sexus domestica animalia; Haupt's zeitschr. 1, 141.

3 Reyscher and Wilda zeitschr. für deutsches recht 5, 17, 18.


5 RA. 587. 667. Weisth. 1, 498. 3, 430. White animals hateful to the gods; Tettau and Temme preuss. sag. 42.
garlanded and adorned for sacrifice. A passage in the Edda requires gold-horned cows, Sæm. 141^1; and in the village of Fienstädt in Mansfeld a coal-black ox with a white star and white feet, and a he-goat with gilded horns were imposed as dues. There are indications that the animals, before being slaughtered, were led round within the circle of the assembly—that is how I explain the leading round the benches, and per circuitum currere, pp. 51, 52—perhaps, as among the Greeks and Romans, to give them the appearance of going voluntarily to death (see Suppl.). Probably care had to be taken also that the victim should not have been used in the service of man, e.g., that the ox had never drawn plough or waggon. For such colts and bullocks are required in our ancient law-records at a formal transfer of land, or the ploughing to death of removers of landmarks.

On the actual procedure in a sacrifice, we have scarcely any information except from Norse authorities. While the animal laid down its life on the sacrificial stone, all the streaming blood (ON. hlaut) was caught either in a hollow dug for the purpose, or in vessels. With this gore they smeared the sacred vessels and utensils, and sprinkled the participants. Apparently divination was performed by means of the blood, perhaps a part of it was mixed with ale or mead, and drunk. In the North the blood-bowls (hlautbollar, blótbollar) do not seem to have been large; some nations had big cauldrons made for the purpose (see Suppl.). The Swedes were taunted by Olaf Tryggvason with sitting at home and licking their sacrificial pots, 'at sitja heima ok sleikja blót-bolla sına,' Forrn. sög. 2, 309. A cauldron of the Cimbri is noticed in Strabo 7, 2: ἔθος δὲ τοῦ Κύμβρων διηγοῦνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συστρατευούσαις παρηκολούθων προμάντεις ἱερείαι πολιότριχες, λευχείμονες, καρπασίνας ἑφαπτίδας ἐπιπεπορ-

^1 Neue mitth. des thür. sächs. vereins V. 2, 131, conf. II. 10, 292. Od. 3, 382;

^2 Oc eingu skyldi tortýna hvarki fέ ne mόnnum, nema síllst gengi í burt. Eyrb. saga, p. 10. And none should they kill (tortima?) neither beast nor man, unless of itself it ran a-tilt.

WORSHIP.

They say the Cimbri had this custom, that their women marching with them were accompanied by priestess-prophetesses, gray-haired, white-robed, with a linen scarf buckled over the shoulder, wearing a brazen girdle, and bare-footed; these met the prisoners in the camp, sword in hand, and having crowned them, led them to a brass basin as large as 30 amphorae (180 gals); and they had a ladder, which the priestess mounted, and standing over the basin, cut the throat of each as he was handed up. With the blood that gushed into the basin, they made a prophecy.1

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2 The trolds too, a kind of elves, have a copper kettle in the Norw. saga, Faye 11; the christians long believed in a Saturni dolium, and in a large cauldron in hell (chaudière, Mén 3, 281-5).

3 They also ate the strong broth and the fat swimming at the top. The heathen offer their king Hákon, on his refusing the flesh, drecka sódit and eta flottit; Saga Hákonar goda cap. 18. conf. Forum. sog. 10, 381.
his share home with him. That priests and people really ate the food, appears from a number of passages (conf. above, p. 46). The Capitularies 7, 405 adopt the statement in Epist. Bonif. cap. 25 (an. 732) of a Christian ' presbyter Jovi mactans, et immolatitias carnes vescens,' only altering it to ' diis mactanti, et immolatiis carnibus vescenti.' We may suppose that private persons were allowed to offer small gifts to the gods on particular occasions, and consume a part of them; this the Christians called 'more gentilium offerre, et ad honorem daemonum comedere,' Capit. de part. Sax. 20. It is likely also, that certain nobler parts of the animal were assigned to the gods, the head, liver, heart, tongue. The head and skin of slaughtered game were suspended on trees in honour of them (see Suppl.).

Whole burnt-offerings, where the animal was converted into ashes on the pile of wood, do not seem to have been in use. The Goth. allbrunsts Mk 12, 33 is made merely to translate the Gk. διδυκαίτωμα, so the OHG. albrandopher, N. ps. 64, 2; and the AS. brynegield onhredœ rommes blôðe, Cædm. 175, 6. 177, 18 is meant to express purely a burnt-offering in the Jewish sense.

Neither were incense-offerings used; the sweet incense of the christians was a new thing to the heathen. Ulphilas retains the Gk. thymia am Lu. 1, 10. 11; and our weih-rauch (holy-reck), O. Sax. wirôc Hel. 3, 22, and the ON. reylkelsi, Dan. rögelse are formed according to christian notions (see Suppl.).

While the sacrifice of a slain animal is more sociable, more universal, and is usually offered by the collective nation or community; fruit or flowers, milk or honey is what any household, or even an individual may give. These Fruit-offerings are therefore more solitary and paltry; history scarcely mentions them, but they have lingered the longer and more steadfastly in popular customs (see Suppl.).

When the husbandman cuts his corn, he leaves a clump of ears standing for the god who blessed the harvest, and he adorns it with.

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1 γλώσσα καὶ κολλία (tongue and entrails) ἱερεῖον διασπραγμένον, Plutarch, Phoc. 1. γλώσσας τόμον εἰς το κόκκον, ὁτι κύριος. Od. 3, 332. 341. conf. De lingue usu in sacrificis, Nitsch ad Hom. Od. 1, 207. In the folk-tales, whoever has to kill a man or beast, is told to bring in proof the tongue or heart, apparently as being eminent portions.

2 Slav. pišiti obièt, to kindle an offering, Königinh. hs. 98.
ribbons. To this day, at a fruit-gathering in Holstein, five or six apples are left hanging on each tree, and then the next crop will thrive. More striking examples of this custom will be given later, in treating of individual gods. But, just as tame and eatable animals were especially available for sacrifice, so are fruit-trees (frugiferae arbores, Tac. Germ. 10), and grains; and at a formal transfer of land, boughs covered with leaves, apples or nuts are used as earnest of the bargain. The MHG. poet (Fundgr. II, 25) describes Cain’s sacrifice in the words: ‘eine garb er nam, er wolte sie oppheren mit eheren joch mit agenen,’ a sheaf he took, he would offer it with ears and eke with spikes: a formula expressing at once the upper part or beard (arista), and the whole ear and stalk (spica) as well. Under this head we also put the crowning of the divine image, of a sacred tree or a sacrificed animal with foliage or flowers; not the faintest trace of this appears in the Norse sagas, and as little in our oldest documents. From later times and surviving folk-tales I can bring forward a few things. On Ascension day the girls in more than one part of Germany twine garlands of white and red flowers, and hang them up in the dwellingroom or over the cattle in the stable, where they remain till replaced by fresh ones the next year. At the village of Questenberg in the Harz, on the third day in Whitsuntide, the lads carry an oak up the castle-hill which overlooks the whole district, and, when they have set it upright, fasten to it a large garland of branches of trees plaited together, and as big as a cartwheel. They all shout ‘the queste (i.e. garland) hangs,’ and then they dance round the tree on the hill top; both tree and garland are renewed every year. Not far from the Meisner mountain in Hesse stands a high precipice with a cavern opening under it, which goes by the name of the Hollow Stone. Into this cavern every Easter Monday the youths and maidens of the neighbouring villages carry nosegays, and then draw some cooling water. No one will venture down, unless he has flowers with him. The lands in some Hessian townships have to pay a bunch of mayflowers (lilies of the valley) every year for rent. In all these examples, which can easily be multiplied, a heathen

1 Bragur VI. 1, 126.
2 Otmars volkssagen, pp. 128-9. What is told of the origin of the custom seems to be fiction.
3 Wigands archiv 6, 317.
4 Wigands archiv 6, 318. Casselsches wochenbl. 1815, p. 925b.
practice seems to have been transferred to Christian festivals and offerings.  

As it was a primitive and widespread custom at a banquet to set aside a part of the food for the household gods, and particularly to place a dish of broth before Bertha and Hulda, the gods were also invited to share the festive drink. The drinker, before taking any himself, would pour some out of his vessel for the god or house-sprite, as the Lithuanians, when they drank beer, spilt some of it on the ground for their earth-goddess Zemynele. Compare with this the Norwegian sagas of Thor, who appears at weddings when invited, and takes up and empties huge casks of ale.—I will now turn once more to that account of the Suevic ale-tub (cupa) in Jonas (see p. 56), and use it to explain the heathen practice of minne-drinking, which is far from being extinct under Christianity. Here also both name and custom appear common to all the Teutonic races.

The Gothic man (pl. munum, pret. munda) signified I think; gaman (pl. gamunum, pret. gamunda) I bethink me, I remember. From the same verb is derived the OHG. minna = minia amor, minnön = minion amare, to remember a loved one. In the ON. language we have the same man, munum, and also minni memoria, minna recordari, but the secondary meaning of amor was never developed.

It was customary to honour an absent or deceased one by making mention of him at the assembly or the banquet, and draining a goblet to his memory: this goblet, this draught was called in ON. erfi dryckja, or again minni (erfi = funeral feast).

At grand sacrifices and banquets the god or the gods were remembered, and their minni drunk: minnis-öl (ale), Skem. 119 (opposed to ominnis öl), minnis-horn, minnis-full (cupful). foro minni mörg, ok skyldi horn dreckia i minni hvert (they gave many a m., and each had to drink a horn to the m.), um gölf ganga at minnom öllum, Egilss. 206. 253. minniöl signöd åsom, Olafs helga.

1 Besides cattle and grain, other valuables were offered to particular gods and in special cases, as even in Christian times voyagers at sea e.g., would vow a silver ship to their church as a votive gift; in Swedish folk-songs, ofra en Gryta of malm (vessel of metal), Arvidss. 2, 116; en Gryta af blankaste malm (of silver) Ahlqvists Öland II. 1, 214; also articles of clothing, e.g. red shoes.

2 In the Teut. languages I know of no technical term like the Gk. σπένδω, λεβης, Lat. libo, for drink-offerings (see Suppl.).
saga (ed. holm.) 113. signa is the German segnen to bless, consecrate. signa full Oðni, Thôr. Oðins full, Niardar full, Freys full drecka, Saga Hákonar góða cap. 16.18. In the Herrauðs-saga cap. 11, Thôr's, Oðin's and Freya's minne is drunk. At the burial of a king there was brought up a goblet called Bragafull (funeral toast cup), before which every one stood up, took a solemn vow, and emptied it, Yngl. saga cap. 40; other passages have bragafull, Sæm. 146. Fornald. sög. 1, 345. 417. 515. The goblet was also called minnisveig (swig, draught), Sæm. 193. After conversion they did not give up the custom, but drank the minne of Christ, Mary, and the saints: Kristis minni, Michaëls minni, Formn. sög. 1, 162, 7, 148. In the Formn. sög. 10, 1781, St. Martin demands of Olaf that his minni be proposed instead of those of Thôr, Oðin, and the other Æses.

The other races were just as little weaned from the practice; only where the term minne had changed its meaning, it is translated by the Lat. amor instead of memoria; notably as early as in Liutprand, hist. 6, 7 (Muratori II. 1, 473), and Liutpr. hist. Ott. 12: diaboli in amorem vinum bibere. Liutpr. antapod. 2, 70: amoris salutisque mei causa bibito. Liutpr. leg. 65: potas in amore beati Johannis præcursoris. Here the Baptist is meant, not the Evangelist; but in the Fel. Faber evagat. 1, 148 it is distinctly the latter. In Eckehard casus S. Galli, Pertz 2, 84: amoreque, ut moris est, osculato et epoto, lactabundi discendunt. In the Rudlieb 2, 162:

post poscit vinum Gertrudis amore, quod haustum participat nos tres, postremo basia fingens, quando vale dixit post nos gemit et benedixit.

In the so-called Liber occultus, according to the München MS., at the description of a scuffle:

hujus ad edictum nullus plus percutit iacet, sed per clamorem poscunt Gertrudis amorem.

In the Peregrinus, a 13th cent. Latin poem, v. 335 (Leyser 2114):

et rogat ut potent sanctae Gertrudis amore, ut possent omni prosperitate frui.

1 The 12th cent. poem Von dem gelouben 1001 says of the institution of the Lord's Supper, whose cup is also a drink of remembrance to Christians: den cof nam er mit dem wine, unde seynte darinne ein vil guote minne. Conf. loving cup, Thom's Aæed. 82.
At Erek's departure: der wirt neig im an den fuoz, ze hand trug er im ðó ze heiles gewinne sant Gertrůðe minne, Er. 4015. The armed champion 'tranc sant Ėohannes segen,' Er. 8651. Hagene, while killing Etzel's child, says, Nib. 1897, 3:

nu trinken wir die minne unde geloten sküneges win,
iz mac anders niht gesin
wan trinkt und geltet Ezeln win; Helbl. 6, 160. 14. 86.

Here the very word gelten recalls the meaning it had acquired in connexion with sacrificing; conf. Schm. 2, 40. si ðó zuceten di suert unde scancten eine minne (drew their swords and poured out a m.), Herz. Ernst in Hoffm. fundgr. 1, 230, 35. minne schenken, Berthold 276-7. sant Johannis minne geben, Oswald 611. 1127. 1225 (see Suppl.). No doubt the same thing that was afterwards called 'einen ehrenwein schenken'; for even in our older speech ēra, ēre denoted verehrung, reverence shown to higher and loved beings.

In the Mid. Ages then, it was two saints in particular that had minne drunk in honour of them, John the evangelist and Gertrude. John is said to have drunk poisoned wine without hurt, hence a drink consecrated to him prevented all danger of poisoning. Gertrude revered John above all saints, and therefore her memory seems to have been linked with his. But she was also esteemed as a peacemaker, and in the Latinarius metricus of a certain Andreas rector scholarum she is invoked:

O pia Gerdrudis, quae pacis commoda cudis
bellaque concludis, nos caeli mergito ludis!

A clerk prayed her daily, 'dass sie ihm schueffe herberg guot,' to find him lodging good; and in a MS. of the 15th cent. we are informed: aliqui dicunt, quod quando anima egressa est, tune prima nocte pernoctabit cum beata Gerdrude, secunda nocte cum archangelis, sed tertia nocte vadit sicut diffinitum est de ea. This remarkable statement will be found further on to apply to Freya, of whom, as well as of Hulda and Berhta, Gertrude reminds us the more, as she was represented spinning. Both John's and Gertrude's minne used especially to be drunk by parting friends, travellers and lovers of peace, as the passages quoted have shown. I know of no older testimony to Gertrude's minne (which presupposes John's) than that in Rudlieb; in later centuries we find

Those Suevi then, whom Columban was approaching, were probably drinking Wuotan's minne; Jonas relates how the saint blew the whole vessel to pieces and spoilt their pleasure: manifesto datur intelligi, diabolum in eo vase fuisset occultatum, qui per profanum litatorem caperet animas sacrificantium. So by Liutprand's devil, whose minne is drunk, we may suppose a heathen god to have been meant. gêfa þrigga sâlda öl Oðni (give three tons of ale to Oðinn), Formm. sög. 2, 16. gêfa Thôr ok Oðni öl, ok signa full âsum, ibid. 1, 280. drecka minni Thôrs ok Oðins, ibid. 3, 191. As the North made the sign of Thor's hammer, christians used the cross for the blessing (segnung) of the cup; conf. poculum signare, Walthar. 225, precisely the Norse signa full.

Minne-drinking, even as a religious rite, apparently exists to this day in some parts of Germany. At Ot bergen, a village of Hildesheim, on Dec. 27 every year a chalice of wine is hallowed by the priest, and handed to the congregation in the church to drink as Johannis segen (blessing); it is not done in any of the neighbouring places. In Sweden and Norway we find at Candlemas a drîcka eldborgs skål, drinking a toast (see Superst. k, Swed. 122).

1Thomasius de pucnlo S. Johannis vulgo Johannistrunk, Lips. 1675. Scheffers Haltaus p. 165. Oberlin s. vb. Johannis minun und trunk. Schmeller 2, 593. Hannov. mag. 1830, 171-6. Ledeburs archiv 2, 189. On Gertrude espec., Huyd. op St. 2, 343-5. Clignett's bidr. 392-411. Hoffm. horae belg. 2, 41-8. Antiquariske annaler 1, 313. Hanka's Bohem. glosses 79b 132a render Johannis amor by swâtâ minna (holy m.). And in that Slovenian document, the Freysinger MS. (Kopitar's Glagolita xxxvii, conf. xliii) is the combination: da klâyaname, i mûldîmase, im i têsests ich pîyem, i obieti nashe im nesem (ut gennulectamus et precemur eis et honores eorum biliamus et obligationes nostras illis feramus); têsest is honor, ταυτή, cultus, our old èra; but I also find slava (fame, glory) used in the sense of minne, and in a Servian song (Vuk, 1 no. 94) wine is drunk 'za slave bozyhe' to the glory of God. In the Finnish mythology is mentioned an Ukko malja, bowl of Ukko; malja = Swed. skål, strictly scutella, potatio in memoriam vel sanitatem.
Now that Suevic eupa filled with beer (p. 75) was a hallowed sacrificial cauldron, like that which the Cimbri sent to the emperor Augustus. Of the Scythian cauldron we have already spoken, p. 75; and we know what part the cauldron plays in the Hýmis-qviða and at the god's judgment on the seizure of the cauldron (by Thor from giant Hymir). Nor ought we to overlook the ON. proper names Asketill, Thórrketill (abbrev. Thorkel) AS. Oseytel (Kemble 2, 302); they point to kettles consecrated to the ða and to Thor.

Our knowledge of heathen antiquities will gain both by the study of these drinking usages which have lasted into later times, and also of the shapes given to baked meats, which either retained the actual forms of ancient idols, or were accompanied by sacrificial observances. A history of German cakes and bread-rolls might contain some unexpected disclosures. Thus the Indicul. superst. 26 names simulacræ de consparsa farina. Baked figures of animals seem to have represented animals that were reverenced, or the attributes of a god. From a striking passage in the Fridthiofssaga ( fornald. sög. 2, 86) it appears that the heathen at a disa blót baked images of gods and smeared them with oil: 'sâtů konur viđ eldinn ok bökuðu godin, en sumar smurðu ok þerðu með důkum,' women sat by the fire and baked the gods, while some anointed them with cloths. By Fríðþjófs fault a baked Baldr falls into the fire, the fat blazes up, and the house is burnt down. According to Voetius de superst. 3, 122 on the day of Paul's conversion they placed a figure of straw before the hearth on which they were baking, and if it brought a fine bright day, they anointed it with butter; otherwise they kicked it from the hearth, smeared it with dirt, and threw it in the water.

Much therefore that is not easy to explain in popular offerings and rites, as the colour of animals (p. 54), leading the boar round (p. 51), flowers (p. 58), minne-drinking (p. 59), even the shape of cakes, is a reminiscence of the sacrifices of heathenism (see Suppl.).

1 ἔπεμψαν τῷ Σεβαστῷ δῶρον τὸν ἱεροτατὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς λέβητα, the most sacred cauldron they had, Strabo VII. 2.

2 Baking in the shape of a boar must have been much more widely spread than in the North alone, see below, Fró's boar; even in France they baked cockelins for New Year's day, Mem. de l'Ac. celt. 4, 429.
Beside prayers and sacrifices, one essential feature of the heathen cultus remains to be brought out: the *solemn carrying about of divine images*. The divinity was not to remain rooted to one spot, but at various times to bestow its presence on the entire compass of the land (see ch. XIV). So Nerthus rode in state (in-vehебatur populis), and Berecynthia (ch. XIII), so Fró travelled out in spring, so the sacred ship, the sacred plough was carried round (ch. XIII Isis). The figure of the unknown Gothic god rode in its waggon (ch. VI). Fetching-in the Summer or May, carrying-out Winter and Death, are founded on a similar view. Holda, Bertha and the like beings all make their circuit at stated seasons, to the heathen’s joy and the christian’s terror; even the march of Wuotan’s host may be so interpreted (conf. ch. XXXI. Frau Gauden). When Fró had ceased to appear, Dietrich with the ber (boar) and Dietrich Bern still showed themselves (ch. X. XXXI), or the sonargöltr (atonement-boar) was conveyed to the heroes’ banquet (ch. X), and the boar led round the benches (p. 51). Among public legal observances, the progress of a newly elected king along the highways, the solemn lustration of roads, the beating of bounds, at which in olden times gods’ images and priests can hardly have been wanting, are all the same kind of thing. After the conversion, the church permanently sanctioned such processions, except that the Madonna and saints’ images were carried, particularly when drought, bad crops, pestilence or war had set in, so as to bring back rain (ch. XX), fertility of soil, healing and victory; sacred images were even carried to help in putting out a fire. The Indicul. paganiar. XXVIII tells ‘de simulacro quod per campos portant’, on which Eccard 1, 437 gives an important passage from the manuscript Vita Maresvidis (not Maresvidis): statuimus ut annuatim secunda feria pentecostes patronum ecclesiae in parochiis vestris longo ambitu circumferentes et domos vestras lustrantes, et pro gentilitio ambarvali in lacrymis et varia devotione vos ipsos mactetis et ad refectionem pauperum eleemosynam comportetis, et in hac curti pernoctantias super reliquias vigiliis et cantibus solennisetis, ut praeclizo mane determinatum a vobis ambitum pia lustratione compleentes ad monasterium cum honore debito reportetis. Confido autem de patroni hujus misericordia, quod sic ab ea gyrale terrae semina ublicius proveniant, et variae æris indlementiae essent. The Roman ambarvalia were purifications of fields, and sacrifices were
offered at the terminus publicus; the *May procession* and the *riding of bounds* and *roads* during the period of German heathenism must have been very similar to them. On the Gabel-heath in Mecklenburg the Wends as late as the 15th century walked round the budding corn with loud cries; Giesebrecht 1, 87.
CHAPTER IV.

TEMPLES.

In our inquiries on the sacred dwelling-places of the gods, it will be safest to begin, as before, with expressions which preceded the christian terms temple and church, and were supplanted by them.

The Gothic alhs fem. translates the Jewish-Christian notions of vaōς (Matt. 27, 5. 51. Mk. 14, 58. 15, 29. Lu. 1, 9. 21. 2 Cor. 6, 16) and iepóv (Mk. 11, 11. 16. 27. 12, 35. 14, 49. Lu. 2, 27. 46. 4, 9. 18, 10. 19, 45. John 7, 14. 28. 8, 20. 59. 10, 23). To the Goth it would be a time-hallowed word, for it shares the anomaly of several such nouns, forming its gen. alhs, dat. alh, instead of alhais, alhai. Once only, John 18, 20, gudhiis stands for iepóv; the simple hus never has the sense of domus, which is rendered rzn. Why should Ulphilas disdain to apply the heathen name to the christian thing, when the equally heathen templum and va6<i were found quite inoffensive for christian use?

Possibly the same word appears even earlier; namely in Tacitus, Germ. 43: apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur; praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione romana Castorem Polluceaque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis; nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium. Ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur.—This alcis is either itself the nom., or a gen. of alx (as falcis of falx), which perfectly corresponds to the Gothic alhs. A pair of heroic brothers was worshipped, without any statues, in a sacred grove; the name can hardly be ascribed to them,¹ it is the abode of the divinity that is called alx. Numen is here the sacred wood, or even some notable tree in it.²

¹ Unless it were dat. pl. of alcus [or alca dļņ]. A Wendicholz, Bohem. holec, which has been adduced, is not to the point, for it means strictly a bald naked wretch, a beggar boy, Pol. golec, Russ. gholik. Besides, the Naharvali and the other Lygian nations can scarcely have been Slavs.

² I am not convinced that numen can refer to the place. The plain sense seems to be: 'the divinity has that virtue (which the Gemini have), and the name Alcis,' or 'of Alx,' or if dat. pl., 'the Alcae, Alci.' May not Alcis be conn. with dļņ strength, safeguard, and the dat. dļņ pointing to a nom. dļ; *dļ I defend; or even Caesar's alces and Pausanias's dļka elks!—Trans.
Four or five centuries after Ulphilas, to the tribes of Upper Germany their word alah must have had an old-fashioned heathenish sound, but we know it was still there, preserved in composition with proper names of places and persons (see Suppl.): Alaholf, Alahduc, Alahhilt, Alahgund, Alahtrut; Alahstat in pago Hassorum (A.D. 834), Schmannat trad. fuld. no. 404. Alahdorp in Mulahgôwe (A.D. 856), ibid. no. 476. The names Alahstat, Alahdorpf may have been borne by many places where a heathen temple, a hallowed place of justice, or a house of the king stood. For, not only the fanum, but the folk-mote, and the royal residence were regarded as consecrated, or, in the language of the Mid. Ages, as frôno (set apart to the frô, lord). Alstidi, a king's pfalz (palatum) in Thuringia often mentioned in Dietmar of Merseburg, was in OHG. alahsteti, nom. alahstat. Among the Saxons, who were converted later, the word kept itself alive longer. The poet of the Helian uses alah masc. exactly as Ulphilas does alhs (3, 20. 22. 6, 2. 14, 9. 32, 14. 115, 9. 15. 129, 22. 130, 19. 157, 16), seldomer godes hás 155, 8. 130, 18, or, that hêlagu hás 3, 19. Cædm. 202, 22 alhn (l. alh hâlgine =holy temple); 258, 11 ealhstede (palatium, aedes regia). In Andr. 1642 I would read 'caldc eolhsedas' (delubra) for 'côllstedas', conf. the proper names Ealhstàn in Kemble 1, 288. 296 and Ealh-heard 1, 292 quasi stone-hard, rock-hard, which possibly leads us to the primary meaning of the word.\(^1\) The word is wanting in ON. documents, else it must have had the form alr, gen. als.

Of another primitive word the Gothic fragments furnish no example, the OHG. wih (nemus), Diut. 1, 492; O. Sax. wih masc. (templum), Hel. 3, 15. 17. 19, 14, 8. 115, 4. 119, 17. 127, 10. 129, 23. 130, 17. 154, 22. 169, 1; fridwih, Hel. 15, 19; AS. wih wiges, or wcoh weos, also masc.: wiges (idoli), Cædm. 228, 12. pisne wig wurðigean (hoc idolum colere), Cædm. 228, 24. conf. wigweording (cultus idolorum), Beow. 350. weohwearings Cod. exon. 253, 14. wihgild (cultus idol.), Cædm. 227, 5. weobeddl (ara), for weohbedd, wihbedd, Cædm. 127, 8. weos (idola), for weohas, Cod. exon. 341, 28.—The alternation of i and eo in the AS. indicates a short vowel; and in spite of the reasons I have urged in Gramm. 1, 462, the same seems to be true of the ON. ve, which in the sing., as

\(^1\) There is however a noun Hard, the name of many landing-places in the south of England, as Cracknor Hard, &c.—Trans.
Ve, denotes one particular god; but has a double pl., namely, a masc. vear dii, idola, and a neut. ve loca sacra. Gul. 6, 108. 111: haita à hult epha hanga, à vi epha stafgarþa (invocare lucos aut tumulos, idola aut loca palis circumseptarum); truta à hult, à hanga, vi oc stafgarþa; han standr i vi (stat in loco sacro). In that case we have here, as in alah, a term alternating between nemus, templum, fanum, idolum, numen, its root being doubtless the Gothic veih (I hallow), váih, váilhum, OHG. wih; and we saw on p. 41 that wihan was applied to sacrifices and worship. In Lappish, vi is said to mean Silva.

Still more decisive is a third heathen word, which becomes specially important to our course of inquiry. The OHG. harve masc., pl. harugâ, stands in the glosses both for fanum, Hrab. 963b, for delubrum, Hrab. 959a, for lucus, Hrab. 969a, Jun. 212. Diut. 1, 495b, and for nemus, Diut. 1, 492a. The last gloss, in full, runs thus: ‘nemus plantavit—forst flanzôta, edo (or) harve, edo wih.’ So that harve, like wih, includes on the one hand the notion of templum, fanum, and on the other that of wood, grove, lucus.¹ It is remarkable that the Lex Ripuari. has preserved, evidently from heathen times, harahus to designate a place of judgment, which was originally a wood (RA. 794. 903). AS. hearg masc., pl. heargas (fanum), Beda 2, 13, 3, 30. Orosius 3, 9, p. 109. heargtref (fani tabulatum), Beow. 349. àt hearg, Kemble, 1, 282. ON. hóigr masc., pl. högar (delubrum, at times idolum, simulacrum), Sæm. 36a 42a 91a 114b 141a; especially worth notice is Sæm. 114b: höigr hlaðinn steinom, griot at gleri orðit, roðit i nyio nauta bloði (h. paven with stones, grit made smooth, reddened anew with neat’s blood). Sometimes höigr is coupled with hof (fanum, tectum), 36a 141a, in which case the former is the holy place amidst woods and rocks, the built temple, aula; conf. ‘hamarr ok höigr,’ Formm. sög. 5, 239. To both expressions belongs the notion of the place as well

¹ And in one place haragâ=arae. Elsewhere the heathen term for altar, Gk βοής, was Goth. bôths, OHG. pôt, AS. bôd, strictly a table (p. 33); likewise the Goth. bôti, OHG. petti, AS. bes, bôld (lectus, p. 30) gets to mean ara, areola, fanum, conf. AS. wôbed, wôbed, wôbed, afterwards distorted into wôfed (ara, altar), OHG. kotapetti (gods’-bed, lectus, pulvinar templi), Graff 3, 51; with which compare Brunhild’s bed and the like, also the Lat. lectisternium. ‘Ae altare S. Kiliani, quod vulgo lectus dictitur,’ Lang reg. 1, 239. 255 (a.D. 1160-5) ; (see Suppl.).
as that of the numen and the image itself (see Suppl.). Haruc seems unconnected with the O. Lat. haraga, aruga, bull of sacrifice, whence haruspex, aruspec. The Gk τέμενος however also means the sacred grove, II. 8, 48. 23, 148. τέμενος τάμον, II. 20, 184.

Lastly, synonymous with haruc is the OHG. paro, gen. parawes, AS. bearo, gen. bearwe, which betoken lucus¹ and arbor, a sacred grove or a tree; Æt bearwe, Kemble. 1, 255. ON. barr (arbor), Sæm. 109; barri (nemus) 86, 87. qui ad aras sacrificat = de za demo parawe (al. za themo we) ploazit, Diut. 1, 150; ara, or rather the pl. arae, here stands for templum (see Suppl.).

Temple then means also wood. What we figure to ourselves as a built and walled house, resolves itself, the farther back we go, into a holy place untouched by human hand, embowered and shut in by self-grown trees. There dwells the deity, veiling his form in rustling foliage of the boughs; there is the spot where the hunter has to present to him the game he has killed, and the herdsmen his horses and oxen and rams.

What a writer of the second century says on the cultus of the Celts, will hold good of the Teutonic and all the kindred nations: Κελτοί σέβονται μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴν δρόσος, Maximus Tyrius (diss. 8, ed. Reiske 1, 142). Compare Lasicz. 46: deos nemora incolere persuasum habent (Samogitae). Habitarunt di quoque sylvas (Haupts zeitschr. 1, 138).

I am not maintaining that this forest-worship exhausts all the conceptions our ancestors had formed of deity and its dwelling-place; it was only the principal one. Here and there a god may haunt a mountain-top, a cave of the rock, a river; but the grand general worship of the people has its seat in the grove. And nowhere could it have found a worthier (see Suppl.).

At a time when rude beginnings were all that there was of the builder’s art, the human mind must have been roused to a higher devotion by the sight of lofty trees under an open sky, than it could feel inside the stunted structures reared by unskilful hands. When long afterwards the architecture peculiar to the Teutons reached its

¹ To the Lat. lācus would correspond a Goth. lāuhs, and this is confirmed by the OHG. loh, AS. lēgh. The Engl. lea, ley has acquired the meaning of meadow, field; also the Slav. lug, Boh. litz, is at once grove, glade, and meadow. Not only the wood, but wooded meadows were sacred to gods (see Suppl.).
perfection, did it not in its boldest creations still aim at reproducing
the soaring trees of the forest? Would not the abortion of
miserably carved or chiselled images lag far behind the form of the
god which the youthful imagination of antiquity pictured to itself,
rowned on the bowery summit of a sacred tree? In the sweep
and under the shade of primeval forests, the soul of man found
itself filled with the nearness of sovran deities. The mighty
fluence that a forest life had from the first on the whole being
of our nation, is attested by the 'march-fellowships;' marka, the
word from which they took their name, denoted first a forest, and
afterwards a boundary.

The earliest testimonies to the forest-cultus of the Germans are
furnished by Tacitus. Germ. 9: ceterum nec cohiberre parietibus
deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magni-
tudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ae nemora consequrant, deorum-
quie nominibus adpellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.2
Germ. 39, of the Semnones; Stato tempore in silvam auguriis
patrum et prisca formidine sacram 3 omnes ejusdem sanguinis
populi legationibus coëunt. est et alia luco reverentia. nemo nisi
vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se
ferens. si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum:
per humum evolvuntur.4 cap. 40 : est in insula oceani eastum

1 Waldes hleo, hleu (umbra, umbraculum), Hcl. 33, 22. 73, 23. AS. hleo,
ON. hlie, OHG. lieu, Graff 2, 296, MHG. lie, lieue.
2 Rudolf of Fuldr (+ 863) has incorporated the whole passage, with a few
alterations, in his treatise De translatione Alexandri (Pertz 2, 675), perhaps
from some intermediate source. Tacitus's words must be taken as they stand.
In his day 'Germany possessed no masters who could build temples or chisel
statues; so the grove was the dwelling of the gods, and a sacred symbol did
instead of a statue. Möser § 30 takes the passage to mean, that the divinity
common to the whole nation was worshipped unseen, so as not to give one dis-
trict the advantage of possessing the temple; but that separate gods did have
their images made. This view is too political, and also ill-suited to the isolation
of tribes in those times. No doubt, a region which included a god’s hill would
acquire the more renown and sacredness, as spots like Rhetra and Loreto did
from containing the Slavic sanctuary or a Madonna: that did not prevent the
same worship from obtaining seats elsewhere. With the words of Tacitus
compare what he says in Hist. 2, 78: est Judaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus,
ita vocant montem demumque, nec simulacrum deo aut templum, sic tradidere
majores, ara tantum et reverentia; and in Dial. de Orat. 12: nemora vero et
lucet et secretum ipsum. In Tacitus secretum = secessus, seclusion, not arcanum.
3 This hexameter is not a quotation, it is the author’s own.
4 Whoever is engaged in a holy office, and stands in the presence and pre-
cincts of the god, must not stumble, and if he falls to the ground, he forfeits
his privilege. So he who in holy combat sinks to the earth, may not set
nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum veste contectum. cap. 43: apud Naharvalos antique religionis lucus ostenditur ... numini nomen Aleis, nulla simulacra. cap 7: effigies et signa (i.e. effigiata signa) quaedam detractae lucis in proelium ferunt; with which connect a passage in Hist. 4, 22: inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est. Ann. 2, 12: Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio per fugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae, convenisse et. alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram. Ann. 4, 73: mox conpertum a transfugis, nongenos Romanorum apud lucum, quem Baduhennae vocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos; though it does not appear that this grove was a consecrated one.1 Ann. 1, 61: lucis propinquis barbarae aerae, apud quas tribunos mactaverant; conf. 2, 25: propinquo luco defossam Varianaes legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari. Hist. 4, 14: Civilis primores gentis ... sacrum in nemus vocatos. These expressions can be matched by others from Claudian three centuries later, Cons. Stilich. 1, 288:

Ut procul Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae
venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
religione truces, et robora numinis instar
barbarici nostrae feriant impune bipennes.

De bello Get. 545:

Hortantes his adde deos. Non somnia nobis,
neec volucres, sed clara palam vox edita luco est :
‘rumpe omnes, Alarice, moras!’

It is not pure nature-worship that we are told of here; but Tacitus could have had no eye for the ‘mores Germanorum,’ if their most essential feature had escaped him. Gods dwell in these groves; no images (simulae, in human form) are mentioned by name as being set up, no temple walls are reared.2 But sacred vessels and altars

1 Baduhenna, perhaps the name of a place, like Arduenna. Müllenhoff adds Badvinna, Patanna (Haupt’s zeitschr. 9, 241).
2 Brissonius de regno Pers. 2, 28; ‘Persae diis suis nulla templam vel altaria constituunt, nulla simulacra’; after Herodot. 1, 191.
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stand in the forest, heads of animals (ferarum imagines) hang on the boughs of trees. There divine worship is performed and sacrifice offered, there is the folk-mote and the assize, everywhere a sacred awe and reminiscence of antiquity. Have not we here alah, wih, paro, haruc faithfully portrayed? How could such technical terms, unless they described an organized national worship presided over by priests, have sprung up in the language, and lived?

During many centuries, down to the introduction of christianity, this custom endured, of venerating deity in sacred woods and trees.

I will here insert the detailed narrative given by Wilibald († 786) in the Vita Bonifacii (Canisius II. 1, 242. Pertz 2, 343) of the holy oak of Geismar (on the Edder, near Fritzlar in Hesse). The event falls between the years 725 and 731. Is autem (Bonifacius) . . . ad obsessas ante ea Hessorum metas cum consensu Carli ducis (i.e. of Charles Martel) redit. tum vero Hessorum jam multi catholica fide subditi ac septiformis spiritus gratia confirmati manus impositionem acceperunt, et alii quidem, nondum animo confortati, interemeratae fidei documenta integre percipere renuerunt, alii etiam linguis et faucibus clanculo, alii vero aperte sacrificabant, alii vero auspicia et divinationes, praestigia atque incantationes occulte, alii quidem manifeste exercebant, alii quippe auspicia et auguria intendebant, diversosque sacrificand i ritus incoluerunt, alii etiam, quibus mens sanior inerat, omni abjecta gentilitatis prophanatione nihil horum commiserunt. quorum consultu atque consilio arborem quandam mirae magnitudinis, quae prisco Paganorum vocabulo appellatur robor Jovis, in loco, qui dicitur Gaesmere, servis Dei secum astantibus, succidere tentavit. cumque mentis constantia confortatus arborem succidisset, magna quippe aderat copia Paganorum, qui et inimicum deorum suorum intra se diligentissime devotabant, sed ad modicum quidem arbore praecisa confestim immensa roboris moles, divino desuper flatu exagitata, palmitum contracto culmine, corruit, et quasi superi nutus solatio in quatuor etiam partes disrupta est, et quatuor ingentis magnitudinis aequali longitudine trunci, absque fratrum labore astantium apparuarent. quo viso prius devotantes Pagani etiam versa vice benedictionem Domino, pristina abjecta maledictione, credentes

1 A shorter account of the same in the annalist Saxo, p. 133.
reddiderunt. Tunc autem summae sanctitatis antistes consilio into 
cum fratribus ex supradictae arboris materia 1) oratorium construxit, 
illudque in honore S. Petri apostoli dedicavit. From that time 
christianity had in this place a seat in Hesse; hard by was the 
ancient capital of the nation, ‘Mattium (Marburg), id genti caput,’ 
Tac. Ann. 1, 56; which continued in the Mid. Ages to be the chief 
seat of government. According to Landau, the oak and the church 
built out of it stood on the site of St. Peter’s church at Fritzlar. 
The whole region is well wooded (see Suppl.). 

Not unsurimilar are some passages contained in the Vita S. 
Amandi († 674), on the wood and tree worship of the northern 
pagum esse, cui vocabulum Gandavum, cujus loci habitatores ini-
quitas diaboli eo circumquadque laqueis vehementer irretivit, ut 
incolae terrae illius, relictio deo, arbores et ligna pro deo coherent, 
atque fana vel idola adorarent.—Ubi fana destruebantur, statim 
monasteria aut ecclesias construebat.—Amandus in pago belvacense 
verbum domini dum praedicaret, pervenit ad quendam locum, cui 
vocabulum est Rossonto juxta Aromanam fluivium . . . respondit 
illa, quod non ob alienum causam ei ipsa coecitas evenisset, nisi quod 
auguria vel idola semper coluerat. insuper ostendit ei locum, in 
quo praedictum idolum adorare consueverat, sicut arbores, quae 
emat daemone dedicata . . . ‘nunc igitur accipe securum et hanc 
nefandam arborem quantocius succidere festina’.

Among the Saxons and Frisians the veneration of groves lasted 
much longer. At the beginning of the 11th century, bishop Unwan 
of Bremen (conf. Adam. Brem. 2, 33) had all such woods cut down 
among the remoter inhabitants of his diocese: luocos in episcopatu 
suo, in quibus paludicolae regionis illius errore veteri cum profes-
sione falsa christianitatis immolabant, succidit; Vita Meinwerci, 
cap. 22. Of the holy tree in the Old Saxon Irminsúl I will treat 
in ch. VI. Several districts of Lower Saxony and Westphalia 
have until quite recent times preserved vestiges of holy oaks, to 
which the people paid a half heathen half christian homage. Thus, 
in the principality of Minden, on Easter Sunday, the young people 
of both sexes used with loud cries of joy to dance a reigen (rig,

1 Other MS. have ‘mole’ or ‘metallo’. A brazen image on the oak is not 
to be thought of, as such a thing would have been alluded to in what precedes 
or follows.
circular dance) round an old oak. In a thicket near the village of Wormeln, Paderborn, stands a holy oak, to which the inhabitants of Wormeln and Calenberg still make a solemn procession every year.

I am inclined to trace back to heathenism the proper name of Holy Wood so common in nearly all parts of Germany. It is not likely that from a christian church situated in a wood, the wood itself would be named holy; and in such forests, as a rule, there is not a church to be found. Still less can the name be explained by the royal ban-forests of the Mid. Ages; on the contrary, these forests themselves appear to have sprung out of heathen groves, and the king’s right seems to have taken the place of the cultus which first withdrew the holy wood from the common use of the people. In such forests too there used to be sanctuaries for criminals, RA. 886-9.

An old account of a battle between Franks and Saxons at Notteln in the year 779 (Pertz 2, 377) informs us, that a badly wounded Saxon had himself secretly conveyed from his castle into a holy wood: Hic vero (Luibertus) magno cum merore se in castrum recepit. Ex quo post aliquot dies mulier egrotum humeris clam in sylvam Sytheri, quae fuit thegathon sacra, nocte portavit. Vulnera ibidem lavans, exterrita clamore effugit. Ubi multa lamentatione animam expiravit. The strange expression thegathon is explained by τ’ αγαθῶν (the good), a name for the highest divinity (summus et princeps omnium deorum), which the chronicler borrowed from Macrobius’s somn. Scip. 1, 2, and may have chosen purposely, to avoid naming a well-known heathen god (see Suppl.). Sytheri, the name of the wood, seems to be the same as Sunderi (southern), a name given to forests in more than one district, e.g. a Sundernhart in Franconia (Höfers urk. p. 308). Did this heathen hope for healing on the sacred soil? or did he wish to die there?

The forest called Dat hillige holt is mentioned by a document in Kindlinger’s Münst. beitr. 3, 638. In the county of Hoya there stood a Heiligen-loh (Pertz 2, 362). A long list of Alsatian documents in Schöpflin allude to the holy forest near Hagenau; no. 218 (A.D. 1065): cum foresto heiligenförst nominato in comitatu Gerhardi comitis in pago Nortcowe. no. 238 (1106): in sylva

1 Weddigen’s westphal. mag. 3, 712.
2 Spilckers beiträge 2, 121.

The alternating words 'forst, silva, nemus' are enough to show the significance of the term. The name of the well-known Drieich (Drieichahi) is probably to be explained by the heathen worship of three oaks; a royal ban-forest existed there a long time, and its charter (I, 498) is one of the most primitive.

The express allusion to Thuringia and Saxony is remarkable in the following lines of a poem that seems to have been composed soon after the year 1200, Reinh. F. 302; the wolf sees a goat on a tree, and exclaims:

Ich sihe ein obez hangen, I see a fruit hanging,
ez habe här ode borst; That it has hair or bristles;
in einem heiligen vorste In any holy forest
ze Düringen noch ze Sachsen Of Thuringia nor of Saxony
enkunde niht gewahsen There could not grow
bezzer obez af rise. Better fruit on bough.

The allusion is surely to sacrificed animals, or firstfruits of the chase, hung up on the trees of a sacred wood? Either the story is based on a more ancient original, or may not the poet have heard tell from somewhere of heathenish doings going on in his own day among Saxons and Thuringians? (see Suppl.).

And in other poems of the Mid. Ages the sacredness of the ancient forests still exerts an after-influence. In Alex. 5193 we read ‘der edele walt frône’; and we have inklings now and again, if not of sacrifices offered to sacred trees, yet of a lasting indestructible awe, and the fancy that ghostly beings haunt particular trees. Thus, in Ls. 2, 575, misfortune, like a demon, sat on a tree; and in Altd. w. 3, 161 it is said of a hollow tree:

dâ sint heiligen inne, There are saints in there,
die hœrent aller liute bet.¹ That hear all people's prayers

¹ From the notion of a forest temple the transition is easy to paying divine honours to a single tree. Festus has: delubrum fustis deliberatus (staff with
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Still more unmistakably does this forest cultus prevail in the North, protected by the longer duration of heathenism. The great sacrifice at Lèdèra described by Dietmar (see p. 48) was performed in the island which, from its even now magnificent beech-woods, bore the name of Selundr, sea-grove, and was the finest grove in all Scandinavia. The Swedes in like manner solemnized their festival of sacrifice in a grove near Upsala; Adam of Bremen says of the animals sacrificed: Corpora suspenduntur in lucum qui proximus est templo; is enim lucus tam saeer est gentibus, ut singulæ arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae credantur. Of Hlöðr Heiðreksson we are told in the Hervararsaga cap. 16 (formald. sög. 1, 491), that he was born with arms and horse in the holy wood (à mörk hinni helgu). In the grove Glasislundr a bird sits on the boughs and demands sacrifices, a temple and gold-horned cows, Sæm. 140-1. The sacred trees of the Edda, Yggdrasil and Mimameiðr, Sæm. 109, hardly need reminding of.

Lastly, the agreement of the Slav, Prussian, Finnish and Celtic paganisms throws light upon our own, and tends to confirm it. Dietmar of Merseburg (Pertz 5, 812) affirms of the heathen temple at Riedegost: quam undique sylea ab incolis intacta et venerabilis circumdat magna; (ibid. 816) he relates how his ancestor Wibert about the year 1008 rooted up a grove of the Slavs: lucem Zutibure dictum, ab accolis ut deum in omnibus honoratum, et ab aevo antiquo nunquam violatum, radicitus eruens, sancto martyrI Romano in eo ecclesiam construxit. Zutibure is for Sveti bor = holy forest, from bor (fir), pine-barren; a Merseburg document of 1012 already mentions an 'ecclesia in Scutibure,' Zeitschr. f. archivkunde, 1, 162. An ON. saga (Fornm. sög. 11, 382) names a blödlundr (sacrificial grove) at Stræla, called Boku, Helmold 1, 1 says of the Slavs: usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera bark peeled off) quem venerabuntur pro deo. Names given to particular trees are at the same time names of goddesses, e.g. ON. Hlin, Guð. It is worthy of notice, that the heathen idea of divine figures on trees has crept into christian legends, so deeply rooted was tree worship among the people. I refer doubters to the story of the Tyrolean image of grace, which grew up in a forest tree (Deutsche sagen, no. 348). In Carinthia you find Madonna figures fixed on the trees in gloomy groves (Sartoris reise 2, 165). Of like import seem to be the descriptions of wonderful maidens sitting inside hollow trees, or perched on the boughs (Marienkind, hausmärchen no. 3. Romance de la infantiina, see ch. XVI.). Madonna in the wood, Mar. legend. 177. Many oaks with Madonnas in Normandy, Bosquet 196-7.
omnia communia sint cum nostris, solus prohibetur accessus lucorum ac fontium, quos autumant pollui christianorum accessu. A song in the Königinhof MS. p. 72 speaks of the grove (hain, Boh. hai, hag, Pol. gay, Sloven. gaj; conf. gaius, galajus, Lex Roth. 324, kaheius, Lex Bajuv. 21, 6) from which the christians scared away the holy sparrow. The Esth. sallo, Finn. sala means a holy wood, especially a meadow with thick underwood; the national god Thara-pila is described by Henry the Letton (ad. ann. 1219): in confrinio Wironiae erat mons et silva pulcherrima, in quo dicebant indigenae magnum deum Osiliensium natum qui Tharapila vocatur, et de loco illo in Osiliam volasse,—in the form of a bird? (see Suppl.). To the Old Prussians, Romove was the most sacred spot in the land, and a seat of the gods; there stood their images on a holy oak hung with cloths. No unconsecrated person was allowed to set foot in the forest, no tree to be felled, not a bough to be injured, not a beast to be slain. There were many such sacred groves in other parts of Prussia and Lithuania.

The Vita S. Germani Autisiodorensis (b. 378, d. 448) written by Constantius as early as 473 contains a striking narrative of a pear tree which stood in the middle of Auxerre and was honoured by the heathen. As the Burgundians did not enter Gaul till the beginning of the 5th century, there is not likely to be a mixture in it of German tradition. But even if the story is purely Celtic, it deserves a place here, because it shows how widely the custom prevailed of hanging the heads of sacrificial beasts on trees. Eo tempore (before 400) territorium Autisiodorensis urbis visitatione propria gubernabat Germanus. Cui mos erat tirunculorum potius industriis indulgere, quam christianae religioni operam dare. is ergo assidue venatui invigilans ferarum copiam insidiis atque artis strenuitate frequentissime capiebat. Erat autem arbor pirus in

1 Brzetislav burnt down the heathen groves and trees of the Bohemians in 1903, Pelzel 1, 76. The Poles called a sacred grove rok and uroczyisko, conf. Russ. róshcha, grove [root rek rok = fari, fatum; róshcha is from rostí, rasti = grow]. On threat of hostile invasion, they cut rods (wicie) from the grove, and sent them round to summon their neighbours. Mickiewicz 1, 56.
2 Conf. Tharapid in Formm. sóg. 11, 385; but on Slav nations conf. Schiefner on Caströn 329.
3 Joh. Voigts gesch. Preussens 1, 595—597.
5 Huic (Marti) praedae primordia vovebantur, huic trunci suspendebantur exuviae, Jornandes cap. 5.
urbe media, amœnitate gratissima: ad cujus ramusculos ferarum ab eo deprehensuram capita pro admiratione venationis niniaeae dependebant. Quem celebris ejusdem civitatis Amator episcopus his frequens compellebat eloquis: 'desine, quaeo, vir honoratorum splendidissime, haec jocularia, quae Christianis offensa, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. hoc opus idolatriae cultura est, non christianæ elegantissimæ disciplinæ.' Et licet hoc indesinenter vir deo dignus perageret, ille tamen nullo modo admonenti se adquiescere voluit aut obedire. vir autem domini iterum atque iterum eum hortabatur, ut non solum a consuetudine male arrepta discederet, verum etiam et ipsam arborēm, ne Christianis offendiculum esset, radicitus exstirparet. sed ille nullatenus aurem placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore quodam die Germanus ex urbe in praedia sui juris discessit. tune beatus Amator opportunitatem oppieriæ sacrilegam arborēm eum caudicibus absidit, et ne aliqua ejus incredulis esset memoria igni concremans illico deputavit. oscilla\textsuperscript{1)} vero, quae tanquam trophaea cujusdam certaminis umbram dependentia ostentabant, longius a civitatis terminis projici praecipit. Protinus vero fama gressus suos ad aures Germani retorquens, dictis animum incendit, atque iram suis suasionibus exaggerans ferocem efficet, ita ut oblivus sanctae religionis, cujus jam fuerat ritu atque munere insignitus, mortem beatissimo viro mimitaret.

A poem of Herricus composed about 876 gives a fuller description of the idolatrous peartree:

altœque et lato stabat gratissima quondam
urbe pirus media, populo spectabilis omni;
non quia pendentum flavebat honore pirorum,
nec quia perpetuae vernabat munere frondis:

\textsuperscript{1} Virg. Georg. 2, 388 : tibique (Bacche) oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu. In the story, however, it is not masks that are hung up, but real heads of beasts; are the ferarum imaginæ in Tac. Hist. 4, 22 necessarily images? Does oscilla mean capita oscillantia? It appears that when they hung up the heads, they propped open the mouth with a stick, conf. Isengr. 645. Reinardus 3, 293 (see Suppl.). Nailing birds of prey to the gate of a burg or barn is well known, and is practised to this day. Hanging up horses' heads was mentioned on p. 47. The Grimsmål 10 tells us, in Önin's mansion there hung a wolf outside the door, and over that an eagle; were these mere simulacra and insignia? Witechind says, the Saxons, when sacrificing, set up an eagle over the gate: Ad orientalem portam ponunt aqualam, aramque Victoriae construentes; this eagle seems to have been her emblem. A dog hung up over the threshold is also mentioned, Lex. Alam. 102.
It was not the laughter of the multitude that offended the Christian priests; they saw in the practice a performance, however degenerate and dimmed, of heathen sacrifices.\(^1\)

Thus far we have dwelt on the evidences which go to prove that the oldest worship of our ancestors was connected with sacred forests and trees.

At the same time it cannot be doubted, that even in the earliest times there were temples built for single deities, and perhaps rude images set up inside them. In the lapse of centuries the old forest worship may have declined and been superseded by the structure of temples, more with some populations and less with others. In fact, we come across a good many statements so indefinite or incomplete, that it is impossible to gather from them with any certainty whether the expressions used betoken the ancient cultus or one departing from it.

The most weighty and significant passages relating to this part of the subject seem to be the following (see Suppl.):

Tac. Germ. 40 describes the sacred grove and the worship of Mother Earth; when the priest in festival time has carried the goddess round among the people, he restores her to her sanctuary:

\[
\text{satiatam conversatione mortali temper reddit.}
\]

Tac. ann. 1, 51: Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos dispertit, quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat; non sexus, non aetas miseratitionem

\(^1\) St. Benedict found at Montecassino vetustissimum fanum, in quo ex antiquo more gentilium a stulto rusticano populo Apollo colebatur, circumphaque enim in cultum daemoniorum luci sucerrentar, in quibus adhuc eodem tempore infidelium insana multitudo sacrificis sacris legis insudabat. Greg. Mag. dialogi 2, 8. These were not German heathens, but it proves the custom to have been the more universal.
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attulit: profana simul et sacr{\^a} et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod Tanfanae vocabant, solo aequantur. The nation to which this temple belonged were the Marsi and perhaps some neighbouring ones (see Suppl.).

Vita S. Eugendi abbatis Jurensis († circ. 510), auctore monacho Condatescensi ipsius discipulo (in Actis sanctor. Bolland. Jan. 1, p. 50, and in Mabillon, acta Ben. sec. 1, p. 570): Sanctus igitur famulus Christi Eugendus, sicut beatorum patrum Romani et Lupicini in religione discipulus, ita etiam natalibus ac provincia extitit indigena atque concivis. ortus nempe est hand longe a vico cui velusta paganitas ob celebritatem clausuramque fortissimam superstitionisissimi templi Gallica lingua Isarnodori, id est, ferrei ostii indidit nomen: quo nunc quoque in loco, delubris ex parte jam dirutis, sacratissime micant coelestis regni culmina dicata Christicolis; atque inibi pater sanctissimae prolis judicio pontificali plebisque testimonio extitit in presbyterii dignitate sacerdos. If Eugendus was born about the middle of the 5th century, and his father already was a priest of the christian church which had been erected on the site of the heathen temple, heathenism can at the latest have lingered there only in the earlier half of that century, at whose commencement the West Goths passed through Italy into Gaul. Gallica lingua here seems to be the German spoken by the invading nations, in contradistinction to the Romana; the name of the place is almost pure Gothic, isarnadauri, still more exactly it might be Burgundian, isarnodori.² Had either West Goths or Burgundians, or perhaps even some Alamanns that had penetrated so far, founded the temple in the fastnesses and defiles of the Jura?³ The name is well suited to the strength of the position and of the building, which the christians in part retained (see Suppl.).

A Constitutio Childeberti I of about 554 (Pertz 3, 1) contains the following: Praecipientes, ut quicunque admoniti de agro suo, ubicunque fuerint simulacra constructa vel idola daemoni dedicata

¹ An inscription found in Neapolitan territory, but supposed by Orelli 2053 to have been made by Ligorius, has 'Tanfanae sacrum' (Gudii inscript. antiqu. p. lv. 11, de Wol p. 188); the word is certainly German, and formed like Iludana, Sigana (Sequana), Liutana (Lugdunum), Ràbana (Ravenna), &c.
² Yet the Celtic forms also are not far removed, Ir. iaran, Wel. haiarn, Armor. nur (ferrum); Ir. doras, Wel. dor (porta): haearndor = iron gate, quoted in Davies's Brit. Mythol. pp. 120, 560.
³ Frontier mountains held sacred and made places of sacrifice by some nations; Ritters erdkunde 1, anfl. 2, 79. vol. 2, p. 903.
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ab hominibus, factum non statim abjecerint vel sacerdotibus haec destruentibus prohibuerint, datis fidejussoribus non aliter discendant nisi in nostris obtutibus praesententur.

Vita S. Radegundis († 587) the wife of Clotaire, composed by a contemporary nun Baudonivia (acta Bened. sec. I, p. 327): Dum iter ageret (Radegundis) seculari pompa se comitante, interjecta longinquitate terrae ac spatio, fanum quod a Francis colebatur in itinere beatae reginae quantum miliario uno proximum erat. hoc illa audiens jussit famulis fanum igne comburi, iniquum judicans Deum coeli contemni et diabolica machinamenta venerari. Hoc audientes Franci universa multitudo cum gladiis et fustibus vel omni fremitu conabantur defendere. sancta vero regina immoblis perseverans et Christum in pectore gestans, equum quem sedebat in antea (i.e. ulterius) non movit antequam et fanum perureretur et ipsa orante inter se populi pacem firmarent. The situation of the temple she destroyed I do not venture to determine; Radegund was journeying from Thuringia to France, and somewhere on that line, not far from the Rhine, the fanum may be looked for.

Greg. Tur. vitae patrum 6: Eunte rege (Theoderico) in Agrippinam urbem, et ipse (S. Gallus) simul abiit. erat autem ibi fanum quoddam diversis ornamentis resertum, in quo barbaris (I. Barbarus) opima libamina exhibens usque ad vomitum cibo potuque replebatur. ibi et simulaera ut deum adorans, membra, secundum quod unumquamque dolor attigisset, sculptabat in ligno. quod ubi S. Gallus audivit, statim illuc cum uno tantum clerico properat, accensoque igne, cum nullus ex stultis Paganis adsset, ad fanum applicat et succendit. at illi videntes fumum delubri ad coelum usque conscendere, auctorem incendii quarerunt, inventunque evaginatis gladiis prosequuntur; ille vero in fugam versus aulae se regiae condidit. verum postquam rex quae acta fuerant Paganis minantibus recognovit, blandis eos sermonibus lenivit. This Gallus is distinct from the one who appears in Alamannia half a century later; he died about 553, and by the king is meant Theodoric I of Austrasia.

Vita S. Lupi Senonensis (Duchesne 1, 562. Bouquet 3, 491): Rex Chlotarius virum Dei Lupum episcopum retrusit in pago quodam Neustriae nuncupante Vinemaco (le Vimeu), traditum duci pagano (i.e. duci terrae), nomine Bosoni Landegisilo (no doubt a Frank) quem ille direxit in villa quae dicitur Andesagina super fluvium
Auciam, ubi erant temple fanatica a decurionibus culta. (A.D. 614.) Andesagina is Ansenne, Aucia was afterwards called la Bresle, Briselle.

Beda, hist. eccl. 2, 13, relates how the Northumbrian king Eadwine, baptized 627, slain 633, resolved after mature consultation with men of understanding to adopt christianity, and was especially made to waver in his ancient faith by Coifi (Cesli) his chief heathen priest himself: Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaerret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis quibus erant circumdata primus profanare debet? respondit: ego. quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam destruam? . . . Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu et ascendens emissarium regis (all three unlawful and improper things for a heathen priest), pergebat ad idola. quod aspiciens vulgus aestimabet eum insanire. née distulit illae. mox ut approquinabat ad fanum, profanare illud, injecta in eo lancea quam tenebat, multumque gavisus de agnitione veri Dei cultus, jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eboraco ad orientem ultra amnem Dorowentionem et vocatur Hodomundinga hám, ubi pontifex ipse, inspirante Deo vero, polluit ac destruxit eas, quas ipse sacraverat, aras.¹

Vita S. Bertuffi Bobbiensis († 640) in Acta Bened. sec. 2, p. 164: Ad quandam villam Iriae fluvio adjacentem accessit, ubi fanum quoddam arboribus consitum videns allatum ignem ei admovit, congestis in modum pirae lignis. Id vero cernentes fani cultores Meroveum apprehensum dixerant fustibus caesum et ictibus, contusum in fluviun illum demergere conantur.—The Iria runs into the Po; the event occurs among Lombards.

Walafrid Strabonis vita S. Galli († 640) in actis Bened. sec. 2 p. 219, 220: Venerunt (S. Columbanus et Gallus) infra partes Alemanniae ad fluvium, qui Lindimacus vocatur, juxta quem ad superiora tendentes pervenerunt Turicinum. cumque per littus ambulantes venissent ad caput lacus ipsius, in locum qui Tuceonia dicitur, placuit illis loci qualitas ad inhabitandum. porro homines

¹ The A.S. translation renders arae by wigbed (see p. 67), fana by heargas, idola by deofolgild, septa once by hegas (hedges), and the other time by getymbro. The spear hurled at the hearg gave the signal for its demolition.
ibidem commanentes cruleles erant et impii, simulacra colentes, idola sacrificiis venerantes, observantes auguria et divinationes et multa quae contraria sunt cultui divino superstitiosa sectantes. Sancti igitur homines cum coepissent inter illos habitare, docebant eos adorare Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, et custodire fidei veritatem. Beatus quoque Gallus sancti viri discipulus zelo pietatis armatus fana, in quibus daemonis sacrificabant, igni succendit et quaecumque invenit oblata demersit in lacum.—Here follows an important passage which will be quoted further on; it says expressly: cunque ejusdem templi solemnitas ageretur.

Jonae Bobbiensis vita S. Columbani († 615) cap. 17. in act. Bened. 2, 12. 13: Cunque jam multorum monachorum societate densaretur, coepit cogitare, ut potiorem locum in eadem eremo {i.e. Vosago saltu) quaereret, quo monasterium construeret. invenitque castrum firmissimo munimine olim esse cultum, a supra dicto loco distans plus minus octo millibus, quem prisca tempora Luxovium nuncupabant, ibique aquae calidae cultu eximio constructae habebantur. ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicina saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano velusta Paganorum tempora honorabant.—This Burgundian place then (Luxeuil in Franche Comté, near Vesoul) contained old Roman thermae adorned with statues. Had the Burgundian settlers connected their own worship with these? The same castrum is spoken of in the

Vita S. Agili Resbacensis († 650), in Acta Ben. sec. 2, p. 317: Castrum namque inha vasta eremi septa, quae Vosagus dicitur, fuerat fanaticorum cultui olim dedicatum, sed tunc ad solum usque dirutum, quod hujus saltus incolae, quamquam ignoto praesagio, Luxovium [qu. lux ovium?] nominavere. A church is then built on the heathen site: ut, ubi olim prophano ritu veteres coluerunt fana, ibi Christi figurentur arae et erigerentur vexilla, habitaculum Deo militantium, quo adversus aérias potentates dimicarent superni Regis tirones. p. 319: Ingressique (Agilus cum Eustasio) hujus itineris viana, juvante Christo, Waracos praedicatori accelerant, qui agrestium fainis decepti, quos vulgi fainos vocant, gentilium

1 The multitude of statues made the adjoining wood thicker? Must we not supply an acc. copiam or speciem after imag. lapid. ? [viceina saltus densabat evidently means 'crowded the adjoining part of the wood'. So in Ovid: densae folii buxi.—TRANS.]
quoque errore seducti, in perfidiam de venerant, Fotini seu Bonosi virus infecti, quos, errore depulso, matri ecclesiae reconciliatos veros Christi fecere servos.

Vita S. Willibrordi († 789), in Acta Bened. sec. 3, p. 609: Pervenit in confinio Fresonum et Danorum ad quandam insulam, quae a quodam deo suo Fosite ab accolis terrae Fositesland appellatur, quia in ea ejusdem dei fana fuere constructa. Qui locus a paganis tanta veneratione habebatur, ut nil in eo vel animalium tangere auderet, nee etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam laurire nisi tacens praesumebat.

Vita S. Willahadi († 793), in Pertz 2, 381: Unde contigit, ut quidam discipulorum ejus, divino coniuncti ardore, fana in morem gentilium circumquaque erecta coepissent evertere et ad nihilum, prout poterant, redigere; quo facto barbari, qui adlac forte perseverarent, furore nimio succensi, irruerunt super eos repente cum impetu, volentes eos funebre iuterimere, ibique Dei famulum fustibus caesus multis admodum plagis affecerent.—This happened in the Frisian pagus Thrianta (Drente) before 779.

Vita Ludgeri (beginning of the 9th cent.) 1,8: (In Frisia) Paganos asperrimos . . . mitigavit, ut sua ilium delubra destrueret coram oculis paterentur. Inventum in fanis aurum et argentum plurimum Albricus in aerarium regis intulit, accipiens et ipse praecipiente Carolo portionem ex illo.—Conf. the passage cited p. 45 from the Lex Frisonum.

Folcuini gesta abb. Lobiensium (circ. 980), in Pertz 6, 55: Est locus intra terminos pagi, quem veteres, a loco ubi superstites gentilitas fanum Marti sacraverat, Fanum Martinse dixerunt.—This is Famars in Hainault, not far from Valenciennes.

In all probability the sanctuary of Tanfana which Germanicus demolished in A.D. 14 was not a mere grove, but a real building, otherwiseTacitus would hardly have called the destruction of it a 'levelling to the ground'. During the next three or four centuries we are without any notices of heathen temples in Germany. In the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, as I have shown, we come upon castra, tempia, fana among Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, Alamans, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians. By fana (whence fanaticus) seems often to have been understood a building of smaller
extent, and by temple one of larger; the Indiculus superst. xxxi. 4 has: ‘de casulis (huts), i.e. fanis’ (see Suppl.). I admit that some of the authorities cited leave it doubtful whether German heathen temples be intended, they might be Roman ones which had been left standing; in which case there is room for a twofold hypothesis: that the dominant German nation had allowed certain communities in their midst to keep up the Roman-Gallic cultus, or that they themselves had taken possession of Roman buildings for the exercise of their own religion¹ (see Suppl.). No thorough investigation has yet been made of the state of religion among the Gauls immediately before and after the irruption of the Germans; side by side with the converts there were still, no doubt, some heathen Gauls; it is difficult therefore to pronounce for either hypothesis, cases of both kinds may have co-existed. So much for the doubtful authorities; but it is not all of them that leave us in any doubt. If the Tanfana temple could be built by Germans, we can suppose the same of the Alamann, the Saxon and the Frisian temples; and what was done in the first century, is still more likely to have been done in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th.

Built Temples must in early times have been named in a variety of ways (see Suppl.): OHG. AS. OS. ON. hof, aula, atrium;²—OHG. halla, templum (Hymn. 24, 8), AS. heal, ON. höll (conf. hallr, lapis, Goth. hallus);—OHG. sal, ON. salr, AS. sele, OS. seli, aula;—AS. reed, domus, basilica (Caedm. 145, 11. 150, 16. 219, 23), OS. rakud (Hel. 114, 17. 130, 20. 144, 4. 155, 20), an obscure word not found in the other dialects;—OHG. pēlāpār, delubrum (Diut. 1,

¹ As the vulgar took Roman fortifications for devil’s dikes, it was natural to associate with Roman castella the notion of idolatry. Rupertus Tuilienis († 1135) in his account of the fire of 1123 that levelled such a castellum at Denuz, which had been adapted to christian worship, informs us that some thought it was built by Julius Caesar, others by Constantius and Constantine. In the emperor Otto’s time, St. Mary appears by night to archbishop Heribert: ‘surge, et Tuilienense castrum petens, locum in eodem mundani praecipe, ibique monasterium Deo mihiqve et omnibus sanctis constitue, ut. ubi quondam habitavit peccatum et cultus daemonum, ibi justitia regnet et memoria sanctorum,’ with more of the like, in the Vita Heriberti cap. 15. Conf. the fanum at Cologne above, p. 81.

² The asylum that atrium and temple offered within their precincts is in ON. grīvastaðr, OHG. frīdhof, OS. vrīthof, Hel. 151, 2. 9. MHG. vrone vrīthof, Nib. 1795, 2; not at all our friedhof [but conn. with frei, free], conf. Goth. freidjan, OS. frīðn (parcere). That the constitution of the Old German sanctuaries was still for the most part heathenish, is discussed in R.A. 886-92.
TEMPLES.  

195\(^{a}\);—to which were afterwards added pētahūs, minores ecclesiae (Gl. sletst. 21, 32) and chirihhdō, AS. cyricc. The MHG. poets like to use běkēhūs of a heathen temple as opposed to a christian church (En. 2695. Barl. 339, 11.28. 342,6. Athiis D 93. Herb. 952. Wigal. 8308. Pass. 356, 73. Tit. 3329), so in M. Nethl. bēkēhūs (Maerl. 1, 326. 3, 125), much as the Catholics in their own countries do not allow to Protestants a church, but only a bethaus, praying-house (see Suppl.). O. iv. 33, 33 has the periphrase gōtes hūs, and ii. 4, 52 druhētmes hūs. Notker cap. 17 makes no scruple of translating the Lat. fanis by chêlechon, just as bishop does duty for heathen priest as well. In the earliest times temple was retained, Is. 382. 395. T. 15,4. 193,2. 209,1. Diut. 1, 195.\(^{a}\)  

The hut which we are to picture to ourselves under the term fansum or pūr (A.S. būr, bower) was most likely constructed of logs and twigs round the sacred tree; a wooden temple of the goddess Zisa will find a place in ch. XIII. With halla and some other names we are compelled to think rather of a stone building.  

We see all the christian teachers eager to lay the axe to the sacred trees of the heathen, and fire under their temples. It would almost seem that the poor people’s consent was never asked, and the rising smoke was the first thing that announced to them the broken power of their gods. But on a closer study of the details in the less high-flown narratives, it comes out that the heathen were not so tame and simple, nor the christians so reckless. Boniface resolved on hewing down the Thunder-oak after taking counsel with the already converted Hessians, and in their presence. So too the Thuringian princess might not have dared to sit so immovable on her palfrey and give the order to fire the Frankish temple, had not her escort been numerous enough to make head against the heathen. That these did make an armed resistance, appears from Radegund’s request, after the fane was burnt down, ut inter se populi pacem firmarent.  

In most of the cases it is expressly stated that a church was erected on the site of the heathen tree or temple.\(^{2}\) In this way the

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people’s habits of thinking were consulted, and they could believe that the old sacredness had not departed from the place, but henceforth flowed from the presence of the true God (see Suppl.).

At the same time we here perceive the reason of the almost entire absence of heathen monuments or their remains, not only in Germany proper, but in the North, where certainly such temples existed, and more plentifully; conf. in chaps. VI. X. XVI. the temple at Sigtn, baer i Baldrshaga, and the Nornas’ temple. Either these were levelled with the ground to make room for a christian church, or their walls and halls were worked into the new building. We may be slow to form any high opinion of the building art among the heathen Germans, yet they must have understood how to arrange considerable masses of stone, and bind them firmly together. We have evidence of this in the grave-mounds and places of sacrifice still preserved in Scandinavia, partly also in Friesland and Saxony, from which some important inferences might be drawn with regard to the old heathen services, but these I exclude from my present investigation.

The results are these: the earliest seat of heathen worship was in groves, whether on mountain or in pleasant mead; there the first temples were afterwards built, and there also were the tribunals of the nation.

Fana idolorum destruens incendit, et mare daemonibus cultum, inmissis quatuor lapidibus sacro chrismate perunctis, et aqua purgans benedicta, novam Domino . . . plantationem eduxit.—On the conversion of the Pantheon into a church, see Massmann’s Eradius 476.
CHAPTER V.

PRIESTS.

The most general term for one who is called to the immediate service of deity (minister deorum, Tac. Germ. 10) is one derived from the name of deity itself. From the Goth. guð (deus) is formed the adj. gaguds (godly, pious, εὐσεβής), then gagudei (pietas, εὐσεβεία). In OHG. and MHG., I find pious translated érhaft, strictly reverens, but also used for venerandus; our frornm has only lately acquired this meaning, the MHG. vrum being simply able, excellent. The God-serving, pious man is in Goth, gudja (τ.evph?, Matt. 8, 4, 27, 1. 63. Mk. 10, 34. 11, 27. 14, 61. Lu. 1, 5. 20, 1. Jo. 18, 19. 22. 19, 6. ufarugudja (ἀρχιερεύς) Mk 10, 33. guðjínón (ἱερατεύειν), Lu. 1, 8. guðjinassus (ἱερατεία) Lu. 1, 9. (see Suppl.).

That these were heathen expressions follows from the accordance of the ON. goði (pontifex), hoðs goði (fani antistes), Egilss. 754. Freys goði, Nialss. cap. 96. 117. Formn. sög. 2, 206. goðord (sacerdotium). An additional argument is found in the disappearance of the word from the other dialects, just as our alah disappeared, though the Goths had found allas unobjectionable. Only a faint vestige appears in the OHG. cotine by which tribunus is glossed, Diut. 1, 187 (Goth, gudiggs?).—Now as Ulphilas\(^1\) associates guðja and sinista (πρεσβύτερος, elder, man of standing, priest), a remarkable sentence in Amm. Marcell. 28, 5 informs us, that the high priest of the Burgundians was called sinisto: Nam sacerdos omnium maximus apud Burgundios vocatur sinistus, et est perpetu-us,\(^2\) obnoxius discriminibus nullis ut reges. The connexion of priests with the nobility I have discussed in R.A. 267-8 (see Suppl).

More decidedly heathen are the OHG. names for a priest harugari, Diut. 1, 514;\(^3\) and parawari, Diut. 1, 150, (being derived from haruc and paro, the words for temple given on p. 68-9, and

\(^1\) Strictly the Evangelist; the translator had no choice.—Trans.  
\(^2\) For the sense of perpetuity attaching to sin- in composition, see Gramm. 2, 554-5.  
\(^3\) If haruc meant wood or rock, and harugari priest, they are very like the Ir. and Gael. carn, cairn, and cairnneac priest. O'Brien 77\(^a\).
confirming what I have maintained, that these two terms were synonymous). They can hardly have been coined by the glossist to interpret the Lat. aruspex, they must have existed in our ancient speech.—A priest who sacrificed was named *pluostvari* (see p. 36).

The fact that *cotine* could bear the sense of tribunus shows the close connexion between the offices of priest and judge, which comes out still more clearly in a term peculiar to the High Germ. dialect: *éwa, éa* signified not only the secular, but the divine law, these being closely connected in the olden times, and equally sacred; hence *éowart, éwart* law-ward, administrator of law, *νομικός*, AS. *é-gleaw, æ-láew*, Goth. vitódastéis, one learned in the law, K. 55a 56a,b. Gl. Hrab. 974a. N. ps. 50, 9. *éwarto* of the weak decl. in O.I. 4, 2, 18, 72. *gotes éwarto* I. 4, 23. and as late as the 12th century *éwarto*, Mar. 21. and, without the least reference to the Jewish office, but quite synonymous with priest: der heilige *éwarto*, Reinh. 1705. der báruc und die *éwarten* sin, Parz. 13, 25. Wh. 217, 23 of Saracen priests (see Suppl.). The very similar *éosago, ésgo* stood for judex, legislator, RA. 781.

The poet of the Heliand uses the expression *wihes ward* (templi custos) 150, 24; to avoid the heathen as well as a foreign term, he adopts periphrases: the *giérôdo man* (geehrte, honoured), 3, 19. the *fródo man* (fröt, frnot, prudens) 3, 21, 7, 7. *fródgumo* (gumo, homo) 5, 23, 6, 2. *godcund gumo* 6, 12, which sounds like gudja above, but may convey the peculiar sense in which Wolfram uses 'der quote man'.

In the Romance expressions *prudens homo, bonus homo* (prudhomme, bonhomme) there lurks a reference to the ancient jurisprudence.—Once Ulphilas renders *ἄρχειν* by aúhmists *veiha*, John 18, 13, but never *iepeiv* by veiha.

With christianity there came in foreign words (see Suppl.). The Anglo-Saxons adopted the Lat. sacerdos in abbreviated form: *sacrd*, pl. sacerdas; and Ælfred translates Beda’s pontifex and summus pontificum (both of them heathen), 2, 13 by *biscop* and *ealdorbiscop*. T. and O. use in the same sense *biscof, biscop* (from

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1 Parz. 457, 2, 458, 25, 460, 19, 476, 23, 487, 23. The godo gumo, Hel. 4, 16 is said of John; ther guato man, O. ii. 12, 21. 49 of Nicodemus; in Ulrich’s Lanzelot, an abbot is styled der guato man, 4613. 4639. conf. 3857, 4620 éwarto, 4626 priest. But with this is connected *diu quote froure* (v. infra), i.e. originally bona socia, so that in the good man also there peeps out something heathenish, heretical. In the great Apologue, the cricket is a clergyman, and is called (Ren. 8125) *pseudons* and Frobert = Froutbert (see Suppl.).
episcopus), O. I. 4, 4. 27. 47; and the Hel. 150, 24 biscep. Later on, pricster (from presbyter, following the idea of elder and superior), and piaffe (papa) came to be the names most generally used; AS. prcost, Engl. priest, Fr. prestre, prêtre; in Veldek, préster rhymes with méster, En. 9002.

When Cæsar, bell. Gall. 6, 21, says of the Germans: Neque druides habent qui rebus divinis præsint, neque sacrificiis student,—the statement need not be set down as a mistake, or as contradicting what Tacitus tells us of the German priests and sacrifices. Cæsar is all along drawing a contrast between them and the Gauls. He had described the latter 6, 16 as excessively addicted to sacrifices; and his ‘non studere sacrificiis’ must in the connexion mean no more than to make a sparing use of sacrifices. As little did there prevail among the Germans the elaborately finished Druid-system of the Gauls; but they did not want for priests or sacrifices of their own.

The German priests, as we have already gathered from a cursory review of their titles, were employed in the worship of the gods and in judging the people. In campaigns, discipline is entrusted to them alone, not to the generals, the whole war being carried on as it were in the presence of the deity: Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire nec verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permission, non quasi in poenam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt, Germ. 7 (see Suppl.). The succeeding words must also refer to the priests, it is they that take the ‘effigies et signa’ from the sacred grove and carry them into battle. We learn from cap. 10, that the sacerdos civilitatis superintends the divination by rods, whenever it is done for the nation. If the occasion be not a public one, the paterfamilias himself can direct the matter, and the priest need not be called in:—a remarkable limitation of the priestly power, and a sign how far the rights of the freeman extended in strictly private life; on the same principle, I suppose, that in very early times covenant transactions could be settled between the parties, without the intervention of the judge (RA. 201). Again, when the divination was by the neighing of the white steeds maintained by the state, priests accompanied the sacred car, and accredited the transaction. The priest alone may touch the car of Nerthus, by him her approaching presence is perceived, he attends her full of reverence, and leads
PRIESTS.

...her back at last to her sanctuary, cap. 40. Segimund, the son of Segestes, whom Tac. Ann. 1, 57 calls sacerdos, had been not a German but a Roman priest (apud aram Ubiorum), and after tearing up the alien chaplet (vittas ruperat), had fled to his home.

These few incidental notices of priests give us anything but a complete view of their functions (see Suppl.). On them doubtless devolved also the performance of public prayers, the slaying of victims, the consecration of the kings and of corpses, perhaps of marriages too, the administering of oaths, and many other duties. Of their attire, their insignia and gradations, we hear nothing at all; once Tacitus cap. 43 speaks of a sacerdos muliebri ornatu, but gives no details. No doubt the priests formed a separate, possibly a hereditary order, though not so powerful and influential as in Gaul. Probably, beside that sacerdos civitatis, there were higher and lower ones. Only one is cited by name, the Cattian, i.e. Hessian, Libes in Strabo (Ἀϊβης τῶν Χάττων ἱερεύς), who with other German prisoners was dragged to Rome in the pompa of Germanicus. Of him Tacitus (so far as we still have him) is silent.¹ Jornandes's statement is worthy of notice, that the Gothic priests were termed pileati in distinction from the rest of the people, the capillati, and that during sacrifice they had the head covered with a hat; conf. RA. 271 (see Suppl.). Odin is called Siðhóttir, broadhat.

The succeeding period, down to the introduction of Christianity, scarcely yields any information on the condition of the priesthood in continental Germany; their existence we infer from that of temples and sacrifices. A fact of some importance has been preserved by Beda, Hist. eccl. 2, 13: a heathen priest of the Anglo-Saxons was forbidden to carry arms or to ride a male horse: Non enim licuerat, pontificem sacrorum vel arma ferre, vel praeterquam in equa equitare. Can this have any connexion with the regulation which, it is true, can be equally explained from the Bible, that christian clergymen, when riding about the country, should be mounted on asses and colts, not horses (RA. 86-88)? Festus also remarks: Equo vechi flamini diali non licebat, ne, si longius digeretur, sacra neglegerentur (see Suppl.). The transmission of such customs, which have impressed themselves on the habits of

¹ Libes might be Leip, Lēb, O.N. Leifr, Goth. Laibs? A var. lect. has Aïbēs.
life, would seem to have been quite admissible. I shall try elsewhere to show in detail, how a good deal in the gestures and attitudes prescribed for certain legal transactions savours of priestly ceremony at sacrifice and prayer (see Suppl.). It is not unlikely, as heathen sacred places were turned into christian ones, that it was also thought desirable amongst a newly converted people to attract their former priests to the service of the new religion. They were the most cultivated portion of the people, the most capable of comprehending the christian doctrine and recommending it to their countrymen. From the ranks of the heathen priesthood would therefore proceed both the bitterest foes and the warmest partizans of innovation.¹ The collection of the Letters of Boniface has a passage lamenting the confusion of christian and heathen rites, into which foolish or reckless and guilty priests had suffered themselves to fall.² This might have been done in blameless ignorance or from deliberate purpose, but scarcely by any men except such as were previously familiar with heathenism.

Even the Norse priesthood is but very imperfectly delineated in the Eddas and sagas. A noteworthy passage in the Ynglingasaga cap. 2 which regards the Ases altogether as colonists from Asia, and their residence Asgard as a great place of sacrifice, makes the twelve principal Ases sacrificial priests (hofgoðar): skyldu þeir rāða fyrir blōtum ok dōnum manna i milli (they had to advise about sacrifices and dooms); and it adds, that they had been named diar (divi) and drōttunar (domini). This representation, though it be but a conjecture of Snorri’s, shows the high estimation in which the priestly order stood, so that gods themselves were placed at the head of sacrifices and judgments. But we need not therefore confound diar and drōttunar with real human priests.

¹ Just as the Catholic clergy furnished as well the props as the opponents of the Reformation. The notable example of a heathen priest abjuring his ancient faith, and even putting forth his hand to destroy the temple he had once held sacred, has been quoted from Beda on p. 82. This priest was an English, not a British one, though Beda, evidently for the mere purpose of more exactly marking his station, designates him by a Gaelic word Coif (choibhi, choibhidh, cuimhi, see Jamieson, supplement sub. v. coivic, archdruid). Coif is not a proper name, even in Gaelic; and it is incredible that Eadwine king of Northumbria should have adopted the British religion, and maintained a British priest.

² Ed. Würdtw. 82. Serr. 140: Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificialia mortuorum. . . . modo vero incognitum esse, utrum baptizantes trinitatem dixissent an non, &c.—Connect with this the presbyter Jovi maectans, Ep. 25.
I must draw attention to the fact, that certain men who stood nearer to the gods by services and veneration, and priests first of all, are entitled friends of the gods\(^1\) (see Suppl.). Hence such names as Freysvín, ÁS Frédvín, Bregovín for heroes and kings (see ch. X, Frówin). According to Eyrbygg pp. 6, 8, 16, 26, Rólfr was a Thórs vínr; he had a hof of that god on a meadow, and was therefore named Thórrólfr, he dedicated to him his son Steinn and named him Thórsteinn, who again dedicated his son Grímr to the god and named him Thógrímr; by this dedicating (gefa), was meant the appointing to the office of godi or priest. And (according to Landn. 2, 23) Hallstein gave his son as godi to Thórr. Here we see the priestly office running on through several generations (see Suppl.). However, Odysseus is also called Διός φίλος, II. 10, 527. Also Αιλός φίλος ἀθανάτοις θείοις, Od. 10, 2; but then in Od. 10, 21 he is ταμίης ἀνέμων, director of winds, therefore a priest.

How deeply the priestly office in the North encroached on the administration of justice, need not be insisted on here; in their judicial character the priests seem to have exercised a good deal of control over the people, whereas little is said of their political influence at the courts of kings; on this point it is enough to read the Nialssaga. In Iceland, even under christianity, the judges retained the name and several of the functions of heathen godar, Grágás 1, 109-113, 130. 165. Convents, and at the same time state-farmers, especially occupiers of old sanctuaries (see p. 85, note) apparently continue in the Mid. Ages to have peculiar privileges, on which I shall enlarge in treating of weisthümer. They have the keeping of the county cauldron, or weights and measures, and above all, the brood-animals, to which great favour is shown everywhere (see Suppl.).

The godi is also called a blótmaðr (sacrificulus), bliotr (Egilssaga p. 209), but all blótmmenn need not be priests; the word denoted rather any participant in sacrifices, and afterwards, among christians, the heathen in general. It tallies with the passage in Tacitus about the paterfamilias, that any iarl or hersir (baron) might perform sacrifice, though he was not a priest. Saxo Gramm. p. 176

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\(^1\) The MHG. poets still bestow on hermits and monks the epithets gotes friunt, gotes degen (pogn, warrior). In the Renner 24587, St. Jost is called heiliger gotes kneht (eniht, servant). [See however 'servus dei, famulus dei' passim in the lives of saints].
relates of Harald after his baptism: Delubra diruit, *victimarios* proscriptis, *flaminiun* abrogavit. By victimarii he must mean blòtmenn, by flamens the priests. He tells us on p. 104, that at the great Upsala sacrifices there were enacted *effoeniinati corporum* motus, *scopicique mimorum* plausus, ac molla *nolarum crepitacula*; Greek antiquity has also something to tell of choruses and dances of priests.

On the clothing of the Norse priests, I have not come across any information. Was there a connexion between them and the poets? Bragi the god of song has nothing to do with sacrifices; yet the poetic art was thought a sacred hallowed thing: Odin spoke in verse, he and his *höfgodar* are styled *liððasmidir* (song-smiths), Yngl. saga cap. 6. Can *skáld* (poeta, but neut.) be the same as the rare OHG. *sgalto* (sacer)? Diut. 1, 183. Gl. ker. 69, *scaldo*. Even of christian minstrels soon after the conversion one thing and another is told, that has also come down to us about heathen skálds.

Poetry borders so closely on divination, the Roman vates is alike songster and soothsayer, and soothsaying was certainly a priestly function. Amm. Marcell. 14, 9 mentions Alamannian *auspices*, and Agathias 2, 6 μάντεις or χρησμολόγοι 'Αλαμαννικόλ.

Ulphilas avoids using a Gothic word for the frequently occurring προφήτης, he invariably puts praufétus, and for the fem. προφήτις praufêteis, Lu. 2, 36; why not veitaga and veitagō? The OHG. and AS. versions are bolder for once, and give *vizago*, *witega.* Was the priest, when conducting auguries and auspices, a veitaga? conf. inveitan, p. 29. The ON. term is *spámaðr* (spae-man), and for prophetess *spákonu* (spae-woman, A.S. witegestre). Such diviners were Mimir and Gripir. In old French poems they are *devin* (divini, divinatores), which occasionally comes to mean poets: uns *devins*, qui de voir dire est esprovez, Mèon 4, 145. ce dient li *devin*, Ren. 7383; so Tristr. 1229: li contor dient (see Suppl.).

We have now to speak of the prophetesses and priestesses of antiquity.—The mundium (wardship) in which a daughter, a sister, a wife stood, appears in the old heathen time not to have excluded

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1 The í is become ei in our weissager, MHG. wissage for wizege; equally erroneous is our verb weissagen, MHG. wissagen, Iw. 3097 (OHG. wizagon, A.S. witegian).
them from holy offices, such as sacrificing (see Suppl.), or from a
good deal of influence over the people. Tacitus, after telling us
how mightily the German women wrought upon the valour of their
warriors, and that the Romans for greater security demanded noble
maiden from particular nations, adds: Inesse quin etiam sanetum
et providum (feminis) putant\(^1\), nec aut consilia earum aspernatur,
aut resposta negligunt. And before that, Caesar I. 50: Quod apud
Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres fam. eorum sortibus et
vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset,
necne; cas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante
novam lunam proelio contendisset (see Suppl.).

While history has not preserved the name of one German vates,
it has those of several prophetesses. Tac. Germ. 8: Vidimus sub
divo Vespasiano Veledam (as a prisoner in his triumph) diu apud
pleraque numinis loco habitam. Hist. 4, 61: Ea virgo nationis
Bructerar, late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo
pleraque feminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione arbitrantur
deus. Tuneque Veledae auctoritas adolevit; nam ‘prosperas
Germanis res et excidium legionum’ praedixerat. In 4, 65, when
the people of Cologne were making an alliance with the Tencteri
they made the offer: Arborum habebimus Civilem et Veledam
apud quos pacta sancientur. Sic lenitis Tencteris, legati ad Civilem
et Veledam missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium
perpetravere. Sed coram adire, alloquhique Veledam negatum,
Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inisset. Ipsa edita in
turre; delectus e propinquus consulta responsaque ut internuntius
numinis portabat. 5, 22: Praetoriam triremem flumine Luppia
donum Veledae traxere. 5, 25; Veledam propinquosque monebat.
Her captivity was probably related in the lost chapters of the fifth
book.\(^2\) This Veleda had been preceded by others: Sed et olim
Auriniam (hardly a translation of any Teutonic name, such as the
ON. Gullveig, gold-cup; some have guessed Aliruna, Ölrun,
Albruna) et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec
tamquam facerent deas, Germ. 8. A later one, named Ganna, is

\(^1\) A wild force of phantasy, and the state called clairvoyance, have shown
themselves preeminently in women.

\(^2\) Statius silv. I. 4, 90: Captivaeque preces Veledae; he scans the first
two syllables as short, which seems more correct than Dio's Βαλίθα. Zeuss 436
thinks Βαλίθα, Βαλίωθα = Vithula. Graff has a n. prop. Wallovi 1, 800. I would
suggest the Gothic fem. name Valadamara in Jornandes cap. 48, and the Thur-
ingian name of a place Walada in Pertz I. 308.
PRIESTS.

cited by Dio Cassius, 67, 5;¹ and in the year 577 Guntheramnus consulted a woman 'habentem spiritum phitonis, ut ei quae erant eventura narraret,' Greg. Tur. 5, 14 (in Aminon 3, 22 she is mulier phytonissa, i.e. πυθώνισσα). One much later still, Thiota, who had come to Mentz out of Alamannia, is noticed in the Annals of Fulda, anno 847 (Pertz 1, 365).² As Cassandra foretold the fall of Troy, our prophetesses predict the end of the world (v. infra); and Tacitus Ann. 14, 32 speaks of British druidesses in these words: Feminae in furore turbatae adesse exitium canebant; conf. 14, 30. But we have the sublimest example before us in the Völuspá (see Suppl.).

Those grayhaired, barefooted Cimbrian priestesses in Strabo (v. supra, p. 55) in white robe and linen doublet, begin with brazen clasps, slaughtering the prisoners of war and prophesying from

¹ Γάννα (al. Γαννα) παρθένος μετὰ τὴν Βελεδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα. conf. the masc. name Gannascus in Ann. 11, 18, 19; the fem. Ganna, dat. Gannane, in a Lothr. urk., as late as 709, Don Calmet, ed. 1728, tom. 1. preuves p. 265.

² Traditions, which Hubertus Thomas of Lütich, private secretary to the Elector Palatine, according to his book De Tungris et Eburonibus 1541, professes to have received from an antiquary Joan. Berger out of an old book (libello vetustissimis characteribus descripto), and which he gives in his treatise De Heidelbergiae antiquitatibus, relate as follows: Quo tempore Velleda virgo in Bruchteris imperitabat, vetula quaedam, cui nomen Jettha, eum collem, ubi nunc est arx Heidelbergensis et Jetthae collis etiam nunc nomen habet, inhabitabat, vetustissimumque phanum incolebat, cujus fragmenta adhuc nuper vidimus, dum comes palatinus Fridericus factus elector egregiam domum construxit, quam novam atiam appetit. Haece mulier vaticinis inleita, et quo venerabilior foret, raro in spectum hominum prodiens, volentibus consilium ab ea petere, de fenustra, non prodente vultu, respondebat. Et inter cetera praedixit, ut inconditis versibus canebat, suo colli a fasis esse datum, ut futurus temporalibus regiis viris, quos nominatim recensebat, inhabitaretur et templis celeberrimis ornaretur. Sed ut tandem fabulosae antiquitati valedicamus, labet adsceribere quae is liber de infelicis morte ipsius Jetthae continetur. Egressa quondam amoenissimo tempore phanum, ut deambulatione recrearetur, progressibus juxta montes, donec pervenit in locum, quo montes intra convallam declinans et multis locis scaturiebant pulcherrimae fontes, quibus vehementer illa coeptit delectari, et assidens ex illis bibebat, cum ecce lupa famelica cum catulis e silva prorupit, quae conspectam mulierem neque quam divos invocantium dilaniat et frustatim discerpit, quae easu suo fonti nomen dedit, vocaturque quippe in hodierum diem fontem leporum ob amoenitatem loci omnibus notus. It is scarcely worth while trying to settle how much in this may be genuine tradition, and how much the erudition of the 16th century foisted in, to the glorification of the new palace at Heidelberg (= Heidelberg); the very window on the hill would seem to have been copied from Veleda's tower, though Brynhild too resides upon her rock, and has a high tower (Völ. saga, cap. 20, 24, 25; conf. Menglööf, OHG. Maniklata?) on the rock, with nine virgins at her knees (Sem. 110, 111). If the enchantress's name were Heida instead of Jettha, it would suit the locality better, and perhaps be an echo of the ON. Heiðr.
their blood in the sacrificial cauldron, appear as frightful witches by
the side of the Bructerian Maid; together with divination they
exercise the priestly office. Their minutely described apparel, we
may suppose, resembled that of the priests.

While in Tac. Germ. 40 it is a priest that attends the goddess,
and guides the team of kine in her car; in the North conversely,
we have handmaids waiting upon gods. From a remarkable story
in the Olaf Tryggv. saga (Formm. sog. 2, 73 seq.), which the
christian composer evidently presents in an odious light, we at all
events gather that in Sweden a virgin attended the car of Freyr on
its travels among the people: Frey var fengin til þionostó kona
ung ok frið (into Frey’s service was taken a woman young and
fair), and she is called kona Freys. Otherwise a priestess is
called gyðja, hofgyðja, corresponding to goði, hofgoði;¹ see Turiör
hofgyðja, Islend. sog. 1, 205. þorlaug gyðja, Landn. 1, 21.
Steinvör and Fridgerðr, Sagabibl. 1, 99. 3, 268.

But the Norse authorities likewise dwell less on the priestly
functions of women, than on their higher gift, as it seems, of
divination: Perita ungurii femina, Saxo Gram. 121. Valdamarr
konungr átti möður miök gamla ok örvasa, svá at hun là i rekkju,
en þo var hun framsýn af Fitons anda, sem margir heiðnir menn
(King V. had a mother very old and feeble, so that she lay in bed,
and there was she seized by a spirit of Python, like many heathen
folk), Formm. sog. 1, 76.—Of like import seems to be a term which
borders on the notion of a higher and supernatural being, as in the
case of Veleda; and that is dis (nympha, numen). It may be not
accidental, that the spákonan in several instances bears the proper
name Thórdís (Vatnsd. p. 186 seq. Formm. sog. 1, 255. Islend. sog.
1, 140. Kormakss. p. 204 seq.); dis however, a very early word,
which I at one time connected with the Gothic filudeisei (astutia,
dolus), appears to be no other than our OHG. ľtis, OS. ľdis, AS.
ides (femina, nympha).—As famous and as widely spread was the
term völva,² which first denotes any magic-wielding soothsayeress
(Vatnsd. p. 44. Formm. sog. 3, 214. Fornald. sog. 2, 165-6. 506),
and is afterwards attached to a particular mythic Völva, of whom
one of the oldest Eddic songs, the Völuspá, treats. Either völ

¹ Can our götte, gothe, goth for godmother (taupathan, susceptrix e sacro
fonte) be the survival of an old heathen term? Morolt 3184 has gode of the
baptized virgin.
² The Slavic volkhv magus.—Trans.

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stands here for völva, or the claim of the older form Vala may be asserted; to each of them would correspond an OHG. Walawa or Wala, which suggests the Walada above, being only derived in a different way. In the saga Eiriks randa we come upon Thorbiörg, the little Vala (Edda Sæm. Hafn. 3, 4).—Heiðr is the name not only of the völva in the Edda (Sæm. 4b, conf. 118b) but also of the one in the Orvarodssaga (conf. Sagabibl. 3, 155).—Hyndla (canicula) is a prophetess that rides on wolves, and dwells in a cave.—I guess also that the virgins Thorgerðr and Irpa (Formm. sög. 2, 108. 3, 100. 11, 134-7. 142. 172), to whom all but divine honours were paid, and the title of hörgabrðr (nympha lucorum) and even the name of guð (numen) was accorded, Nialss. cap. 89, are not to be excluded from this circle. So in the valkyrs, beside their godhood, there resides somewhat of the priestly, e.g. their virginity (see ch. XVI and Suppl.).

We shall return to these ‘gleg’ and ‘wise’ women (and they have other names besides), who, in accordance with a deeply marked feature of our mythology, trespass on the superhuman. Here we had to set forth their connexion with sacrifice, divination and the priesthood.
CHAPTER VI.

GODS.

Now, I think, we are fully prepared for the inquiry, whether real gods can be claimed for Germany in the oldest time. All the branches of our language have the same general name for deity, and have retained it to the present day; all, or at any rate most of them, so far as the deficiency of documents allows the chain of evidence to be completed, show the same or but slightly varying terms for the heathen notions of worship, sacrifice, temples and priesthood. Above all there shines forth an unmistakable analogy between the Old Norse terminology and the remains, many centuries older, of the other dialects: the Norse Æsir, blôta, hörgr, goði were known long before, and with the same meanings, to the Goths, Alamanns, Franks and Saxons. And this identity or similarity extends beyond the words to the customs themselves: in sacred groves the earliest human and animal victims were offered, priests conducted sacrifices and divinations, 'wise women' enjoyed all but divine authority.

The proof furnished by the sameness of language is of itself sufficient and decisive. When the several divisions of a nation speak one and the same language, then, so long as they are left to their own nature and are not exposed to violent influences from without, they always have the same kind of belief and worship.

The Teutonic race lies midway between Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns, all of them populations that acknowledge gods, and practise a settled worship. The Slav nations, spread over widely distant regions, have their principal gods in common; how should it be otherwise in Teutondom?

As for demanding proofs of the genuineness of Norse mythology, we have really got past that now. All criticism cripples and annihilates itself, that sets out with denying or doubting what is treasured up in song and story born alive and propagated amongst an entire people, and which lies before our eyes. Criticism can but collect and arrange it, and unfold the materials in their historical sequence.
Then the only question that can fairly be raised, is: Whether the gods of the North, no longer disputable, hold good for the rest of Teutondom? To say yea to the question as a whole, seems, from the foregoing results of our inquiry, altogether reasonable and almost necessary.

A negative answer, if it knew what it was about, would try to maintain, that the circle of Norse gods, in substance, were formerly common to all Germany, but by the earlier conversion were extinguished and annihilated here. But a multitude of exceptions and surviving vestiges would greatly limit the assertion, and materially alter what might be made out of the remainder.

In the meanwhile a denial has been attempted of quite another kind, and the opinion upheld, that those divinities have never existed at all in Germany proper, and that its earliest inhabitants knew nothing better than a gross worship of nature without gods.

This view, drawing a fundamental distinction between German and Scandinavian heathenism, and misapprehending all the clues which discover themselves to unprejudiced inquiry as infallible evidence of the unity of two branches of a nation, lays special stress upon a few statements on the nature of the heathen faith, dating from about the sixth century and onwards. These for the most part proceed from the lips of zealous christians, who did not at all concern themselves to understand or faithfully portray the paganism they were assailing, whose purpose was rather to set up a warning against the grosser manifestations of its cultus as a detestable abomination. It will be desirable to glance over the principal passages in their uniformity and one-sidedness.

Agathias († before 582), himself a newly converted Greek, who could only know from christianly coloured reports what he had heard about the distant Alamanns, thus exhibits the Alamannic worship as opposed to the Frankish: δένδρα τε γάρ τινα ἰλώσκονται καὶ ρεῖθρα ποταμῶν καὶ λόφους καὶ φάραγγας, καὶ τούτως ὀσπερ ὀσία δρόντες 28, 4. Then follow the words quoted on p. 47 about their equine sacrifices.

But his contrast to the Franks breaks down at once, when we hear almost exactly the same account of them from the lips of their first historian Gregory: Sed haec generatio fanaticis semper cultibus visa est obsequium praebuisse, nec prorsus agnovere Deum, sibique silvarum atque aquarum, avium bestiarumque et aliorum
quoque elementorum finxere formas, ipsasque ut deum colere eisque sacrificia delibare consueti. Greg. Tur. 2, 10.—Similarly, Einhard (Æginhard) in Vita Caroli cap. 7, about the Saxons: Sicut omnes fere Germaniam incolentes nationes et natura feroce et cultui daemonum dediti, nostraeque religioni contrarii.—Ruodolf of Fuld, after quoting Tacitus and Einhard, adds (Pertz 2, 676): Nam et frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant; and then mentions the Irminṣúl, which I shall deal with hereafter (see Suppl.).—Lastly, Helmold 1, 47 affirms of the Holsteiners: Nihil de religione nisi nomen tantum christianitatis habentes; nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud eos habetur . . . Vicelinus . . . lucos et omnes ritus sacrilegos destructus, &c.’

Conceived in exactly the same spirit are the prohibitions of heathenish and idolatrous rites in decrees of councils and in laws. Concil. Autissiod. anno 586, can. 3: Non licet inter sentes aut ad arbores sacrivos vel ad fontes vota exsolvere; conf. Concil. Turon. II. anno 566, can. 22.—Leges Liutpr. 6, 30: Simili modo et qui ad arborem, quam rustici sanguinum (al. sanctivam, saecravam) vocant, atque ad fontanas adoraverit.—Capit. de partibus Sax. 20: Si quis ad fontes aut arbores vel lucos votum fecerit, aut aliquid more gentilium obtulerit et ad honorem daemonum comederit. And the converters, the christian clergy, had for centuries to pour out their wrath against the almost ineradicable folly.—It is sufficient merely to allude to the sermons of Caesarius episcopus Arelatensis († 542) ‘Contra sacrilegos et aruspices, contra kalendarum quoque paganissimos ritus, contraque augures lignicolas, fonticolas,’ Acta Bened. sec. 1, p. 668.

All these passages contain, not an untruth, yet not the whole truth. That German heathenism was destitute of gods, they cannot possibly prove; for one thing, because they all date from periods when heathenism no longer had free and undisturbed sway, but had been hotly assailed by the new doctrine, and was well-nigh overmastered. The general exercise of it had ceased, isolated partizans cherished it timidly in usages kept up by stealth; at the same time there were christians who in simplicity or error continued to practise superstitious ceremonies by the side of christian ones. Such doings, not yet extinct here and there among the

1 Adam of Bremen again copies Ruodolf, Pertz 9, 256.
common people, but withdrawn from all regulating guidance by heathen priests, could not fail soon to become vulgarized, and to appear as the mere dregs of an older faith, which faith we have no right to measure by them. As we do not fail to recognise in the devils and witches of more modern times the higher purer fancies of antiquity disguised, just as little ought we to feel any scruple about tracing back the pagan practices in question to the untroubled fountainhead of the olden time. Prohibitions and preachings kept strictly to the practical side of the matter, and their very purpose was to put down these last hateful remnants of the false religion. A sentence in Cnut's AS. laws (Schmid 1, 50) shows, that fountain and tree worship does not exclude adoration of the gods themselves: Hæðenscipe bíð, þæt man deofolgild weorðige, þæt is, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas, and sunnan oðde mónan, fyre oðde flöðwæter, wyllas oðde stánas oðde æniges cynnnes wudutreowa; conf. Homil. 1, 366. Just so it is said of Olaf the Saint, Forun sög. 5, 239, that he abolished the heathen sacrifices and gods: Ok mörg önnur (many other) blötskapar skrimsl, bæði hamra ok hörga, skôga, vötn ok trí ok öll önnur blót, bæði meiri ok minni.

But we can conceive of another reason too, why on such occasions the heathen gods, perhaps still unforgotten, are passed over in silence: christian priests avoided uttering their names or describing their worship minutely. It was thought advisable to include them all under the general title of demons or devils, and utterly uproot their influence by laying an interdict on whatever yet remained of their worship. The Merseburg poems show how, by way of exception, the names of certain gods were still able to transmit themselves in formulas of conjuring.

Pictures of heathenism in its debasement and decay have no right to be placed on a level with the report of it given by Tacitus from five to eight centuries before, when it was yet in the fulness of its strength. If the adoration of trees and rivers still lingering in the habits of the people no longer bears witness to the existence of gods, is it not loudly enough proclaimed in those imperfect and defective sketches by a Roman stranger? When he expressly tells us of a deus terra editus, of heroes and descendants of the god (plures deo ortos), of the god who rules in war (velut deo imperante), of the names of gods (deorum nominibus) which the people transferred to sacred groves, of the priest who cannot begin a divination
without invoking the gods (precatus deos) and who regards himself as a servant of the gods (ministros deorum), of a regnator omnium deus, of the gods of Germany (Germaniae deos in aspectu, Hist. 5, 17), of the diis patriis to whom the captured signa Romana were hung up (Ann. 1, 59); when he distinguishes between penetrales Germaniae deos or dii penates (Ann. 2, 10, 11, 16), communes dii (Hist. 4, 64), and conjugales dii (Germ. 18); when he even distinguishes individual gods, and tries to suit them with Roman names, and actually names (interpretatione Romana) a Mars, Mercurius, Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Isis, nay, has preserved the German appellations of the dens terra editus and of his son, and of a goddess, the terra mater; how is it possible to deny that at that time the Germans worshipped veritable gods? How is it possible, when we take into account all the rest that we know of the language, the liberty, the manners, and virtues of the Germani, to maintain the notion that, sunk in a stolid fetishism, they cast themselves down before logs and puddles, and paid to them their simple adoration?

The opinion of Cæsar,¹ who knew the Germans more superficially than Tacitus a hundred and fifty years later, cannot be allowed to derogate from the truth. He wants to contrast our ancestors with the Gauls, with whom he had had more familiar converse; but the personifications of the sun, fire, and the moon, to which he limits the sum total of their gods, will hardly bear even a forced 'interpretatio Romana'. If in the place of sun and moon we put Apollo and Diana, they at once contradict that deeply rooted peculiarity of the Teutonic way of thinking, which conceives of the sun as a female, and of the moon as a male being, which could not have escaped the observation of the Roman, if it had penetrated deeper. And Vulcan, similar to the Norse Loki, but one of those divinities of whom there is least trace to be found in the rest of Teutondom, had certainly less foundation than the equally visible and helpful deities of the nourishing earth, and of the quickening, fish-teeming, ship-sustaining water. I can only look upon Cæsar's statements as a half-true and roughest opinion, which, in the face of the more detailed testimony of Tacitus, hardly avails to cast a

¹ Deorum numero cos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam; reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. B.G. 6, 21. Compare with this B.G. 4, 7 where the Usipetes and Tenchtheri say to Cæsar: Sese unis Suevis concedere, quibus non dii quidem immortales pares esse possint.
doubt on other gods, much less to prove a bare worship of elements among the Germani.

All the accounts that vouch for the early existence of individual gods, necessarily testify at the same time to their great number and their mutual relationship. When Procopius ascribes a πολλοί θεῶν ὅμαλος to the Heruli, this 'great host' must also be good for the Goths, just those of whom we know the fewest particulars, and for all the Germans together. Jornandes would have us believe that Diceneus was the first to make the Goths acquainted with gods, cap. 11: Elegit ex eis tune nobilissimos prudentiores viros, quos theologiam instruens numina quaedam et sacella venerari susit; here evidently we see the ruler who promoted the service of particular gods. But that Jornandes himself credited his Goths with unmistakably native gods, is plain from cap. 10: Unde et sacerdotes Gothorum aliqui, illi qui piī vocabantur, subito patefactis portis cum citharis et vestibus candidis obviam sunt egressi paternis diis, ut sibi propiti Mācedones repellerent voce supplici modulantes. The fact here mentioned may even have been totally alien to the real Goths, but anyhow we gather from it the opinion of Jornandes. And if we also want evidence about a race lying quite at the opposite extremity of Germany, one that clung with great fidelity to their old-established faith, we have it in the Lex Frisionum, addit. tit. 13, where the subject is the penalty on temple-breakers: Immolatur diis quorum templum violavit.

We have now arrived at the following result: In the first century of our era the religion of the Germans rested mainly upon gods; a thousand or twelve hundred years later, among the northern section of the race, which was the last to exchange the faith of its fathers for a new one, the old system of gods is preserved the most perfectly. Linked by language and unbroken tradition to either extremity of heathenism, both its first appearance in history and its fall, stands central Germany from the fifth to the ninth century. During this period the figures of the heathen gods, in the feeble and hostile light thrown upon them by the reports of recent converts, come before us faded and indistinct, but still always as gods.

I must here repeat, that Tacitus knows no simulacrōn of German gods, no image moulded in human shape; what he had

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1 Grk. ἄγαλμα, signum, statue; Goth. manleika, OHG. manalihko, ON. likneski (see Suppl.); can the Sloven. malik, idol, have sprung from manleika?
stated generally in cap. 9, he asserts of a particular case in cap. 43, and we have no ground for disbelieving his assertion. The existence of real statues at that time in Germany, at least in the parts best known to them, would hardly have escaped the researches of the Romans. He knows of nothing but *signa* and *formas*, apparently carved and coloured, which were used in worship as symbols, and on certain occasions carried about; probably they contained some reference to the nature and attributes of the several deities. The model of a boat, *signum* in modum liburnae figuratum (cap. 9), betokened the god of sailing, the *formae* aprorum (cap. 45) the god to whom the boar was consecrated; and in the like sense are to be taken the ferrum imagines on trees and at certain sacrifices (see Suppl.). The vehiculum veste contextum of the goddess Earth will be discussed further on.

The absence of statues and temples, considering the impotence of all artistic skill at the period, is a favourable feature of the German cultus, and pleasing to contemplate. But it by no means follows that in the people's fancy the gods were destitute of a form like the human; without this, gods invested with all human attributes, and brought into daily contact with man, would be simply inconceivable. If there was any German poetry then in existence, which I would sooner assert than deny, how should the poets have depicted their god but with a human aspect?

 Attempts to fashion images of gods, and if not to carve them out of wood or stone, at least to draw and paint them, or quite roughly to bake them of dough (p. 63), might nevertheless be made at any period, even the earliest; it is possible too, that the interior parts of Germany, less accessible to the Romans, concealed here and there temples, statues and pictures. In the succeeding centuries, however, when temples were multiplied, images also, to fill their spaces, may with the greatest probability be assumed.

The terminology, except where the words *simulaeura, imagines*, which leave no room for doubt, are employed, makes use of several

Bohem. *malik*, the little finger, also Thumbkin, Tom Thumb? which may have to do with *idol*. [In the Slavie languages, *mal = little, s-mall*. Other OHG. terms are *award*; *piluli, piluli* (bild) effigies or image in general; in the Mid. Ages they said, for making or forming (p. 23), *ein bide giezen*, eine schonen junefrouwen *ergiezen*, Cod. Vindob. 428, num. 211, without any reference to metal-casting; *ein bide mezen*, Troj. 19626, *mezen*, Misc. 2, 156. On the Lith. *balwynas*, idolum, statua, conf. Pott de ling. Litth. 2, 51, Russ. *boleán*, Hung. *balcuny*; Russ. *kumir*, idol, both lit. and fig. (object of affection).
terms whose meaning varies, passing from that of temple to that of image, just as we saw the meaning of grove mixed up with that of numen. If, as is possible, that word *alah* originally meant rock or stone (p. 67), it might easily, like *haruc* and *wih*, melt into the sense of altar and statue, of ara, fanum, idolum. In this way the OHG. *abcut, abeuti* (Abgott, false god) does signify both fana and idola or statuae, Diut. 1, 497b 513a 515a 533b, just as our *götze* is at once the false god and his image and his temple (see above, p. 15. Gramm. 3, 694). *Idolum* must have had a similar ambiguity, where it is not expressly distinguished from delubrum, fanum and templum. In general phrases such as idola colere, idola adorare, idola destruere, we cannot be sure that images are meant, for just as often and with the same meaning we have adorare fana, destruere fana. Look at the following phrases taken from OHG. glosses: *abeuti* wihero stetio, fana excelsorum, Diut. 1, 515a. *abcut* in heilagém stetim, fana in excelsis, Diut. 1, 213a. *steininnu zeihan inti abeuti*, titulos et statuas, Diut. 1, 497b. *altara inti manalihun inti haruga*, aras et statuas et lucos, Diut. 1, 513b. *afgoda* began-gana, Lacombl. arch. 1, 11.—Saxo Gram. often uses *simulacra* for idols, pp. 249, 320-1-5-7. The statement in Aribonis vita S. Emmerammi (Acta sanct. Sept. 6, 483): ‘tradidero te genti Saxonum, quae tot idolorum cultor existit’ is undeniable evidence that the heathen Saxons in the 8th century served many false gods (Aribō, bishop of Freisingen in the years 764-783). The vita Lebuini, written by Hucbald between 918-976, says of the ancient Saxons (Pertz 2, 361-2): *Inservire idolorum cultibus* . . . *numinibus suis* vota solvens ac sacrificia . . . *simulacra* quae deos esse putatis, quosque venerando colitis. Here, no doubt, statues must be meant (see Suppl.).

In a few instances we find the nobler designation *deus* still employed, as it had been by Tacitus: *Cunque idem rex* (Eadwine in 625) *gratias ageret diis suis* pro nata sibi filia, Beda 2, 9.

The following passages testify to visible representations of gods; they do not condescend to describe them, and we are content to pick up hints by the way.

The very earliest evidence takes us already into the latter half of the 4th century, but it is one of the most remarkable. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl. 6, 37*, mentions the manifold dangers that beset Ulphilas among the heathen Goths: While the barbarians were yet heathens
(ἔτι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλληνικῶς θρησκευόντων)—ἐλληνικῶς here means in heathen fashion, and θρησκεύειν (to worship) is presently described more minutely, when the persecution of the Christians by Athanaric is related—Athanaric, having set the statue (evidently of the Gothic deity) on a waggon (ξύλαν έφ' ἀρμαμάξης ἐστós), ordered it to be carried round to the dwellings of those suspected of christianity; if they refused to fall down and sacrifice (προσκυνεῖν καὶ θύειν), their houses were to be fired over their heads. By ἀρμαμάξη is understood a covered carriage; is not this exactly the vehiculum veste contectum, in which the goddess, herself unseen, was carried about (Tac. Germ. 40)? Is it not the wagón in which Freyr and his priestess sat, when in holy days he journeyed round among the Swedish people (Formm. sóg. 2, 74-5)? The people used to carry about covered images of gods over the fields, by which fertility was bestowed upon them.1 Even the karráschen in our poems of the Mid. Ages, with Saracen gods in them, and the carroccio of the Lombard cities (RA. 263-5) seem to be nothing but a late reminiscence of these primitive gods' waggons of heathenism. The Roman, Greek and Indian gods too were not without such carriages.

What Gregory of Tours tells us (2, 29-31) of the baptism of Chlodovich (Clovis) and the events that preceded it, is evidently touched up, and the speeches of the queen especially I take to be fictitious; yet he would hardly have put them in her mouth, if it were generally known that the Franks had no gods or statues at all. Chrothild (Clotilda) speaks thus to her husband, whom she is trying to prepossess in favour of baptism: Nihil sunt díi quos colitis, qui neque sibi neque aliis poterunt subvenire; sunt enim aut ex lapide aut ex ligno aut ex metallo aliquo sculpti, nomina vero, quae eis indistis, homines fuere, non díi. Here she brings up Satyrum and Júpiter, with arguments drawn from classical mythology; and then: Quid Mars Mercuriusque potuere? qui potius sunt magicis artibus praediti quam divini numinis potentiam habuere. Sed ille magis coli debet qui coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, verbo ex non extantibus procreavit, &c. Sed cum haec regina diiceret, nullatenus ad credendum regis animus movebatur, sed dicebat: Deorum nostrorum jussione creantur ac pro-

1 De simulacro quod per campos portant (Indic. superst. cap. 28); one vita S. Martini cap. 9 (Surius 6, 232); Quia esset haec Gallorum rusticiis consuetudo, simulacra duemonum, candido tecta velamine, misera per agros suos circumferre dementia.
deunt; deus vero vester nihil posse manifestatur, et quod magis est, nec de deorum genere esse probatur (that sounds German enough!). When their little boy dies soon after receiving Christian baptism, Chlodovich remarks: Si in nomine deorum meorum puer fuisset dicatus, vixisset utique; nunc autem, quia in nomine dei vestri baptizatus est, vivere omnino non potuit. — So detailed a report of Chlodovich's heathenism, scarcely a hundred years after the event, and from the mouth of a well instructed priest, would be absurd, if there were no truth at the bottom of it. When once Gregory had put his Latin names of gods in the place of the Frankish (in which he simply followed the views and fashion of his time), he would as a matter of course go on to surround those names with the appropriate Latin myths; and it is not to be overlooked, that the four deities named are all gods of the days of the week, the very kind which it was quite customary to identify with native gods. I think myself entitled therefore, to quote the passage as proving at least the existence of images of gods among the Franks (see Suppl.).

The narrative of an incident from the early part of the 7th century concerns Alamannia. Columban and St. Gallus in 612 came upon a seat of idolatry at Bregenz on the Lake of Constance: Tres ergo imagines aeras et deauratas superstitionis gentilitas ibi colebat, quibus magis quam Creatori mundi vota reddenda credebat. So says the Vita S. Galli (Pertz 2, 7) written in the course of the next (8th) century. A more detailed account is given by Walfrid Strabo in his Vita S. Galli (acta Bened. sec. 2. p. 233): Egressi de navicula oratorium in honore S. Aureliae constructum adierunt. . . . Post orationem, cum per gyrum oculis euneta lustrassent, placuit illis qualitas et situs locorum, deinde oratione praemissa circa oratorium mansiunculas sibi feecerunt. Repererunt autem in templo tres imagines aeras deauratas paridi affixas,1 quas populus, dimiso altaris sacri cultu, adorabat, et oblatis sacrificiis dicere consuevit: isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in praesens. . . . Cunque ejusdem templi solemnitas ageretur, venit multitudo non minima promiscui sexus et aetatis, non tantum proper festivitatis honorem, verum etiam ad videndos peregrinos, quos cogoverant

1 So then, in a church really Christian, these old heathen gods' images had been let into the wall, probably to conciliate the people, who were still attached to them? There are several later instances of this practice, conf. Leedebur's archiv. 14, 363. 378. Thür. mitth. VI. 2, 13 (see Suppl.).
advenisse. . . Jussu venerandi abbatis (Columbani) Gallus
coopit viam veritatis ostendere populo. . . et in conspectu
omnia arripiens simulacra, et lapidibus in frusta comminuens pro-
ject in lacum. His visis nonnulli conversi sunt ad dominum.—Here
is a strange jumble of heathen and christian worship. In an
oratory built in honour of St. Aurelia, three heathen statues still
stand against the wall, to which the people continue to sacrifice,
without going near the christian altar; to them, these are still their
old tutelary deities. After the evangelist has knocked the images
to pieces and thrown them into Lake Constance, a part of these
heathen turn to christianity. Probably in more places than one
the earliest christian communities degenerated in like manner,
owing to the preponderance of the heathen multitude and the
supineness of the clergy. A doubt may be raised, however, as to
whether by these heathen gods are to be understood Alamannish, or
possibly Roman gods? Roman paganism in a district of the old
Helvetia is quite conceivable, and dii tutores loci sounds almost like
the very thing. On the other hand it must be remembered, that
Alamans had been settled here for three centuries, and any other
worship than theirs could hardly be at that time the popular one. That
sacrifice to Woden on the neighbouring Lake of Zurich1 (supra, p. 56)
mentioned by Jonas in his older biography of the two saints,
was altogether German. Lastly, the association of three di-
vinities to be jointly worshipped stands out a prominent feature in
our domestic heathenism; when the Romans dedicated a temple to
several deities, their images were not placed side by side, but in
separate cellae (chapels).—Ratpert (Casus S. Galli, Pertz 2, 61)
seems to have confounded the two events, that on L. Zurich, and
the subsequent one at Bregenz: Tuconiam (to Tuggen) advenerunt,
quae est ad caput lacus Turiciini, ubi eum consistere vellent, popu-
numque ab errore demonum revocare (nam adhuc idolis immolabant),
Gallo idola vana confringente et in lacum vicinum demergente, populus
in iram conversus. . . sanctos exinde pepulerunt. Inde iter
agentes pervenerunt ad castrum quod Arbona nuncupatur, juxta

1 Curiously, Mone (Gesch. des heid. 1, 171-5) tries to put this Woden-
worship at Tuggen upon the Heruli, who had never been heard of there, instead
of the Alamans, because Jonas says: Sunt inibi vicinae nationes Suevorum.
But this means simply those settled thereabouts; there was no occasion to speak
distant ones. Columban was staying in a place not agreeable to himself, in
order to convert the heathen inhabitants; and by Walafrid’s description too,
the district lies infra partes Alamanniae, where infra would do just as well.
lacum potamicum, ibique a Willimar presbytero honorifice suscepti, septem dies cum gaudio permanserunt. Qui a sanctis interrogatus, si seiret locum in solitudine illorum proposito congruum, ostendit eis locum jocundissimum ad inhabitandum nomine Brigantium. Ibique reperiientes templum olim christianae religioni dedicatum, nunc autem demonum imaginibus pollutum, mundando et conscendo in pristinum restituendum statum, atque pro statuis quas ejecerunt, sanctae Aureliae reliquias ibidem collocaverunt.—By this account also the temple is first of all christian, and afterwards occupied by the heathen (Alamanns), therefore not an old Roman one. That Woden's statue was one of those idola vana that were broken to pieces, may almost be inferred from Jonas's account of the beer-sacrifice offered to him. Ratpert's cantilena S. Galli has only the vague words:

Castra de Turegum adnavigant Tacconium,

Docent fidem gentem, Jovem linguant ardentem.

This Jupiter on fire, from whom the people apostatized, may very well be Donar (Thunar, Thor), but his statue is not alluded to. According to Arx (on Pertz 2, 61), Eckehardus IV. quotes 'Jovis et Neptuni idola,' but I cannot find the passage; conf. p. 122 Ermoldus Nigellus on Neptune. It is plain that the three statues have to do with the idolatry on L. Constance, not with that on L. Zurich; and if Mercury, Jupiter and Neptune stood there together, the first two at all events may be easily applied to German deities. In ch. VII, I will impart my conjecture about Neptune. But I think we may conclude from all this, that our tres imagines have a better claim to a German origin, than those imagines lapideae of the Luxovian forest, cited on p. 831.

1 Two narratives by Gregory of Tours on statues of Diana in the Treves country, and of Mercury and Mars in the south of Gaul, though they exclude all thought of German deities, yet offer striking comparisons. Hist. 8, 15: Deinde territorium Trevericae urbis expetit, et in quo nunc est monte habitaculum, quod cernitis, proprio labore construxi; reperi tamen hic Dianae simulacrum, quod populus hic increatus quasi deum adorabat, coloniwm etiam statu, in qua cum grandi cruciata sine ullo pedum stabam tegmine. . . . Verum ubi ad me multitudo vicinarum civitatim confinere coepit, praedicabam jugiter, nihil esse Dianam, nihil simulacra, nihilque quae eis videbatur exerceri cultura: indigna etiam esse ipsa, quae inter pocula luxuriasque proflusae cantica proferebant, sed potius deo omnipotenti, qui coelum fecit ac terram, digunam sit sacrificium landis impendere. orabam etiam saepius, ut simulacrum dominus diruto dignaretur populum ab hoc errore discutere. Flexit domini misericordia mentem rusticam, ut inclinaret aurum suam in verba oris mei, ut seilieet relietis idolis dominum sequeretur, (et) tune convocatis quibusdam ex eis simulacrum hoc immensum, quod elihere propria virtute non poteram, cum
The chief authority for images of gods among the Saxons is the famous passage in Widekind of Corvei (1, 12), where he relates their victory over the Thuringians on the R. Unstrut (circ. 530), "ut majorum memoria prodit": Mane autem facto, ad orientalem portam (of castle Sildungen) ponunt aquilam, aramque victoriae construentes, secundum errorem paternum, sacra sua propria veneratione venerati sunt, nomine Martem, effigie columnarum imitantes Hereulem, loco Solem quem Graeci appellant Apollinem.—This important witness will have to be called up again in more than one connexion.

To the Corvei annals, at year 1145, where the Eresburg is spoken of, the following is added by a 12th century hand (Pertz 5, 8 note): Hec eadem Eresburg est corrupto vocabulo dicta, quam et Julius Cesar Romano imperio subegit, quando et Arispolis nomen habuit ab eo qui Aris Greca designatione ac Mars ipse dictus est Latino famine. Duobus siquidem idolis hec dedita fuit, id est Aris, qui urbis menis insertus, quasi dominator dominantium, et Ermis, qui et Mercurius mercimonii insistentibuscolebatur in forensibus.—According to this, a statue of Mars seems to have stood on the town-wall.

That the Frisian temples contained images of gods, there seems to be sufficient evidence. It is true, the passage about Fosite (p. 84) mentions only fana dei; we are told that Willibrord laid violent hands on the sacred fountain, not that he demolished any image. eorum adulatorio possem crure; jam enim reliqua sigillorum (the smaller figures) quae facillima erant, ipse confergeram. Convenientibus autem multis ad hanc Dianae statuan, missis funibus trahere coeperant, sed nihil labor eorum proficiere poterat. Then came prayers; egressusque post orationem ad operarios veni, adprehensumque funem ut primo itu trahere coopinus, protinus simulacrum ruit in terram, contractumque cum malleis ferreis in pulverem redegi. So images went to the ground, whose contemplation we should think very instructive now. This Diana was probably a mixture of Roman and Gallie worship; there are inscriptions of a Diana arduinna (Bouquet 2, 319).—The second passage stands in Mirac. 2, 5: Erat autem hand procul a cellula, quam sepulchrum, martyris (Juliani Arvernnensis) haec matrona construxerat (in vico Brivatensi), grande delubrum, ubi in columna altissima simulacrum Martis Mercurique celebatur. Cunque delubri illius festa a gentilibus agerentur ad mortui mortuis thura deferrent, medio e vulgo connoventur pueri duo in scandalum, nudatoque unus gladio alterum appetit trucidandum. The boy runs to the saint's cell, and is saved. Quarta autem die, cum gentilitas vellet iterum diis exhibere libamnia, the christian priests offer a fervent prayer to the martyr, a violent thunderstorm arises, the heathens are terrified: Recedente autem tempestate, gentiles baptizati, statuan quas coherant confringentes, in lacum vico amnique proximum projecturum.—Soon after this, the Burgundians settled in the district. The statues broken down, crushed to powder, and flung into the lake, every bit the same as in that story of Ratpert's.
On the other hand, the Vita Bonifacii (Pertz 2, 339), in describing the heathen reaction under King Rédbod (circ. 716), uses this language: Jam pars ecclesiarum Christi, quae Francorum prius subjecta erat imperio, vastata erat ac destructa, idolorum quoque cultura extrectis delubrorum fanis lugubriter renovata. And if it should be thought that idolorum here is equivalent to deorum, the Vita Willehadi (Pertz 2, 380) says more definitely: Insanum esse et vanum a lapidibus auxilium petere et a simulacrīs mutis et surdis subsidii sperare solatium. Quo audito, gens fera et idololatriis nimium dedita stridebant dentibus in eum, dicentes, non debere profanum longius vivere, ino reum esse mortis, qui tam sacrilegia contra deos suos invictissimos proferre praesumsisset eloquia.—The event belongs to the middle of the 8th century, and the narrator Anskar († 865) comes a hundred years later; still we are not warranted in looking upon his words as mere flourishes. And I am not sure that we have a right to take for empty phrases, what is said in a Vita S. Goari († 649), which was not written till 839: Coepit gentilibus per circuitum (i.e. in Ripuaria), simulacrorum cultui deditis et vana idolorum superstitionis deceptis, verbum salutis annuntiare (Acta Bened. sec. 2, p. 282). Such biographies are usually based on older memorials.

The Frisians are in every sense the point of transition to the Scandinavians; considering the multifarious intercourse between these two adjoining nations, nothing can be more natural than to suppose that the Frisians also had in common with their neighbours the habit of temple and image worship. Even Fosete's temple in Heligoland I can hardly imagine destitute of images.

Some facility in carving figures out of wood or chiselling them out of stone is no more than we should have expected from those signa and effigies in Tacitus, and the art might go on improving up to a certain stage. Stone weapons and other implements that we find in barrows testify to a not unskilful handling of difficult materials. That not a single image of a Teutonic god has escaped the destructive hand of time and the zeal of the christians, need surprise us less than the total disappearance of the heathen temples. Why, even in the North, where the number of images was greater, and their destruction occurred much later, there is not one preserved; all the Lethrian, all the Upsalian idols are clean gone. The technical term in the Norse was skurðgoði (Forum. sög. 2, 73-5), from skēra
(sculpere), skurd (sculptura); in the two passages referred to, it is likneski af Freyr. Björn gives skûrgod, idolum, sculptile, from skûr, subgrundium (penthouse), because it had to be placed under cover, in sheds as it were; with which the OHG. skûrguda (Graff 6, 536) seems to agree. But there is no distinct proof of an ON. skûrgoda.

Dietmar's account is silent about the gods' images at Lethra 1; in Adam of Bremen's description of those at Upsal (cap. 233), the most remarkable thing is, that three statues are specified, as they were in that temple of the Alamanni: Nunc de superstitione Sveonum paucà dicemus. Nobilissimum illa gens templum habet, quod Ubsola dicitur, non longe positum a Sictona civitate (Sigtûn) vel Birka. In hoc templó, quod totum ex auro paratum est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio. Hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco. The further description we have nothing to do with here, but there occurs in it also the term sculpere; as the whole temple was ex auro paratum, i.e., decorated with gold, he might doubtless have described the figures of the gods above all as gilded, just as those in Alamannia were aereae et deauratae.—Saxo p. 13 tells of a golden statue of Othin; Cujus numen Septentrionis reges propensiore cultu prosequi cupientes, effigiem ipsius aureo complexi simulacro, statuam suae dignationis indicem maxima cum religionis simulatione Byzantium transmiserunt, ejus etiam brachiorum lineamenta confertissimo armillarum pondere per-stringebant. The whole passage, with its continuation, is not only unhistorical, but contrary to the genuine myths; we can only see in it the view of the gods taken by Saxo and his period, and inasmuch as golden and bedizened images of gods were consonant with such view, we may infer that there still lived in his time a recollection of such figures (see Suppl.). Ermoldus Nigellus, in describing Herold's (Harald's) interview with King Charles, mentions 4, 444 seq. (Pertz 2, 509-10) the gods' images (sculpta) of the heathen, and that he was said to have had ploughshares, kettles and water-buckets forged of that metal. According to the Nialssaga cap. 89, in a Norwegian temple (godahûs) there were to be seen three figures again, those of Thor and the two half-goddesses Thorgerdr and Irpa, of human size, and adorned with armlets;

1 On recently discovered figures of 'Odin,' v. infra, Wodan.
probably Thor sat in the middle on his car. Altogether the portraitures of Thor seem to have been those most in vogue, at least in Norway.¹ One temple in which many skurðgøð were worshipped, but Thor most of all, is described in Formm. sog. 2, 153 and 159, and his statue 1, 295. 302-6; in 2, 44 we read: "Thor sat í miciu ok var mést tignaðr, hann var mikill ok allr gulli báinn ok silfri (ex auro et argento consecutus); conf. Olaf's helga saga, ed. Holm. cap. 118-9, where a large standing figure of Thor is described; and Formm. sog. 4, 245, ed. Christ. p. 26. Freyr giörr af silfri, Isl. sog. 1, 134. Landn. 3, 2. One man carried a statuette of Thor carved in whalebone (liknesi Thors af tönn gert) in his pocket, so as to worship him secretly, when living among christians, Formm. sog. 2, 57. Thor's figure was carved on the öndvégis-pillars, Eyrbygg. p. 8. Landnamab. 2, 12; and on the prows of ships, Formm. sog. 2, 324. A figure of Thorgerðr hölgabrúðr, with rings of gold round the arm, to which people kneel, Formm. sog. 2, 108.²

¹ Finn Magnusen, bidrag til nordisk archaeologie, pp. 113-159.
² There is another thing to notice in this passage. The figure of Thorgerðr bent its hand up, when some one tried to snatch a ring off its arm, and the goddess was not disposed to let him have it. The same man then brought a lot of money, laid it at the figure's feet, fell on his knees and shed tears, then rose up and once more grasped at the ring, which now the figure let go. The same is told in the Føreyingasaga, cap. 23, p. 103. I regard it as a genuine trait of heathen antiquity, like others which afterwards passed into christian folk-tales of the Mid. Ages (see Suppl.). Of more than one image of grace we are told that it dropped a ring off its finger or a shoe off its foot as a gift to those who prayed before it. A figure of Christ gave its shoes to a poor man (Nicolai abbatis peregriñatio, ed. Werkauff p. 20), and a saint's image its gold slippers (Mones anz. 7, 584. Archiv. des Henneb. vereins, pp. 70, 71). A figure of Mary accepts a ring that is presented to it, and bends her finger as a sign that she will keep it (Méon nouvel. recueil 2, 296-7. Maerl. 2, 214). The two Virgin-stories in Méon and Maerlant, though one at bottom, have very different turns given them. In the latter, a young man at a game of ball pulls the ring off his finger, and puts it on the hand of a Madonna; in the former, the youth is boxing in the Colosseum at Rome, and puts his ring on the finger of a heathen statue, which bends the finger. Both figures now hold the man to his engagement. But the O. French poem makes the afflicted youth bring an image of Mary to bear on the heathen one, the Mary takes the ring off the other figure, and restores it to the youth. Conf. Kaiserchr. 13142. 13265. 13323. Forduni Scoti chronicon 1, 407 (W. Scott's minstr. 2, 136), relates this fable as an event of the 11th century: a nobleman playing at ball slips his ring on the finger of a broken statue of Venus, and only gets it back with the help of a priest Pahlmbus who understands magic. We see the story had spread at an early time, but it is old Teutonic in its origin ['uwdentuch,' evid. a slip for 'urdentuch']. Even in a painting of Mary, the infant in her lap hands her a casket to give to a suppliant, Cod. pal. 341 fol. 63). Similarly, statues turn the face away, stretch out the arm to protect, they speak, laugh, weep, eat and walk; thus a figure of Christ turns itself away (Is. 3, 78, 282), another begins to eat and grow bigger (Kinderm. legemden no. 9), to weep, to beckon, to run away
Frey’s statue of silver, (Freyr markaðr af silfri), Vatnsd. p. 44. 50; carried about in a waggon in Sweden, Formm. sog. 2, 73-7. The Jonsvikingasaga tells of a temple on Gautland (I. of Gothland), in which were a hundred gods, Formm. sog. 11, 40; truly a ‘densitas imaginum,’ as Jonas has it (see p. 83). Saxo Gram. 327 mentions a simulacrum quercus factum, carved in oak? or an oaktree worshipped as divine? (see Suppl.).

Not only three, but occasionally two figures side by side are mentioned, particularly those of Wotan and Donar or of Mars and Mercurius, as we see from the passages cited. Figures of Freyr and Thor together, and of Frigg and Freyja, occur in Müller’s sagabibl. 1, 92. Names of places also often indicate such joint worship of two divinities, e.g. in Hesse the Donnerseiche (Thor’s oak) stood close by the Wodansberg; and explorers would do well to attend to the point.

But neither the alleged number of the statues, nor their descriptions in the sagas can pass for historical; what they do prove is, that statues there were. They appear mostly to have been hewn out of wood, some perhaps were painted, clothed, and overlaid with silver or gold; but no doubt stone images were also to be met with, and smaller ones of copper or ivory.¹

I have put off until now the mention of a peculiar term for statue, with which some striking accounts of heathen idols connect themselves.

OHG, glosses have the word irmansúli, pyramides, Mons. 360. avarán, irmansúli, pyramides, Doc. 203b. irmansúl, colossus, altissima columna, Florent. 987a, Blas. 86. colossus est irminúl, Gl. Schletst. 18, 1. 28, 1. The literal meaning seems to be statue, to judge by the synonym avará, which in Gl. Jun. 226 is used for

(Deutsche sagen, no. 347. Tettaus, preuss. sagen, pp. 211-5-8). In Reinbot’s Georg the idol Apollo is flogged with rods by a child, and forced to walk away (3258-69), which reminds one of the god Perún, whom, according to monk Nestor, Vladimir the Apostolic caused to be scourged with rods. In an Indian story I find a statue that eats the food set before it, Polier 2, 302-3. Antiquity then did not regard these images altogether as lumps of dead matter, but as penetrated by the life of the divinity. The Greeks too have stories of statues that move, shake the lance, fall on their knees, close their eyes (καταμύσοις), bleed and sweat, which may have been suggested by the attitudes of ancient images; but of a statue making a movement of the hand, bending a finger, I have nowhere read, significant as the position of the arms in images of gods was held to be. That the gods themselves χείρα ιπεριχονοσ over those whom they wish to protect, occurs as early as in Homer.

¹ Finn Magnusen ibid. 132-7.
statua and imago. It was not yet extinct in the 12th century, as appears from two places in the Kaiserchronik, near the beginning of the poem, and very likely there are more of them; it is said of Mercury (Massmann 129):

\[ \text{uf einir yrmensúl} \]
\[ \text{stuont ein abgot ungehiure,} \]
\[ \text{den hiezen sie ir koufman.} \]

Again of Julius Cæsar (Massm. 624):

\[ \text{Römere in ungetrüweliche} \]
\[ \text{sluogen,} \]
\[ \text{uf einir yrmensúl sie in begruoben.} \]

And of Simon Magus 24° (Massm. 4432):

\[ \text{uf eine yrmensúl er steic,} \]
\[ \text{daz lantvolc im allesamt neic.} \]
\[ \text{The land-folk to him All bowed.} \]

That is, worshipped him as a god. Nay, in Wolfram's Titurel, last chapter, where the great pillars of the (christian) temple of the Grail are described, instead of ‘inneren seul’ of the printed text (Hahn 6151), the Hanover MS. more correctly reads irdmensúl.

Further, in the Frankish annals ad ann. 772 it is repeatedly stated, that Charles the Great in his conquest of the Saxons destroyed a chief seat of their heathen superstition, not far from Heresburg\(^1\) in Westphalia, and that it was called Irminsúl.


The same in the Chron. Moissiac, except the spelling Hirminsul (Pertz 1, 295), and in Ann. Quedlinb., &c. (Pertz 5, 37).


Einhardi Fuld. annales: Karolus Saxoniam bello aggressus, Eresburgum castrum cepit, et idolum Saxonum quod vocabatur Irminsul destruit (Pertz 1, 348).

Ann. Ratisbon.: Carolus in Saxonia conquesivit Eresburg et Irminsul (Pertz 1, 92).

Ann. Lauriss.: Carolus in Saxonia castrum Aeressburg expugnat, fanum et lucum eorum famosum Irminsul subvertit (Pertz 1, 117).

\(^1\) Now Stadtbergen, conf. the extract from Dietmar; but strong reasons incline us to push the pillar (seule) some 15 miles deeper into the Osning forest; Clostermeier Eggesterstein, pp. 26-7: Eresburg, Horolus in pago Hessi Saxonico Saracho 735. 350. Conf. Massmann's Eggesterst. p. 31.

And Dietmar of Merseburg (Pertz 5, 744) further tells us, in connexion with later events: Sed exercitus capta urbe (Eresburch) ingressus, juvenem praefatum usque in ecclesiam S. Petri, ubi prius ab antiquis Irminsul colebatur, bello defatigatum depulit.—Taking all these passages together, Irminsûl passes through the very same gradations of meaning we unfolded in ch. IV, and signifies now fanum, now lucus, now idolum itself. It can scarcely be doubted, that vast woodlands extended over that region: what if Osning, the name of the mountain-forest in which the pillar stood, betokened a holy-wood? The gold and silver hoard, which Charles was supposed to have seized there, may well be legendary embellishment. Ruodolf of Fuld goes more into detail about the Irminsûl; after his general statement on the heathen Saxons, that ‘frondosis arboribus fonti- busque venerationem exhibebant’ (p.101), he goes on: Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia (Pertz 2, 676),

1 Poeta Saxo 1, 65 (Bouquet 5, 137):
Gens eadem coluit simulacrum quod vocitabant
Irminsul, cujus factura simulque columna
Non operis parvi fuerat, pariterque decoris.

2 Ḇ is the Sax. form for ans (p. 25), which denoted a god, and also a mountain; in High G. the name would be Ansnic, Ensnic. But, beside this mons Osningi near Theutmelli, i.e. Detmold (Pertz 2, 447), there stood also a silva Osning not far from Osnabriick (Möser urk. no 2), and a third in Riparia on the Lower Rhine (Lacomlet no 310. 343, 354), which seems to have extended towards the Ardennes as far as Aachen (Aix la Chap.), mentioned in Vilkinasa cap. 40; and according to Bärsch on Schaunat’s Eifia, illustr. 1, 110, and Hattener 3, 602a, the Ardennes itself was called Oswicka, Osenich. By the Osnabriick charter above, the forest there appears even to have been modelled on the Osning of Aachen (ad similitudinem ‘foresti Aquisgranum pertinentis). That Osning is met with in several places, speaks for a more general meaning [than that of a mere proper name]; like Ḇ, ans, and fairguni, it is the sacred mountain and forest. Ledebrur takes the Teutoburgiensis saltus to be Osning. Osnabriick, Asnebruggi (bridge of the Æses) seems nearly related.

3 Is this Ermen-pillar hoard an allusion to the legend of Ermenrich’s hoard? (Saxo Gram. 156. Reinh. fuchs CLII.)
(see Suppl.). Here was a great wooden pillar erected, and worshipped under the open sky, its name signifies universal all-sustaining pillar. This interpretation appears faultless, when we take with it other words in which the meaning is intensified by composition with *irmin*. In the Hildebrands lied, *irmingot* is the supreme god, the god of all, not a peculiar one, agreeing in sense with *thiodgod*, the (whole) people’s god, formed by another strengthening prefix, Hel. 33, 18. 52, 12. 99, 6. *irminman*, an elevated expression for man, Hel. 38, 24. 107, 13. 152, 11. *irminthiod*, the human race, Hel. 87, 13 and in Hildebr.¹ In the same way I explain proper names compounded with *irman, irmin* (Gramm. 2, 448). And *irmansúl, irminsúl* is the great, high, divinely honoured statue; that it was dedicated to any one god, is not to be found in the term itself.—In like manner the AS. has *eormencyn* (genus humanum), Beow. 309. Cod. Exon. 333, 3. *cormengrund* (terra), Beow. 1711. (and singularly in an adj. form: ofer ealne yrmenec grund, Cod. Exon. 243, 13). *eormenstrýnd* (progenies).—ON. *iormungrund* (terra), *iormungandr* (anguis maximus), *iörmunrekr* (taurus maximus). From all this may be gathered the high mythic antiquity of these appellations, and their diffusion among all branches of the Teutonic race; for neither to the Goths can they have been strange, as their famous king’s name *Ermanaricus* (Aírmanareiks, ON. Jörmunrekr) shows; and beyond a doubt the *Hermanduri* are properly *Ermunduri* (Gramm. 2, 175), the H being often prefixed to all such forms.

Now whatever may be the probable meaning of the word *irman, iörmun, cormen*, to which I shall return in due time, one thing is evident, that the *Irman-pillar* had some connexion, which continued to be felt down to a late period (p.116), with Mercury or Hermes, to whom Greek antiquity raised similar posts and pillars, which were themselves called *Hermae*, a name which suggests our Teutonic one.

The Saxons may have known more about this; the Franks, in Upper Germany, from the 8th to the 13th century, connected with *irmansúl, irminsúl* the general notion of a heathen image set up on a pillar. Probably Ruodolf associated with his *truncus ligni* the

¹ The Slav. ramo, Bohem. ramenso, is with transposition the Lat. armus, OHG. aram, and means both arm and shoulder; in the Sloven. compound ramen-velik, valde magnus, it intensifies exactly like irman; does this point to an affinity between irman and arm? Arminius too is worth considering; conf. Schaffarik 1, 427.
thought of a choice and hallowed tree-stem (with, or without, a god's image?), rather than of a pillar hewn into shape by the hand of man; this fits in too with the worshipping sub divo, with the word lucus used by some of the chroniclers, and with the simplicity of the earliest forest-worship. As the image melts into the notion of tree, so does the tree pass into that of image; and our Westphalian Irmen-pillar most naturally suggests the idea of that Thor's-oak in Hesse; the evangelists converted both of them into churches of St. Peter. I suspect an intimate connexion between the Irman-pillars and the Roland-pillars erected in the later Mid. Ages, especially in North Germany; there were in Sweden Thor's-pillars, and among the Anglo-Saxons Æthelstán-pillars (Lappenberg 1, 376). There yet remains to be given an account of a sacred post in Neustria, as contained in the Vita Walarici abbatis Lencensis (+622), said to have been composed in the 8th century: Et juxta ripam ipsius fluminis stips erat magnus, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute inmissus, qui nimio cultu morem gentilium a rusticis colebatur. Walaricus causes the log to be thrown down: et his quidem rusticis habitantibus in locis non parvum tam moerorem quam et stuporem omnibus praebuit. Sed undique illis certatim concurrentibus cum armis et fustibus, indigne hoc ferentes invicem, ut injuriam dei sui vindicarent (Acta Bened. sec. 2, pp. 84-5). The place was called Augusta (bourg d' Augst, near the town of Eu), and a church was built on the spot.

I think I have now shown, that in ancient Germany there were gods and statues. It will further be needful to consider, how antiquity went to work in identifying foreign names of gods with German, and conversely German with foreign.

The Romans in their descriptions cared a great deal more to make themselves partially understood by a free translation, than, by preserving barbarous vocables, to do a service to posterity. At the same time they did not go arbitrarily to work, but evidently with care.

Caesar's Sol, Luna and Vulcan are perhaps what satisfies us least; but Tacitus seems never to use the names of Roman deities, except advisedly and with reflection. Of the gods, he names only Mercury and Mars (Germ. 9. Ann. 13, 57. Hist. 4, 64); of deified heroes, Hercules, Castor and Pollux (Germ. 9, 43); of goddesses,
Isis (Germ. 9), the *terra mater* by her German name (Germ. 40), and the *mater deum* (Germ. 45). Incompatible deities, such as Apollo or Bacchus, are never compared. What strikes us most, is the absence of Jupiter, and the distinction given to Mercury, who was but a deity of the second rank with the Romans, a mere god of merchants, but here stands out the foremost of all: Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt: to him alone do human sacrifices fall, while Mars and Hercules content themselves with beasts. This prominence of Mercury is probably to be explained by the fact, that this god was worshipped by the Gauls likewise as their chief divinity, and was the most frequently portrayed (deum maxime Mercurium colunt, hujus sunt plurima simulacra, Caes. B. Gall. 6, 17); and that the looks of the Romans, when directed towards Germany, still saw Gaul in the foreground; besides, it may have been Gallic informants that set the German divinity before them in this light. Observe too the Gaulish juxtaposition of Mars and Mercurius in statues (p.111), precisely as Tacitus names the German ones together (Ann. 13, 57). The omission of Jupiter is obviously accounted for, by his worship yielding the precedence to that of Mercury in those nations which Tacitus knew best: we shall see, as we go on, that the northern and remoter branches on the contrary reserved their highest veneration for the thunder-god. On Isis and Hercules I shall express my views further on. Whom we are to understand by the Dioscuri, is hard to guess; most likely two sons of Woden, and if we go by the statements of the Edda, the brothers Baldr and Hermôdr would be the most fitting.

This adaptation of classical names to German gods became universally spread, and is preserved with strict unanimity by the Latin writers of the succeeding centuries; once set in circulation, it remained current and intelligible for long ages.

The Gothic historian names but one god after the Roman fashion, and that is Mars: Quem Gothi semper asperrima placavere cultura (Jornandes cap. 5), with which the Scythian Ares, so early as in Herodotus 4, 62-3, may be compared.

Paulus Diaconus winds up his account of Woden with the express announcement (1, 9): Wodan sane, quem addecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et

1 Schöpflin, Als. ill. 1, 435-60; esp. on a fanum of Mercury at Ebermünster 1, 58. Conf. Hummel, bibl. deutsch. alterth. p. 220. Creuzer, altröm. cultur am Oberrhein, pp. 48, 98.
ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur. Just so his older countryman Jonas of Bobbio, in that account of the sacrificing Alamans, declares: Ili aiunt, deo suo Vodano, quem Mercurium vocant alii, se velle litare; upon which, a gloss inserted by another hand says less correctly: Qui apud eos Vuotant vocatur, Latini autem Martem illum appellant; though otherwise Woden greatly resembles Mars (v. infra).

Gregory of Tours (supra, p.107) makes Saturn and Jupiter, and again Mars Mercuriusque the gods whom the heathen Chlodovich adored. In 1, 34 he expresses himself in more general terms: Privatus, Gabalitanae urbis episcopus. . . . daemonis immolare compulsitur a Chroco Alamannorum rege (in the third cent.). Wide-kind of Corvei names Mars and Hercules as gods of the Saxons (see p.111); and that little addition to the Corvei Annals (see p.111) couples together the Greek and Latin denominations Aris and Mars, Ermis and Mercurius.

The Indiculus paganiarum reckons up, under 8: De sacrís Mercurii vel Jovis; under 20: De feriis quae faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio. So that the thunder-god, of whom Tacitus is silent, is in other quarters unforgotten; and now we can understand Wibald's narrative of the robur Jovis (see p.72), and in Bonifac. epist. 25 (a.d. 723) the presbyter Jovi mactans (see Suppl.).

In the Additamenta operum Matthaei Paris. ed. W. Watts, Paris 1644, pp. 25-6, there is an old account of some books which are said to have been discovered in laying the foundation of a church at Verlamacestre (St Albans) in the tenth century, and to have been burnt. One of them contained 'invocationes et ritus idololatrarum civium Varlamacestrensium, in quibus comperit, quod specialiter Phoebum deum solis invocarunt et coluerunt, secundario vero Mercurium, Voden anglice appellatum, deum videlicet mercatorum, quia cives et compatriotae . . . fere omnes negotiatores et institores fuerunt.' Evidently the narrator has added somewhat out of his own erudition; the invocations and rites themselves would have given us far more welcome information.

Passages which appear to speak of a German goddess by the name of Diana, will be given later. Neptune is mentioned a few times (supra, p.110).

1 Had these been Roman gods, Jupiter would certainly have been named first, and Mercury after.
Saxo Grammaticus, though he writes in Latin, avoids applying the Roman names of gods, he uses Othinus or Othin, never Mercurius instead; yet once, instead of his usual Thor (pp. 41, 103), he has Jupiter, p. 236, and malleus Jovialis; Mars on p. 36 seems to stand for Othin, not for Tyr, who is never alluded to in Saxo. Ermoldus Nigellus, citing the idols of the Normanni, says 4, 9 (Pertz 2, 501), that for God (the Father) they worshipped Neptune, and for Christ Jupiter; I suppose Neptune must here mean Othin, and Jupiter Thor; the same names recur 4, 69. 100. 453-5.

Melis-Stoke, as late as the beginning of the 14th century, still remembers that the heathen Frisians worshipped Mercury (1, 16. 17); I cannot indicate the Latin authority from which no doubt he drew this.¹

If the supposition be allowed, and it seems both a justifiable and almost a necessary one, that, from the first century and during the six or eight succeeding ones, there went on an uninterrupted transfer of the above-mentioned and a few similar Latin names of gods to domestic deities of Gaul and Germany, and was familiar to all the educated; we obtain by this alone the solution of a remarkable phenomenon that has never yet been satisfactorily explained: the early diffusion over half Europe of the heathen nomenclature of the days of the week.

These names are a piece of evidence favourable to German heathenism, and not to be disregarded.

The matter seems to me to stand thus.²—From Egypt, through the Alexandrians, the week of seven days (ἐβδομάς), which in Western Asia was very ancient, came into vogue among the Romans, but the planetary nomenclature of the days of the week apparently not till later. Under Julius Caesar occurs the earliest mention of ‘dies Saturni’ in connection with the Jewish sabbath, Tibull. 1, 3, 18. Then ἡλίου ήμέρα in Justin Mart. apolog. 1, 67. Ερμου and Αφροδίτης ήμέρα in Clem. Alex. strom. 7, 12. The institution fully carried out, not long before Dio Cassius 37, 18, about the close

¹ Our MHG. poets impart no such information; they only trouble their heads about Saracen gods, among whom it is true Jupiter and Apollo make their appearance too. In Rol. 97, 7 are named Mars, Jovinus, Saturnus.

² I can here use only the beginning, not the conclusion, which would be more useful for my investigation, of a learned paper by Julius Hare on the names of the days of the week (Philolog. Mus., Nov. 1831). Conf. Idelers handb. der chronol. 2, 177-180, and Letronne, observations sur les représentations zodiacales, p. 99.
of the 2nd century.\(^1\) The Romans had previously had a week of nine days, mundinae=novendinae. Christianity had adopted from the Jews the hebdomas, and now it could not easily guard the church against the idolatrous names of days either (see Suppl.).

But these names, together with the institution of the week, had passed on from Rome to Gaul and Germany, sooner than the christian religion did. In all the Romance countries the planetary names have lasted to this day (mostly in a very abridged form), except for the first day and the seventh: instead of dies solis they chose dies dominica (Lord’s day), It. domenica, Sp. domingo, Fr. dimanche; and for dies Saturni they kept the Jewish sabatum, It. sabbato, Sp. sabado, Fr. samedi (=sabdedi, sabbati dies). But the heathen names of even these two days continued in popular use long after: Ecce enim dies solis adest, sic enim barbaries vocitare diem dominicum consueta est, Greg. Tur. 3, 15.

Unhappily a knowledge of the Gothic names of days is denied us. The sabbatē dags, sabbatō dags, which alone occurs in Ulphilas, proves nothing, as we have just seen, against a planetary designation of the remaining six or five days. A sannōns dags, a mēnins dags may be guessed; the other four, for us the most important, I do not venture to suggest. Their preservation would have been of the very highest value to our inquiry.

Old High Germ.—I. sannōn dag, O. v. 5, 22. Gl. blas. 76\(^a\). Lacombl. arch. 1, 6.—II. mānin tac (without authority, for mānitag, mānotag in Graff 2,795. 5, 358 have no reference; mānotag in Notker, ps. 47, 1).—III. dies Martis, prob. Ziuves tac among Alamans; in the 11th cent. Cies dace, Gl. blas. 76\(^a\).\(^2\) prob. different among Bavarians and Lombards.—IV. dies Mercurii, perhaps still Wuoantes tac? our abstract term, din mittawccha already in N. ps. 93, and mittwocha, Gl. blas. 76\(^b\).—V. dies Jovis, Donares tac, Toniris tac, N. ps. 80, 1. donrestac, Gl. blas. 76\(^a\). Burcard von Worms 195\(^b\): quintam feriam in honorem Jovis honorati.—VI. dies Veneris, Frī dag, O. v. 4, 6. Frīje tag, T. 211, 1.—VII. at last, like the Romance and Gothic, avoiding the heathenish dies Saturni, sambaztag, T. 68, 1. N. 91, 1.\(^3\) samiztag, N. 88, 40. sannōn aband, our sonnabend,

\(^1\) An old hexameter at the end of the editions of Ausonius: Ungues Mercurio, barbam Jove, Cypride crines (nails on Wednesday, beard on Thursday, hair on Friday).

\(^2\) Cies for Zies, as the same glossist 86\(^a\) writes gieimbere and cinnun.

\(^3\) Sambaculus n. prop. in Karajan.
already in O. v. 4, 9, prob. abbreviation of suumtundages âband, feria ante dominicam, for vespera solis cannot have been meant [conf. Engl. Whitsun-eve]; and occasionally, corresponding to the Romance dies dominica, frôntag, N. ps. 23.

Mid. High Germ.—Would any one believe, that the names of the days of the week are not easily to be picked out of the abundant remains of our MHG. literature? It is true, sunnen tac (suntac in Berth. 118) and mántae (Parz. 452, 16. mœntac 498, 22. Amis 1648)¹ admit of no doubt. Neither do Donrestac (Donerstag, Uolrich 73ᵃ. Dunrestac, Berth. 128), spelt Duristag in a Semi-Low Germ. urk. of 1300 in Höfer p. 57), and Dornstag in one of 1495, Useners femgerichten p. 131; nor Fritac (Parz. 448, 7. 470, 1. Walth. 36, 31. Berth. 134), Vrietag, Uolrich 73ᵃ; nor yet samztac (Parz. 439, 2. Berth. 138), sunnen âbent (Trist. 3880).—But uncertainty hangs about the third and fourth days. The former, by a remarkable variation, was in Bavaria named Eritac, Eretac (the true form not quite certain, eritag in Adelung’s vat. hss. 2, 189. eretag in Berth. 122; see examples collected from urkunden, Schm. 1, 96-7), in Swabia on the contrary Zies tac, for Ziewestac. Both of these forms, which have nothing to do with each other, live to this day in the speech of the common people: Bav. iertc, Austr. iärta, irita, Vicentino-Germ. cörtä, ortä, Alem. ziestag, zinstag, ziestig, zistig, zienstig, zeinstig, zinstag. The insertion of the liquid has corrupted the word, and brought in quite irrelevant notions. In central Germany the form diestag, tiestag seems to predominate (diestik in the Rhôn), whence our dienstag (less correctly dinstag, there is good reason for the ic); the spelling dingstag, as if from ding, thing, judicium, is false; dinstag occurs in Gaupps magdeb. recht p. 272.—The fourth day I have never seen named after the god, either in MHG. or in our modern dialects, unless indeed the gwontig cited in the note can be justified as standing for Gwotenstag, Wuotenstag; everywhere that abstraction ‘midweek’ has carried all before it, but it has itself become

¹ Zuemtig for Monday, Stald. 2, 470 ought perhaps to be nœmentig, ze mântage; yet 1, 490 he has gunti, gunti, Tobler 248ᵇ has gwontig, guentig, and Zellwegers urk. 1ᵇ, 19 gunti, for which Urk. no. 146 has ‘an guten tag,’ which seems to be supported by Haltas jahrzeitb. Or is only this particular Monday after Lent called so? In the Cod. pal. 372, 193 (ann. 1382) we have ‘gutem tag.’ The resemblance of this good day to the Westphalian Gudensdag (Woden’s day) is purely accidental.
almost unintelligible by being changed into a masculine mittwoch, mittich, Berth. 24, mäktig, Stald. 2, 194, conf. the Gothl. majkädag, Almqv. 442a), 'an der mitkun,' fem., is found in the Cod. zaringobad. no. 140 (a.d. 1261). So even for the fifth day, the numeric name phinzac (Berth. 128. Ottoc. 144a. Grützer urk. of 1338. Schwebenspiegel, p. 196. Schm. 1, 322), or phingsstag, has made its way into some districts of Upper Germany through Græco-Slavic influences, τημπτη, petek, piatek, patek, though by these the Slavs mean Friday (see Suppl.).

NEW HIGH GERM.—I. sonntag. II. montag. III. Dienstag. IV. mittwoch. V. Donnerstag. VI. Freitag. VII. samstag, sonnabend.

OLD SAXON.—The OS. names are wanting, but must have differed in some essential points from the OHG., as the derived dialects prove. We may pretty safely assume Wōdanes dag for the fourth day of the week, for in Westphalia it is still called Godenstag, Gonstag, Gaunstagi, Gunstag, at Aix Gouesdag, in Lower Ithen. urkunden Gudestag, Günther, 3, 585. 611 (a.d. 1380-7), Gudenstag, Kindlinger hörigk. p. 577-8 (a.d. 1448).—The third day was probably Tiwesdag, the fifth Thunaresdag, the sixth Friundag. The most unlike would doubtless be the seventh, was it formed after dies Saturni, Sätresdag? conf. the Westph. Saterstag, Saterstaig, Günther 3, 502 (a.d. 1365). In Sachsensp. 2, 66 one MS. reads for sunavend Satersdach (see Suppl.).


OLD FRISIAN.—I. sonnadei. II. monadei. III. Tysdei. IV. Wernsdei. V. Thunresdei, Tornsdei. VI. Frigendei, Fredei. VII. Saterdei (references for all these forms in Richthofen).

NEW FRISIAN.—I. sneyn, abbrev. from sinnedey, sendei, senned
(conf. Fréd); the final n in scyn, no doubt, as in OFris. Frigendei, a relic of the old gen. sing. in the weak decl. II. moandey. III. Tysdei. IV. Wönsdei. V. Törsdei. VI. Fréd, abbrev. from Frédéy. VII. sniuwn, snot, abbrev. from sinnejuwn = Sun(day)-even. Conf. tegenwoordige staat van Friesland 1, 121. Wassenbergh's bidraghen 2, 56. Halbertsma noaogst p. 281-2 (see Suppl.).

**North Frisian.—** I. sennendei. II. monnendei. III. Tirsdei. IV. Wönsdei. V. Törsdei. VI. Fridei. VII. sennin (in = even).

**Anglo-Saxon.—** I. sunnan dæg. II. monan dæg. III. Tives dæg. IV. Wöldnes or Wöldnes dæg. V. Thunores dæg. VI. Frige dæg. VII. Satres or Sæternes dæg.

**Old Norse.—** I. sunnudagr. II. manadagr. III. Tyrsdagr. Tysdagr. IV. Övinsdagr. V. Thörsdagr. VI. Friadagr, Freyjudagr. VII. laugardagr.

**Swedish.—** I. söndag. II. måndag. III. Tisdag, whence even Finn. tystai. IV. Onsdag. V. Thorsdag. VI. Fredag VII. lördag.

**Danish.—** I. söndag. II. mandag. III. Tirsdag. IV. Onsdag. V. Torsdag. VI. Fredag. VII. lördag (see Suppl.).

We see, it is only in the seventh day that the Scandinavian names depart from the Saxon, Frisian and Dutch: laugardagr means bath-day because people bathed at the end of the week. Yet even here there may be some connexion; a Latin poem of the 9th century on the battle of Fontenay (Bouquet 7, 304) has the singular verse: *Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium*; a devil's bath? conf. ch. XII, Saturn. [The Germ. for carnage is blutbad, blood-bath.]

Even if the Germans from the earliest times knew the week of seven days from the four phases of the lunar change, yet the

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1 This ON. *sunnudagr* is noticeable, as in other cases söl is used rather than *sunna*; *sunnudagr* seems to have been formed by the christian teachers in imitation of the other Teutonic languages. The Swed. and Dan. *söndag* (instead of soldag) must have been taken bodily from a Plattdeutsch form.

2 To the Lat. word vix, gen. vicis (change, turn) corresponds, without the usual consonant-change, the Gothic *vikó*, OHG. wéchá and wéhsal, both referable to the verb veiká, väik, OHG. wicku (I give way), because change is a giving way [in German, 'der wechsel ist ein weichen']. Ulph. has vikó only once, Lu. 1, 8, where év *táčis* év *éphmerías* is translated 'in vikón kunjis'; it is evidently something more than *táčis* here, it expresses at the same time a part of the gen. *éphmerías*, therefore lit. 'in vicis generis', which the Vulg. renders
naming of the days and the order in which they stand is manifestly an importation from abroad. On the contrary supposition, there would have been variation in details; and Saturn, for whom no Teutonic god seems prepared to stand sponsor, would have been left out in the cold.

But it would be no less absurd to attribute the introduction of the week and the names of the days to the Christians. As they came into vogue among the heathen Romans, they could just as well among heathen Gauls and Germans; nay, considering the lively intercourse between the three nations, a rapid diffusion is altogether natural. Christianity had the Jewish week, and it tolerated names which were a frequent offence to it, but were already too deeply rooted, and could only be partially dislodged. Those words of Gregory reveal the utter aversion of the clergy, which comes out still more plainly in the language (publ. in Syn tagma de baptismo, p. 190) of an Icelandic bishop in 1107, who actually did away with them in Iceland, and replaced them by mere numeric names. How should the christian teachers ever have suffered hateful names of idols to be handed over to their recent converts for daily use, unless they had already been long established among the people? And in Germany, how should the Latin gods have been allowed to get translated into German ones, as if on purpose to put them within easy reach of the people, had they not already been familiar with them for centuries?

Again, the high antiquity of these translations is fully established by their exact accordance with the terminology used in the first centuries, as soon as people came to turn German gods into Roman. In my opinion, the introduction of the seven days' names by 'in ordine vicis'. Now whether viko expressed to the Goths the alternation of the moon's quarters, we do not know for certain; I incline to believe it, as the OHG. wehâ, wochâ, AS. wice, wuce, ON. vika, Swed. vecka, Dan. uge, are all limited to the one meaning of septimana. The very absence of consonant-change points to a high antiquity in the word. It is remarkable that the Javanese vuku means a section of time, the year falling into 30 vukus (Humb. Kawisper. 1, 196). The Finn. wikkko is more likely to have been borrowed from the Noise than from so far back as the Gothic. I remark further, that an observance by the Germani of sections of time must be inferred from the mere fact that certi dies were fixed for the sacrifices to Mercury, Tac. Germ. 9.

1 Jos. Fuchs, gesch. von Mainz 2, 27 seq. (Kupfert 4, no 7) describes a Roman round altar, prob. of the 3rd or 4th century, on which are carved the seven gods of the week (1 Saturn, 2 Apollo, 3 Diana, 4 Mars, 5 Mercury, 6 Jupiter, 7 Venus), and in an 8th place a genius.
amongst us must be placed at latest in the fourth or fifth century; it may not have taken place simultaneously in all parts of Teuton- 
dom.

Our forefathers, caught in a natural delusion, began early to ascribe the origin of the seven days' names to the native gods of their fatherland.—William of Malmesbury, relating the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, says of Hengist and Horsa, that they were sprung from the noblest ancestry: Erant enim abnepotes illius antiquissimi Voden, de quo omnium pene barbararum gentium regium genus lineam trahit, quemque gentes Anglorum deum esse delirantes, ei quartum diem septimanae, et sextum uxori ejus Freae perpetuo ad hoc tempus consecraverunt sacrilegio (Savile 1601. p. 9).—More circumstantially, Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. 6. ed. 1587, p. 43) makes Hengist say to Vortigern: Ingressi sumus maria, regnum tuum duce Mercurio petivimus. Ad nomen itaque Mercurii erecto vultu rex inquit curusmodi religionem haberent? cui Hengistus: deos patrios Saturnum, atque ceteros, qui mundum gubernant, colimus, maxime Mercurium (as in Tac. 9.), quem Woden lingua nostra appellamus. Huic veteres nostri dicaverunt quartam septimanae feriam, quae usque in hodiernum diem nomen Wodenes-dai de nomine ipsius sortita est. Post illum colimus deam inter ceteras potentissimam, cui et dicaverunt sextam feriam, quam de nomine ejus Fredai vocamus.—As Matthew of Westminster (Flores, ed. 1601, p. 82) varies in some details, his words may also be inserted here: Cunque tandem in praesentia regis (Vortigerni) essent constituti, quaesivit ab eis, quam fidem, quam religionem patres eorum coluissent? cui Hengistus: deos patrios, scilicet Saturnum, Jovem atque ceteros, qui mundum gubernant, colimus, maxime autem Mercurium, quem lingua nostra Voden appellamus. Huic patres nostri veteres dedicaverunt quartam feriam septimanae, quae in hunc hodiernum diem Vodenesday appellatur. Post illum colimus deam inter ceteras potentissimam, vocabulo Fream, cujus vocabulo Friday appellamus. Frea ut voluit quidam idem est quod Venus, et dicitur Frea, quasi Froa a frodos [A-frod-ite = from froth?] quod est spuma maris, de qua nata est Venus secundum fabulas, unde idem dies appellatur dies Veneris.—Anglo-Saxon legend then, unconcerned at the jumbling of foreign and homespun fable, has no doubt at all about the high antiquity of the names among its people.
Saxo Grammaticus, more critical, expresses his opinion (p. 103) of the Norse nomenclature, that it is derived from the native gods, but that these are not the same as the Latin. This he proves by Othin and Thor, after whom the fourth and fifth days of the week are named, as in Latin after Mercury and Jupiter. For Thor, being Othin's son, cannot possibly be identified with Jupiter, who is Mercury's father; consequently, neither can the Norse Othin, Thor's father, with the Roman Mercury, who is Jupiter's son. The discrepancy is certainly strong, but all that it can prove is, that at the time when Othin and Mercury began to be placed on the same pedestal, Mercury was thought of as a Celtic divinity, probably with attributes differing widely from his classical namesake. Saxo is quite right in what he means, and his remark confirms the early heathen origin of these names of days; yet upon occasion, as we saw on p. 122, he lets himself be carried away after all by the overpowering identity of Thor and Jupiter (see Suppl.).

The variations too in the names of the seven days among the various Teutonic races deserve all attention; we perceive that they were not adopted altogether cut-and-dry, nor so retained, but that national ideas still exercised some control over them. The later heathenism of Friesland and Saxony caused the old names of Wednesday and Saturday to live on, while in Upper Germany they soon sank into oblivion. But what is especially significant to us, is the deviation of the Alamanns and Bavarians when we come to the third day; how could it have arisen at a later (christian) time, when the idea of the heathen god that does duty for Mars had already become indistinct? how came the christian clergy, supposing that from them the naming had proceeded, ever to sanction such a divergence?

The nations that lie behind us, the Slavs, the Lithuanians, do not know the planetary names of days, they simply count like the Greeks, not because they were converted later, but because they became acquainted with Latin culture later. The Finns and Lapps

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2 The Indian nations also name their days of the week after planets; and it seems worth remarking here, that Wednesday is in Sanskrit Budhavaras, Tamil Budhunkiramei, because some have identified Buddha with Woden. In reality Budhas, the ruler of Mercury and son of the moon, is quite distinct from the prophet Buddhas (Schlegel's ind. bibl. 2. 177).
do not count, while the Esthonians again mostly do (see Suppl.).
Even the christianizing influence of Byzantium decided nothing on
this point; Byzantium had no influence over Lithuanians and Finns,
and had it over a part only of the Slavs. These in their counting
begin with Monday, as the first day after rest, consequently Tues-
day is their second, and Thursday their fourth, altogether deviating
from the Latin and Icelandic reckoning, which makes Monday second
and Thursday fifth. Hence the Slavic piatek (fifth) means Friday,
and that Up. Germ. pfanztag (fifth) Thursday. Wednesday they
call middle, sreda, sereda, srida (whence Lith. srrada), which may
have acted upon our High German nomenclature; the Finns too
have keskiivijeko (half-week, from keski medium). It would be well
worth finding out, when and for what reason the High German and
the Slav first introduced the abstract names mittwoche and sreda
(Boh. středa), while the Low German and the Romance have kept
to Woden and Mercury. Alone of Slavs, the Wends in Lüneburg
show a trace of naming after a god; dies Jovis was with them
Perendan, from Peren, Perun, thunder-god: apparently a mere
imitation of the German, as in all the other days they agree with
the rest of the Slavs.²

The nett result of these considerations is, that, in Latin records
dealing with Germany and her gods, we are warranted in interpreting,
with the greatest probability, Mercurius as Wuotan, Jupiter as
Donar, and Mars as Ziu. The gods of the days of the week
translated into German are an experiment on Tacitus's 'interpretatio
Romana'.

¹ E.g. in Russian: 1, voskresenie, resurrection (but O Sl. ne-délia, no-
doing). 2, po-nedél'nik, day after-no-work. 3, vtornik, second day. 4,
sereda, middle. 5, chetvérg, fourth day. 6, piatnitsa, fifth day. 7, sábbota,
sabbath.—Trans.
² It is striking, that in O. Bohem. glossaries (Hanka 54. 165) Mercury,
Venus and Saturn are quoted in the order of their days of the week; and that
any Slav deities that have been identified with Latin ones are almost sure to
be of the number of those that preside over the week. And whilst of the Slav
gods, Svatovyti answers to Mars (Ziu), Radigast to Mercury (Wuotan), Perun
to Jupiter (Donar), Lada (golden dame, zolota baba, in Hannisch 241, 35³) to Venus
(Fria), and perhaps Sitivrat to Saturn; the names of the planets are constrained
quite otherwise, Mars by Smarto-nos (letifer), Mercury by Dobro-pane (good lord,
or rather bonorum dator), Jupiter by Krale-moc (rex potens), Venus by Citel
(cepltor? venerandus?), Saturn by Hlado-let (famelicus, or annonae caritatem
afferens). Respecting Sitivrat I give details at the end of ch. XII.
CHAPTER VII.

WUOTAN, WODAN (ODINN).

The highest, the supreme divinity, universally honoured, as we have a right to assume, among all Teutonic races, would in the Gothic dialect have been called Vôdans; he was called in OHG. Wuotan, a word which also appears, though rarely, as the name of a man: Wuotan, Trad. Fuld. 1, 149. 2, 101-5-8. 128. 158. 161. Woatan 2, 146, 152. The Longobards spelt it Wôdan or Guôdan, the Old Saxons Wuodan, Wôdan, but in Westphalia again with the g prefixed, Guôdan, Gudan, the Anglo-Saxons Wôden, the Frisians Wêda from the propensity of their dialect to drop a final n, and to modify ḍ even when not followed by an i.¹ The Norse form is Óðinn, in Saxo Othinus, in the Faroe isles Ouvin, gen. Ouvans, acc. Ouvan. Up in the Grisons country—and from this we may infer the extent to which the name was diffused in Upper Germany—the Romance dialect has caught the term Vuot from Alamanns or Burgundians of a very early time, and retained it to this day in the sense of idol, false god, 1 Cor. 8, 4.² (see Suppl.).

It can scarcely be doubted that the word is immediately derived from the verb OHG. watan wuot, ON. vaðu, Óð, signifying meare, transmeare, cum impetu ferri, but not identical with Lat. vadere, as the latter has the a long, and is more likely connected with OS. gavitan, AS. gewitan. From watan comes the subst. wuot (our wuth, fury), as μένος and animus properly mean mens, ingenium, and then also impetuosity, wildness; the ON. ðóðr has kept to the

¹ A Frisian god Warns has simply been invented from the gen. in the compound Warnsdei, Wernsdei (Richth. p. 1142), where Werns plainly stands for Wedens, Wodens, an r being put for d to avoid collision with the succeeding sd; it will be hard to find anywhere a nom. Wern. And the present West Frisians say Wansdey, the North Frisians Winsdei, without such r.

² Conradis wörterb. 263. Christmann, pp. 30—32.
one meaning of mens or sensus. According to this, Wuotan, Oðinn would be the all-powerful, all-penetrating being, qui omnia permeat; as Lucan says of Jupiter: Est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris, the spirit-god; conf. Virg. Georg. 4, 221: Deum ire per omnes terras, and Ecl. 3, 60: Jovis omnia plena. In the popular language of Bavaria, wueteln is to bestir oneself, to swarm, grow luxuriantly, thrive, Schm. 4, 203 (see Suppl.).

How early this original meaning may have got obscured or extinguished, it is impossible to say. Together with the meaning of wise and mighty god, that of the wild, restless, vehement, must also have prevailed, even in the heathen time. The christians were the better pleased, that they could bring the bad sense into prominence out of the name itself. In the oldest glosses, wotan is put for tyrannus, herus malus, Diut. 1, 276b. gl. Ker. 270; so wüterich, wüterich (Gramm. 2, 516) is used later on, and down to the present day, conf. ein ungestüemer wüterich, Ben. 431; as in Mar. 217. Herod’s messengers of murder are wüteriche, O.i. 19, 18 names the king himself gotewuoto. The form wnutunct seems not to differ in sense; an unprinted poem of the 13th century says ‘Wietunges her’ apparently for the ‘wütende heer,’ the host led as it were by Wuotan; and Wuotunc is likewise a man’s name in OHG., Wodonc, Trad. patav. no. 19. The former divinity was degraded into an evil, fiendish, bloodthirsty being, and appears to live yet as a form of protestation or cursing in exclamations of the Low German people, as in Westphalia: O Woudan, Woudan! Firmenich 1, 257, 260; and in Mecklenburg: Wod, Wod! (see Suppl.).

Proofs of the general extension of Woden’s worship present themselves, for one thing, in the passages collected in the preceding chapter on Mercurius, and again in the testimonies of Jonas of Bobbio (pp. 56 and 121) and Paulus Diaconus, and in the Abrenuntiatio, which deserves to be studied more closely, and lastly in the concurrence of a number of isolated facts, which I believe have hitherto been overlooked.

If we are to sum up in brief the attributes of this god, he is the

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1 A word that has never been fully explained, Goth. wóbis dulcis, 2 Cor. 2, 15, OHG. wuodt, Diut. 2, 304, OS. wuothi, Hel. 36, 3, 140, 7, AS. wóðe, must either be regarded as wholly unconnected, or its meaning be harmonized.

2 Finn Magnusen comes to the same conclusion, Lex. myth. 621, 636.

3 The belief, so common in the Mid. Ages, in a ‘furious host’ or ‘wild hunt,’ is described in ch. XXXI.—Trans.
all-pervading creative and formative power, who bestows shape and beauty on men and all things, from whom proceeds the gift of song and the management of war and victory, on whom at the same time depends the fertility of the soil, nay wishing, and all highest gifts and blessings, Sæm. 113ab.

To the heathen fancy Wuotan is not only the world-ruling, wise, ingenious god, he is above all the arranger of wars and battles. Adam of Bremen cap. 233, ed. 1595 says of the Norse god: Wôdan, id est fortior, bella gerit, hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos . . . Wôdanem sculpunt (Sveones) armatum, sient nostri Martem sculpture solent. To the fortior, fortis, would answer his ON. name of ❀, i.e. the strong, masterful, swift (OS. suith): but fortior is, no doubt, a false reading, all the MSS. (conf. Pertz 3, 379) read ‘Wôdan, id est furor,’ which agrees with the conclusion arrived at above. To him, says the Edda, belong all the nobles who fall in battle (Sæm. 77b), and to Thôr the common folk, but this seems added merely to deprecate the latter; in another passage (Sæm. 42a), Freya shares the fallen with Oûinn; he is named valfaðir and herfaðir (val, choice; her, host). Oûinn vildi piggja man at hvutfalli at hanga or herinom, Fornald. sög. 3, 31. Eidem prostratorum manes muneris loco dedicaturum se pollicetur (Haraldus), Saxo p. 146. Othinus armiotens, p. 37, auctor aciei corniculatae, ordinandi agminis disciplinae traditor et repertor, pp. 138-9, 146. When old, he teaches arraying of battle, p. 17, the hamalt at fylkja, svinsfylkja, Fornald. sög. 1, 380; he teaches how to bring down with pebbles those whom sword will not wound, ibid. p. 157 (see Suppl.).

We need not be surprised then to find him confounded with Ziu or Tûr, the special god of war, or Mercurius coupled with Mars (pp. 107, 111), or a gloss on Jonas of Bobbio, who had rightly identified him with Mercury (p. 121), correcting him thus: Qui apud eos (Alamanus) Vuotant (part. pres. of wuotan) vocatur, Latini autem Martem illum appellant. Are Adam’s words also, ‘sicst nostri Martem sculpture solent,’ to be so taken that nostri

1 Got waldes an der sige kiir! Wh. 425, 24. sigehafte hende füege in got! Dictr. 84. Oûinn, when he sent the people forth to war, laid his hands on their heads and blessed, acc. to Yngl. cap. 2, gaf þeim bianac; Ir. beannact, beannugad, beandacht, Gael. beannachd, Wcl. bianoch (Villemarqué, essui LIX) = benedictio, prob. all from the Lat. word? conf. Fr. bénir, Ir. beannaigim.
should mean Saxones? He, it is true, may have meant those acquainted with Roman mythology.

Especially does the remarkable legend preserved by Paulus Diaconus 1, 8 show that it is Wodan who dispenses victory, to whom therefore, above all other gods, that antique name sihora (p. 27) rightfully belongs, as well as in the Eddas the epithets Sigfyr (god of victory), Sæm. 248⁸, Sn. 94, Sigföðr (father of victory), Sæm. 68⁸; AS. vigsiger (victor in battle), Beow. 3107, sigmetod (creator of victory), Beow. 3554 (see Suppl.)—Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam, quod accedentes Wandali ad Wodan, victoriam de Winilis postulaverint, illeque responderit, se illis victoriam daturum, quos primum oriente sole conspexisset. Tunc accessisset Gambarum ad Fream, uxorem Wodan, et Winilis victoriam postulasse, Fream-que consilium dedisse, Winilorum mulieres solutos crines erga faciem ad barbae similitudinem componerent maneque primo cum viris adissent, sesese a Wodan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus adspicere, collocarent; atque ita factum suisse. Quas cum Wodan consiceret oriente sole, dixisse: qui sunt isti Langobardi? tunc Fream subjunxisse, ut quibus nomen tribuerat, victoriam condonaret, sicque Winilis Wodan victoriam concessisse. Here deacon Paul, as a good christian, drops the remark: Haec risu digna sunt, et pro nihilo habenda: victoria enim non potestati est adtributa hominum, sed e coelo potius ministratur; and then adds a more exact interpretation of the name Longobard: Certum tamen est Longobardos ab intactae ferro barbae longitudine, cum primitus Winili dicti fuerint, ita postmodum appellatos. Nam juxta illorum linguam longam, bart barbam significat. Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gvodon dixerunt, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur, qui non circa haec tempora, sed longe anterius, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia suisse perhibetur.¹

The whole fable bears the stamp of high antiquity; it has even been related by others before Paul, and with variations, as in the Hist. Francor. epitomata, which has for its author, though not Fredegar, yet some writer of the seventh century. Here Chuni

¹ Godfrey of Viterbo (in Pistorius, ed. Struve 2, 305) has the legend out of Paul Diac. with the names corrupted, Godam for Wodan, Feria for Frea. Godam or Votam sets him thinking of the Germ. word got (deus). The unheard-of 'Tocalcus historiographus' has evidently sprung out of 'hoc loco' in Paul.
(Huns) are named instead of Vandals:—Cum a Chunis (Langobardi) Danubium transeunte fuissent comperti, eis bellum conati sunt inferre. Interrogati a Chunis, quare gens eorum terminos introire praesumeret? At illi mulieribus suis praecipuunt, comam capitis ad maxillas et mentum ligare, quo potius virorum habitum simulantes plurimam multitudinem hostium ostenderent, eo quod erant mulierum comae circa maxillas et mentum ad instar barbac valde longae: fertur desuper utraque phalangae vox dixisse: ‘hi sunt Langobardi!’ quod ab his gentibus fertur eorum decem fuisset locutum, quem fanatici nominant Wodanum (al. Wisodano). Tunc Langobardi cum clausseassent, qui instituerat nomen, concedebat victoriam, in hoc praelio Chunos superant. (Bouquet 2, 406; according to Pertz, all the MSS. read Wodano.) In this account, Frea and her advice are nowhere; the voice of the god, giving the name, is heard up in the air.

It was the custom for any one who bestowed a name, to follow it up with a gift.1 Wodan felt himself bound to confer the victory on those for whom he had found a new national name. In this consisted the favour of fortune, for the people, in dressing up their wives as men, had thought of nothing but swelling the apparent numbers of their warriors. I need scarcely remind the reader, that this mythical interpretation of the Lombard name is a false one, for all the credit it found in the Mid. Ages.2

There is one more feature in the legend that must not escape our notice. Wodan from his heavenly dwelling looks down on the earth through a window, which exactly agrees with ON. descriptions. Öðinn has a throne named Hlidskialf, sitting on which he can survey the whole world, and hear all that goes on among men: þær er einn staðr er Hlidskialf heitir, oc þær Öðinn settiz þar i hásæti, oc þá sá hann of alla heima, oc vissi alla luti, þá er hann sá (there is a steady that H. hight, and when O. sat there on high-seat, then saw he over all countries, and wist, &c.), Sn. 10. oc þá er Allfóðr sitr i því sæti, þá ser hann of allan heim, Sn. 21. hlustar (listens) Öðinn Hlidskialfö i, Sæm. 89b.


2 Langobardi a longis barbis vocitati, Otto fris. de gest. Frid. 2, 13. But Öðinn himself was named Langbardýr.
When Loki wanted to hide, it was from this seat that Oðinn espied his whereabouts, Sn. 69. Sometimes also Frigg, his consort, is imagined sitting by his side, and then she enjoys the same prospect: Oðinn ok Frigg sáto í Hliðskjalf, oc sá um heima alla, Sæm. 39. The proem to the Grímnismál bears a strong resemblance to the legend in Paul; for, just as Frea pulls her favourites the Winíli through, in opposition to Wodan's own resolve, so Frigg brings to grief Geirröðr, whom Oðinn favoured.—Sensuous paganism, however, makes the god-like attribute of overseeing all things depend on the position or structure of a particular chair, and as the gift forsakes the god when he does not occupy the seat, others can enjoy the privilege by taking his place. This was the case when Freyr spied the beautiful Gerðr away down in Íötunheim; Freyr hafði setse í Hliðskjalf, oc sá um heima alla, Sæm. 81. Sn. 39. The word hliðskjalf seems to mean literally door-bench, from hlíð (ostium, conf. Engl. lid), and skjalf (seannunum), AS. scylfe, Cæd. 79, 4. Engl. shelf (see Suppl.). Mark the language in which the OS. poet describes the Ascension of Christ: sóhta imo þéna helagon stól, siti imo thár an thea suðron (right) half Godes, endi thanan all gisihit (seeth) waldandeo Crist, só huat só (whatso) thius werold behabét, Hel. 176, 4—7, conf. Cæd. 265, 16.

This idea of a seat in the sky, from which God looks on the earth, is not yet extinct among our people. The sitting on the right hand is in the Bible, but not the looking down. The formulas 'qui haut siet et de loing mire, qui haut siet et loins voit' (supra, p. 23) are not cases in point, for men everywhere have thought of the Deity as throned on high and seeing far around. Zeus also sits on Ida, and looks on at mortal men; he rules from Ida's top, Ιδηθεν μεδέων, even as Helios, the eye of the sun, surveys and discerns all things, II. 3, 277. But a widely-circulated märchen tells us of a mortal man, whom St. Peter admitted into heaven, and who, led on by curiosity, ended by climbing into the chair of the Lord, from which one can look down and see all that is done on the whole earth. He sees a washerwoman steal two lady's veils, and in his anger seizes the footstool of the Lord, which stands before the chair (al. a chair's leg), and hurls it down at the thief.¹ To such lengths has the ancient fable travelled.

Can it be alluded to in the MHG. poem, Amgb. 3a?

Der nù den himel hat erkorn,
der geiselt uns bì unser habe;
ich vürhte sère, unt wirt im zorn,
den slegel wirft er uns her abe.¹

In a Servian song (Vuk 4, 9) the angels descend to earth out of God's window (od Bózhieg prozóra; pro-zor (out-look, hence window) reminds one of zora (dawn), prozorie (morning twilight), and of Wodan at early morn looking toward the sunrise. The dawn is, so to speak, the opening in heaven, through which God looks into the world.

Also, what Paulus Diac. 1, 20 tells of the anger of the Lord (supra, p. 18), whereby the Herulian warriors were smitten before their enemies, I am inclined to trace up to Wuotan: Tanta super eos coelitus ira respexit; and again: Vae tibi, misera Herulia, quae coelestis Domini flecteris ira! Conf. Egilsaga p. 365: veiðr sè rögn ok Oðinn! wrathful see the gods and O.; and Fornald. sög. 1, 501: gramr er yðr Oðinn, angry is O. with you.

Victory was in the eyes of our forefathers the first and highest of gifts, but they regarded Wuotan not merely as dispenser of victory; I have to show next, that in the widest sense he represented to them the god to whose bounty man has to look for every other distinction, who has the giving of all superior blessings; and in this sense also Hermes (Mercury) was to the Greeks pre-eminently δῶτωρ εὐαυ, giver of good things, and I have ventured to guess that the name Gibika, Kipicho originally signified the same to us².

235. ed. 1842, 4, 5, 39. H. Sachs (1563) v. 381. According to Greek and O. Norse notions, the gods have a throne or chair: thà gengêngo regin òll à rókstóla ginheidôg god, Sem. 1b. Compare in the Bible: heaven is God's throne, the earth his footstool, Matt. 5, 34-5; and Hel. 45, 11. 12 (see Suppl.).

¹ Also MS. 2, 254b: ze hüs wirf ich den slegel dir. MS. 2, 6b: mit einem slegel er zno dem kinde warf. This cudgel-throwing resembles, what meant so much to our ancestors, the hammer's throw, and the OHG. slaga is malleus, sledge-hammer (Gralf 6, 773). The cudgel thrown from heaven can hardly be other than a thunderbolt; and the obscure proverb, 'swer irre rite das der den slegel fûnde,' whose astray should ride, that he the s. might find, Parz. 180, 10, may refer to a thunder-stone (see ch. VIII, Donar) which points to hidden treasure and brings deliverance, and which only those can light upon, who have accidentally lost their way in a wood; for which reason Wolfram calls trunks of trees, from under which peeps out the stone of luck, 'slegels urkünde und zil,' slegel's document and mark (aim).

² Haupts zeitschr. 1, 573. Lasiez. 47 names a Datanus donator bonorum.
The sum total of well-being and blessedness, the fulness of all graces, seems in our ancient language to have been expressed by a single word, whose meaning has since been narrowed down; it was named *wunsch* (wish). This word is probably derived from wunja, wunnja, our wonne, bliss; wunise, wunse, perfection in whatever kind, what we should call the Ideal. Thus, Er. 1699 ‘der wunsch was an ir garwe, wish was in her complete; Iw. 3991 ‘daz mir des wunsches niht gebrast,’ nought of wish was wanting; Iw. 6468 ‘der rât, des der wunsch an wibe gert,’ such store as wish can crave in wife; Gerh. 1754 ‘an der got wunsches niht vergaz,’ in whom God nought of wish forgot (left out); Parz. 742, 15 ‘der wunsch wirt in beiden’; Trist. 3710 ‘dir ist der wunsch gegeben’; Frauend. 87 ‘der wunsch von edlem obze, the pick of noble fruit; Parz. 250, 25 ‘erden wunsch es riche,’ rich in all gifts of the earth; 235, 24, ‘erden wunsches überwal’; Trist. 4696. 4746 ‘der wunsch von worten, von bluomen’; Trist. 1374 ‘in den wunsche sweben,’ *i.e.*, in perfect satisfaction. And the magic wand, by whose impact treasures are acquired, was a *wunschiligerta*, wishing-rod; conf. Parz. 235, 22 ‘wurzel unde ris des wunsches,’ root and spray of wish. The (secondary) meaning of ‘desiring and longing for’ these perfections would seem to have but accidentally attached itself to the *wunse*, ON. òsk (see Suppl.).


Another thing seems to me to be connected with this, and therefore to be a relic of the heathen religion: the fact that our poets of the 13th century personify *wunsch*, and represent it as a mighty creative being. Instances in proof of this are found chiefly in Hartmann, Rudolf and Conrad:

Got erloubte dem *Wunsche* über in,
daz er lib unde sin *meistert* nach sim werde.
swâ von ouch ûf der erde
deheinem man ze loben geschicht,
desn gebrast im niht;
der *Wunsch* hat in *gemeistert* sô

About him, God gave to Wish full leave,
that he body and mind fashioned according to his worth.
Of whatsoever upon earth,
to any man, praiseworthy falls,
thereof lacked him nought;
Wish had him fashioned so,
daz er sin was ze kinde vró, that he was glad of him for child,  
wande er nihts an im vergaz: for he nought in him forgot:  
er heth geschaffet, kunder, baz. he had him shapen, if he could,  
Greg. 1091-1100. better.  

man sagt daz nie kint gewan They say that never a child won  
ein lip só gar dem Wunsche glich. a body so wholly equal to Wish  
Ex. 330. (or, exactly like Wish).

alsó was ez (daz phert) gestalt, So was it wrought (the horse),  
und ob er (der werltwise man) that if he (the wright) had had  
danne den gewalt the command from Wish,  
von dem Wunsche hate, that (his work) should be left  
daz ez belibe stáete unaltered,  
swes er darzuo gedæhte, whatever he attempted thereon,  
und swenne ezr volbrachte, and when he had completed it,  
daz erz für sich stalte that he should set it before Him,  
und er von sinem gwałte and He at his discretion  
dar abe namíe therefrom should take away  
swaz daran im missezême, whatever therein disliked him,—  
alsó was ez volkomen so perfect was it  
daz er dar abe niht hete geno-men that he therefrom nought would  
men have taken  
also gróz als umb ein hár. so great as a hair.

Er. 7375-87.

als ez der Wunsch gebót (bade). Er. 8213.  
was ein wunschkin (was a child of wish). Ex. 8277.  
Eníte was des Wünsches kint,  
der an ir nihtes vergaz. Er. 8934.  
dá was ir hár und ir ličh (lyke, lych, body)  
so gar dem Wunsche gelich (like). Iw. 1333.  
diz was an ir (zuht, schéene, jugent) und gar der rát (all the store)  
des der Wunsch (or wish?) an wibe gert (desires.) Iw. 6468.  
wande sie nie gesáhen (for they never had seen)  
zwéne ríter gestalt (two knights fashioned)  
só gar in Wünsches gewált  
an dem läbe und an den siten (manners). Iw. 6913.  
der Wunsch vilóchet (curses) im só. Iw. 7066.
er was schöne und wol gevar (for gefarwet, coloured),
rehte, als in der Wunsch erkôs (chose). Gerh. 771.
min herze in (ihnen, to them) des begunde jehen (acknowledge),
in wäre des Wunsches flîz (zeal, care) bereit. Gerh. 1599.
an der der Wunsch mit kiusche bar
sîne sîze lebende fruht. Gerh. 1660.
daz ich ir schöne kreûne
ob allen frauen schöne
mit des Wunsches krûne. Gerh. 1668.
ein regen ûz dem wolken vlôz
der ûf des Wunsches ouwe gôz
sô heizen regen (?). Gerh. 2307.
an lobe (praise) des Wunsches krûne. Gerh. 2526.
swes ich begunde daz geschach (was accomplished),
der Wunsch ie minen werken jach (ever to my works said yea)
des wunsches als ich wolte
nach des Wunsches lère (lore). Gerh. 4500.
der Wunsch mit sîner hende
vor wandel (change, fault) hete si getwagen (cleansed). Troj. 1212.
der Wunsch hât âne lougen (without lying, undeniably)
erzeiget an ir sîne kraft,
und sîner kînste meisterschaft
mit vlîze an ir bewert (carefully evinced in her). Troj. 7569.
der Wunsch hât in gemachet wandels vrî (free of fault). Troj. 3154.
der Wunsch der hete an si geleit (gelegt, laid out, spent)
mê flîzes denne ūf elliu wip (more pains than on any woman).
Troy. 19620.
sô daz er niemer wibes leben
für sie geshepfen wolde baz (better);
dô sin gewalt ir bilde maz (measured),
dô leit (legte) er an sie manec model. Troy. 19627
und hâte sin der Wunsch gesworn,
er wolde bilden ein scheener wip,
und scheppen also klâren lip
als Hèlenâ min frouwe treit (trägt, bears)
er müëste brechen sinen eit (eid, oath)
wan er kunde niemer (for he could never),
und solte bilden iemer (were he to shape for ever),
gescheipfen wünneclicher fruht. Troj. 19526-32.
ez hätt ze sinem teile der Wunsch vergezzen niender. Engelh. 579.
daz haete an si der Wunsch geleit. Engelh. 4703.
der Wunsch der hete niht gespart
an ir die sine meisterschaft,
er hete sine beste kraft
mit ganzem fliz an sie geleit. Der werlde lôn. 84.

Other poets personify too (not, however, Wolfram nor Gotfried):
der zweier kurtêsë
sich ze dem Wunsche het geweten,
si wâre niender úz getreten. Wigal. 9246.
an ir schéene was wol schin,
daz ir der Wunsch gedâhte. Wigal. 9281.
der Wunsch het sich geneiget in ir gewalt. ibid. 904.
in was der Wunsch bereit. ib. 10592.
des Wunsches amie. ib. 7906. 8735.
wen mohte da erlangen,
dâ der Wunsch inne was. ib. 10612.
der Wunsch het si gemachet sô,
und ist ir ze kinde vrô. Amûr 1338. (Pf. 1343).
des Wunsches ougenweide (food for the eye)
sit ir und miner sælden spil (are ye, and the play of my delight).
si schëpfet úz des Wunsches heilawâge (holy water). Martina, 259.
(diu hant) ist im grôz, lanâ unde wiz,
zuo der het sich der Wunsch gescilet. Turl. Wh. 38a.
hie stuont (here stood) der Wunsch. ib. 137b.
dar an lit (therein lieth) wol des Wunsches viliz. Tyrol E, 3.
si ist des Wunsches hóstez zil (highest mark or aim). Ms. 1, 84a.
sie ist der Wunsch úf erde. Ms. 2, 100b.
sie ist des Wunsches ingesinde (one of W.'s household). Ms. 1, 6a.
von ir scheitel úf ir zéhen (from her crown to her toes)
sô ist niht an minneclichen widen wan (save, but) des Wunsches bliç. MsH. 3, 493a.
des Wunsches blüete sint entsprungent in mine herzen. Fragm. 45b.
si trage des Wunsches bilde. Ms. 1, 191a.
des Wunsches krône tragen. Docen misc. 2, 186.
sae hat des Wunsches gewalt.  Amgb. 31
er was so gar des Wunsches hint,
daz alle man gin (against, before) siner schone waren blind,
und doch menlich gestalt bi claarem velle (complexion);
der Wunsch im niht gebrechen liez (let nought be lacking)
da von man's Wunsches hint den stolzen hiez (should call the

The following is outside the bounds of MHG.:
an yr yst Wensches vlyt geleit.  Haupts zeitschr. 3, 221.
Mid. Dutch poems have no personification Wensch; nor is there a
Wunsch in the Nibelungen or Gudrun; but in Wolfdietrich 970:
des Wunsches ein amie!  There must be many more instances;
but the earliest one I know of is found in the Entekrist from the
12th century (Hoffm. fundgr. 2, 107):

mit Wunschis gewalte            With Wish's might
segunti sie der alte.            The old man blessed her.

We see Wish provided with hands, power, looks, diligence, art,
blossom, fruit; he creates, shapes, produces master-pieces, thinks,
bows, swears, curses, is glad and angry, adopts as child, handmaid,
friend: all such pretty-well stock phrases would scarcely have
sprung up and lived in a poetry, in a language, if they did not
unconsciously relate to a higher being, of whom earlier times had a
livelier image; on such a basis indeed nearly all the personifications
made use of by MHG. poets seem to me to rest.  In the majority
of our examples we might fairly put the name of God in the place
of Wish, or that of Wish in the phrases quoted on pp. 17-8, which
describe the joyous or the angry God: freundenvoll hat sie Got
gegozzen, MS. I, 226; der Wunsch maz ir bilde, as mezzen is said
of God, p. 23; and gebieten, to command, is just as technically
applied to the one as to the other, p. 24.  The 'gramr er yor Odinn,'
p. 137, might be rendered in MHG. 'der Wunsch zuhnet in, fluochet
iu,' meaning, the world is sick of you.  At times the poet seems to
be in doubt, whether to say God or Wish: in the first passage from
Gregor, Wish is subordinated, as a being of the second rank, so to
speak, as a servant or messenger, to the superior god; the latter has
to give him leave to assume his creative function, which in other
cases he does of his own might.  Again, when body, figure, hair are
said to be 'like Wish,' it exactly reminds us of Homer's σώματι
Xaritésovn φυλαί, Il. 17, 51; and Xártes, the Gratiae, creatresses of grace and beauty, play precisely the part of our Wish, even down to the circumstance, that in addition to the personal meaning, there is an abstract χάρης, gratia, as there is a wish.\textsuperscript{1} Püterich of Reicherzhauen (Haupts. zeitschr. 6, 48) speaks of ‘die wunstches füesse’ of a princess; the older phrase would have been ‘ir füezé wären dem Wunsche gelich’. It is a genuine bit of German heathenism to make this creative faculty reside in a god, and not, after the Greek fashion, in a female personage. And there are other features too, that point back to our native heathen eld. Wish’s \textit{aue} and \textit{hekůvá} can be matched by Phol’s ouwa and bruno, or the meads and holywells of other gods; Wish’s \textit{crown} by that worn by gods and kings. And, most remarkable of all, Wish rejoices in his creature as in a \textit{child}; here Woden’s self comes upon the scene as patriarch or paterfamilias, before whom created men make their appearance like children, friends, domestics; and ‘wunschkint’ is also used in the sense of an adopted, \textit{i.e.} wished for, child.\textsuperscript{2} Herbert 13330 makes Hecuba exclaim: ich hän einen sun verlorn, er gezæme \textit{gote} ze kinde (would suit God as a child); which does not mean in a christian sense, ‘God has doubtless been pleased to take him to Himself,’ but in a heathen sense, ‘he was so lovely, he might be called Wish’s child’. For the Norse Óðinn too has these marvellous children and wish-maidens in his train (see Suppl.)\textsuperscript{3}

To the ON. \textit{Oski} ought by rights to correspond an OHG. \textit{Wunseo}, \textit{Wunsejo}, (weak decl.), which I am not able to produce even as a man’s name (see Suppl.).\textsuperscript{4} A MHG. \textit{Wunsche} cannot be proved

\textsuperscript{1} In many places it is doubtful, whether the poet meant \textit{wish} or \textit{Wish}. In Wolfram and Gotfried, who abstain from distinct personification, I always prefer the abstract interpretation, while Hartmann admits of both by turns. When we read in Parz. 102, 30: \textit{si was gar ob dem wunesches zil (over wish’s goal, beyond all that one could wish)}, the phrase borders close upon the above-quoted, ‘\textit{si ist des Wunsches hözte zil (the highest that Wish ever created)}’; and it is but a step from ‘\textit{mines wunesches paradis},’ MS. 2, 126\textsuperscript{a}, to ‘\textit{des Wunsches paradis}’ or ‘\textit{ouwe}’. So, ‘\textit{dá ist wunsch, und niemer breste (here is one’s wish, and nothing wanting)},’ MS. 1, 88\textsuperscript{a} = ‘\textit{der Wunsch liez im niht gebrechen},’ W. left him nothing lacking (see Suppl.).

\textsuperscript{2} The Germ. an-wünschen verbally translates the Lat. \textit{ad-opto}.—\textsc{Trans.}

\textsuperscript{3} That Wish was personified, and very boldly, by the christian poets, is abundantly proved. That he was ever believed in as a person, even in heathen times, is, to my thinking, far from clear. I believe some German scholars regard the notion as little better than a mare’s nest.—\textsc{Trans.}

\textsuperscript{4} The name does occur later: Johannes dictus de (\textit{=der}) \textit{Wunsch}, Ch. ann. 1324 (Neue mitth. des thir. vereins I. 4.65). In the Oberhess. wochenblatt, Marburg 1830, p. 420, I read of a Joh. \textit{Wünsch} who is probably alive at this moment.
from Troj. 3154. 7569. 19620. 19726 (Straszb. MS.), both the metre and the strong gen. in -es forbidding. But the whole idea may in the earliest times have taken far stronger root in South Germany than in Scandinavia, since the Edda tells next to nothing of Oski, while our poetry as late as the 15th century has so much to say of Wunsch. That it was not foreign to the North either, is plainly proved by the Oskmeyjar = Wünschelfrauen, wish-women; by the Oskasteinn, a philosopher’s stone connected with our Wünschelrute, wishing-rod, and Mercury’s staff; by Oskabyrr, MHG. Wunschwint, fair wind; by Oskabiörn, wish-bear, a sea-monster; all of which will be discussed more fully by and by. A fem. proper name Osk: occurs in a few places; what if the unaccountable Oskopnir, Sæm. 188, were really to be explained as Osk-opnir? Opnir, Ofnir, we know, are epithets of Oðinn. Both word and meaning seem to grow in relevancy to our mythology, it is a stumbling-block indeed, that the AS. remains furnish no contribution, even the simple wúse (optio, votum) seeming to be rare, and only wýscan (optare) in common use; yet among the mythic heroes of Deira we meet with a Wúsefrex, lord of Wish as it were; and to the Anglo-Saxons too this being may have merely become extinct, though previously well known (see Suppl.).

But to make up for it, their oldest poetry is still dimly conscious of another name of Wuotan, which again the Edda only mentions cursorily, though in Sæm. 46 it speaks of Oski and Ómi in a breath, and in 91 uses Omi once more for Oðinn. Now this Ómi stands related to ómr, sonus, fragor, as the AS. wóma to wóm, clamor, sonitus; I have quoted instances in Andr. and El. pp. xxx, xxxi, to which may now be added from the Cod. exon.: heofonwóma 52, 18. 62, 10; dægredwóma 179, 24; hildewóma 250, 32. 282, 15; wiges wóma 277, 5; wintres wóma 292, 22: in this last, the meaning of hiemis impetus, fragor, furor, is self-evident, and we see ourselves led up to the thought which antiquity connected with Wuotan himself: out of this living god were evolved the abstractions wuot (furor), wunsch (ideal), wóma (impetus, fragor). The gracious and grace-bestowing god was at other times called the stormful, the terror-striking, who sends a thrill through nature; even so the ON. has both an Yggr standing for Oðinn, and an yggr for terror. The AS. wóma is no longer found as Wóma; in OHG. wuomo and Wuomo are alike unknown. Thorpe renders the
'heofonwôman' above in a local sense by 'heaven's corners', I doubt if correctly; in both the passages coeli fragores are meant. We may however imagine Omî, Wôma as an air-god, like the Hindu Indras, whose rush is heard in the sky at break of day, in the din of battle, and the tramp of the 'furious host' (see Suppl.).

Precisely as the souls of slain warriors arrive at Indra's heaven,¹ the victory-dispensing god of our ancestors takes up the heroes that fall in fight, into his fellowship, into his army, into his heavenly dwelling. Probably it has been the belief of all good men, that after death they would be admitted to a closer communion with deity. Dying is therefore, even according to the Christian view, called going to God, turning home to God: in AS. metodsceaf scon, Beow. 2360. Cæd. 104, 31. Or seeking, visiting God: OS. god suokían, Hel. 174, 26; fadar suokían, Hel. 143, 23; upoðuðhém, lieðt ðadar, sinlíðf, godes ríki suokían, Hel. 85, 21, 17, 17. 63, 14. 137, 16. 176, 5. In a like sense the Thracians, acc. to Herodotus 4, 94, said iénaı para Zûlmôξîν (Γεζελείξίν) δαύμονα, which Zalmoxis or Zamolxes is held by Jornandes to be a deified king of the Goths (Getae). In the North, fârin to Oðîns, being guest with Oðîns, visiting Oðîns, meant simply to die, Fornald. sog. 1, 118. 422-3. 2, 366. and was synonymous with fârin to Valhöll, being guest at Valhöll, ib. 1, 106. Among the Christians, these were turned into curses: far þå til Oðîns! Oðîns eigi þik! may Oðin's have thee (see Suppl.). Here is shown the inversion of the kindly being, with whom one fain would dwell, into an evil one,² whose abode inspires fear and dread. Further on, we shall exhibit more in detail the way in which Wuotan was pictured driving through the air at the head of the 'furious (wütende) host' named after him. Valhöll (aula optionis) and Valkyrja obviously express the notion of wish and choice (Germ. wahl, Scotch wale).

Of the peculiarities of figure and outward appearance of this god, which are brought out in such bold relief in the northern

¹ Bopp's Nalas, p. 264.
² So Wuotan's name of itself degenerates into the sense of fury (wut) and anger; the Edda has instances of it. In revenge he pricked Brynhild with the sleeping-thorn, Smf. 194, and she says: Oðîns þvi veldr, er ek eigi máttak bregða blunntstófom. He breeds enmity and strife: einn veldr Oðîns óllu bôlvi, þvát með sîfjungum sakrûnar bar, Smf. 169. inimicitias Othinus scrit, Saxo gram. p. 142, as Christians say of the devil, that he sows the seeds of discord. gremi Oðîns, Smf. 161 (see Suppl.).
myths, I have found but few traces left among us in Germany. The Norse Oðinn is one-eyed, he wears a broad hat and wide mantle; Grimnir ifeldi blám, blue cloak, Sæm. 40. i helku grevni ok blám brókum, green cloak and blue breeks, Fornald. sög. 1, 324. heklumaðr, cloaked man, 1, 325. When he desired to drink of Mimi’s fountain, he was obliged to leave one of his eyes in pawn, Sæm. 4, Sn. 15. In Saxo, p. 12, he appears as grandaevus, altero orbus oculo; p. 37, armipotens, uno semper contentus ocello; p. 138, senex orbus oculis, hispído amictu. So in the Sagas: kom þar maðr gamall, miðk orðspakr, einsýnn ok augdapr, ok hafði hatt síðan; there came an old man, very word-wise, one-eyed and sad-eyed, and had a wide hat, Form. sög. 2, 138. hann hafir heklu flekkóttta yfir ser, så maðr var berfætttr ok hafði knytt linbrókum at beini, hann var hár miðk (very high), ok eldiligr ok einsýnn, Fornald. sög. 1, 120. ja kom maðr í bardagann með síðan hatt ok heklu blá,2 hann hafði citt anga, ok geir (spear) í hendi, ib. 1, 145. þetta mun Oðinn gamli verit hafa, ok at visu var maðrinn einsýnn, ib. 1, 95. så hann mann mikinn með síðun hetti, ib. 5, 250. með hetti Hângatýss gánga, cum cidari Odiniana incidere, Vigagl. saga, p. 168. Othinus, os pilco, ne cultu proderetur, obnubens, Saxo Gram. 44. An Eddie song already names him Stóðóttur, broad-hatted, Sæm. 46b, and one saga merely Höttur, hatted, Fornald. sög. 2, 25-6; conf. Müllers sagabibl. 3, 142. Were it not for the name given him in the Grímnismál, I should have supposed it was the intention of the Christians to degrade the old god by mean clothing, or else that, wrapt in his mantle, he was trying to conceal himself from Christians. Have we a right here to bring in the pileati of Jornandes? A saga in Saxo, p. 12, tells prettily, how the blind old god takes up a protégé in his cloak, and carries him through the air, but Hading, peeping through a hole in the garment, observes that the horse is stepping over the sea-waves. As for that heklumaðr of the hat with its rim turned up, he is our Hakolberend at the head of the wild host, who can at once be turned into a Gothic

1 Conf. Tritas in the fountain, Kuhn in Höfer 1, 290. Acc. to the popular religion, you must not look into running water, because you look into God’s eye, Toðler’s Appenzel p. 369; neither must you point at the stars with your fingers, for fear of sticking them into the angels’ eyes.

2 There is a Swed. märchen of Gremmantle (grakappan), Molbech 14, who, like Mary in German tales, takes one up to heaven and forbids the opening of a lock, Kinderm. 3, 407.
Hakulabairands, now that hakuls for φελόνης is found in 2 Tim. iv. 13.—Swedish folk-tales picture Odin as bald-headed, Iduna 10, 231. In the ancient poetry he is Harbarðr, Siðgrani, Siðskleggr, all in allusion to his thick growth of hair and beard. The name Redbeard I have elsewhere understood of Thor, but in Fornald. sög. 2, 239–257 the Grani and Rauðgrani are expressly Oðinn (see Suppl.).

The Norse myth arms Oðinn with a wonderful spear (geir), Gângnir by name, Sæm. 196. Sn. 72; which I put on a par with the lance or sword of Mars, not the staff of Mercury. Sigmund’s sword breaks, when he hacks at Oðinn’s spear, Vøls. saga cap. 11. He lends this spear to heroes to win victories with, Sæm. 165. A remarkable passage in the Fornm. sög. 5, 250 says: seldi honum veyrspíðta (gave him the reedn spear) í hönd, ok bað hann skiða honum yfir lið Styrbiarnar, ok þæt skylldi hann mæla: Oðin á yðr alla! All the enemies over whom the spear he shoots shall fly, are doomed to death, and the shooter obtains the victory. So too the Eyrbyggja saga p. 228: þau skaut Steinþórr spíðti at fornom sið til heilla ser yfir flock Snorra; where, it is true, nothing is said of the spear launched over the enemy being the god’s. Sæm. 5a, of Oðinn himself: fleigöi ok i fólk um skaut (see Suppl.).

To the god of victory are attached two wolves and two ravens, which, as combative courageous animals, follow the fight, and pounce upon the fallen corpses, Andr. and El. xxvi. xxvii. The wolves are named Geri and Freki, Sn. 42; and so late as in Hans Sachs (i. 5, 499), we read in a schwank, that the Lord God has chosen wolves for his hounds, that they are his cattle. The two ravens are Huginn and Muninn, from hugr (animus, cogitatio) and munr (mens); they are not only brave, but cunning and wise, they sit on the shoulders of Oðinn, and whisper in his ear whatever they see and hear, Sæm. 42b 88a. Sn. 42. 56. 322. To the Greek Apollo too the wolf and raven were sacred; 1 his messenger the raven informed him when Korònis was unfaithful, and Aristeas accompanied him as a raven, Herod. 4. 15; a raven is perched aloft on the mantle of Mithras the sun-god. The Gospels represent the Holy Ghost as a

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1 In Marc. Cap. 1, 11, the words: 'augurales vero alites ante currum Delio constiterunt,' are transl. by Notker 37: té wåren garo ze Apollinis reito sine wizegfgcela, rabena unde albìsze. To Oðinn hawks are sometimes given instead of ravens: Oðins haukar Sæm. 167b.
dove descending upon Christ at his baptism, Lu. 3, 22, and resting upon him, ἐμευνω ἐπ' αὐτόν, mansit super eum, John 1, 32: 'in Krist er siih gisidalta,' says O. i. 25, 24; but Hel. 30, 1 of the dove: sat im uppam ûses drohtines ahslu (our Lord's shoulder). Is this an echo of heathen thoughts? None of the Fathers have this circumstance, but in the Mid. Ages there is talk enough about doves resting on shoulders;¹ and the dove, though frequently contrasted with the raven (which, like the wolf, the christians applied to the Evil one), may nevertheless be put in the place of it. Oswald's raven flies to his shoulder and arm, 749. 942. Oswald talks to it, 95-6, and kneels before it, 854. Conf. Zingerle, Oswalt p. 67 (see Suppl.).²

Now under that figure of the bearded old man, Wuotan is apparently to be regarded as a water-sprite or water-god, answering well to the Latin name of Neptunus which some of the earlier writers put upon him (p. 122). In ON. he is Hnikar, Hnikuðr, Nikarr, Nikuz, and the hesitation between the two forms which in Sn. 3 are expressly made optional—' Nikarr eða (or) Nikuz'—may arise from the diversity of old dialects. Nikarr corresponds to the AS. Nicor, and Nikuz to OHG. Nichus; the initial Hn seems to be ON. alone. On these I shall have more to say, when treating of water-sprites (see Suppl.)—Another epithet of Oðinn is equally

¹ Gregor. Nyssen. encom. Ephraemi relates, that when Basil the Great was preaching, Ephraem saw on his right shoulder a white dove, which put words of wisdom in his mouth. Of Gregory the Great we read in Paul. Diac., vita p. 14, that when he was expounding the last vision of Ezekiel, a white dove sat upon his head, and now and then put its beak in his mouth, at which times he, the writer, got nothing for his stylius to put down; conf. the narrative of a poet of the 12th cent., Hoffm. fundgr. 2, 229; also Myst. 1. p. 226-7. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas are portrayed with a white dove perched on their shoulders or hovering over their heads. A nursery-tale (Kinderm. no. 33) makes two doves settle on the pope's shoulder, and tell him in his ear all that he has to do. A white dove descends singing on the head of St. Devy, and instructs him, Buhez santex Nonn. Paris 1837, p. 117. And on other occasions the dove flies down to make known the will of heaven. No one will trace the story of Wuotan's ravens to these doves, still the coincidence is striking (see Suppl.).

² There are said to have been found lately, in Denmark and Sweden, representations of Odin, which, if some rather strange reports are well-founded, ought to be made known without delay. A ploughman at Boeslund in Zealand turned up two golden urns filled with ashes; on the lids is carved Odin, standing up, with two ravens on his shoulders, and the two wolves at his feet; Kunstbl. 1843, no. 19, p. 80. Gold coins also were discovered near the village of Gómminga in Öeland, one of which represents Odin with the ravens on his shoulder; the reverse has runes; Kunstbl. 1844, no. 13, p. 52.
noticeable for its double form: Bifliði eða Biflindi, Sn. 3; Sæm. 46b has Biflindi. As bif (Germ. beben) signifies motus, aer, aqua, the quaking element, and the AS. līðe is lenis, OHG. lindi, ON. linr (for linnr); an AS. Bifliðe, Beofliðe, OHG. Pēpalindi, might be suggested by the soft movement of the air, a very apt name for the all-penetrating god; but these forms, if they gave rise to the Norse term, are no longer found in AS. or OHG. Wuotan's dominion both over the air and over the water explains, how it is that he walks on the waves, and comes rushing on the gale.—It is Oðinn that sends wind to the ships, Formm. sóg. 2, 16, hence a good sailing wind is called ōskabyrr, Sæm. 165b, i.e., Oskabyrr; byrr is from byrja, OHG. purran, to rise, be lifted up. It is in striking accord with this, that the MHG. poets use wunschwint in the same sense; Hartmann says, Greg. 615:

Dō sande in (to them) der süeze Krist
den vil rehten wunschwint (see Suppl.)

But other attributes of Wuotan point more to Hermes and Apollo. He resembles the latter, in as much as from him proceed contagious diseases and their cure; any severe illness is the stroke of God, and Apollo's arrows scatter pestilence. The Gauls also imagined that Apollo drove away diseases (Apollinem morbos depellere, Caes. B. G. 6, 17); and Wōdan's magic alone can cure Balder's lamed horse. The raven on the god's shoulder exactly fits Apollo, and still more plainly the circumstance that Oðinn invented the poetic art, and Saga is his divine daughter, just as the Greek Muses, though daughters of Zeus, are under Apollo's protection, and in his train.—On the other hand, writing and the alphabet were not invented by Apollo, but by Hermes. The Egyptian priests placed Hermes at the head of all inventions (Iamblich. de myst. Aegypt. 8, 1), and Theuth or Thoth is said to have first discovered letters (Plato's Phaedr. 1, 96, Bekker), while, acc. to Hygin. fab. 143, Hermes learnt them by watching the flight of cranes. In the AS. dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, we read (Thorpe's anal. p. 100): 'saga me, hwā ærōst bōcstafas sette?' 'ic the seege, Mercurius se gyyand'. Another dialogue, entitled Adrian and Epictus (MS. Brit. mus. Arund. no. 351. fol. 39) asks: 'quis primus fecit literas?' and answers 'Seith; which is either a corruption of Theuth, or the Seth of the Bible. Just so the Eddie Rūnataðs páttir seems to ascribe the first teaching of runes to Oðinn, if we may so
interpret the words: *nam ec upp rúnar*, Sæm. 28\textsuperscript{a}. *þær ofréð, þær ofreist, þær ofhugði Hroptr, i.e.,* them Odin read out, cut out, thought out, Sæm. 195\textsuperscript{b}. Also Snorri, Yngl. cap. 7: allar þessar idrøttir kendi hann með rúnnum ok lícðum. Hinemar of Rheims attributes to Mercury the invention of dice-playing: sicut isti qui de denariis quasi jocari dicuntur, quod omnino diabolicum est, et, sicut legimus, primum *diabolus hoc per Mercurium* proditid, unde et Mercurius inventor illius dicitur, 1, 656. Conf. Schol. to Odysse. 23, 198, and MS. 2, 124\textsuperscript{b}: der *tiuvel* schuf das würfelspil. Our folk-tales know something about this, they always make the devil play at cards, and entice others to play (see Suppl.\textsuperscript{1}).\textsuperscript{1} When to this we add, that the wishing-rod, *i.e.*, Wish’s staff, recalls Mercury’s caduceus, and the wish-wives, *i.e.*, oskneyjar, valkyrior, the occupation of the Psychopompos; we may fairly recognise an echo of the Gallic\textsuperscript{2} or Germanic Mercury in the epithet *Trismegistos* (Lactantius i. 6, 3. vi. 25, 10. *ter maximus Hermes* in Ausonius), which later poets, Romance and German, in the 12th and 13th centuries\textsuperscript{2} transferred to a Saracen deity *Termagan*,\textsuperscript{4} *Tervagan, Tervigant, Terrivant*. Moreover, when Hermes and Mercury are described as dator bonorum, and the Slavs again call the same god Dobro-pan (p. 130, note), as if mercis dominus; it is worth noticing, that the Misenere Amgb. 42\textsuperscript{a}, in enumerating all the planets, singles out Mercury to invoke in the words: *Nu hílf mir, daz mir sælde wache!* schin er mir ze gelicke, noch só kum ich wider úf der sælden phat (pfad). Just so I find Odin invoked in Swedish popular songs: *Híelp nu, Odén Asagrim!* Svenska fornsånger 1, 11. *híelp mig Othin!* 1, 69. To this god first and foremost the people turned when in distress; I suppose he is called Asgrim, because among the Ases he bore the name of Grimmir?

\footnote{1 Reusch, sagen des preuss. Samlands, no. 11. 29.}

\footnote{2 In the Old British mythology there appears a *Gwydion ab Don*, G. son of Don, whom Davies (Celtic researches pp. 168, 174. Brit. myth. p. 118, 204, 263–4, 353, 429, 504, 541) identifies with Hermes; he invented writing, practised magic, and built the rainbow; the milky way was named caer Gwydion, G.’s castle (Owen, sub v.). The British antiquaries say nothing of Woden, yet *Gwydion* seems near of kin to the above *Gwodan = Wodan*. So the Irish name for dies Mercury, dia Geden, whether modelled on the Engl. Wednesday or not, leads us to the form Goden, Gwoden (see Suppl.).}

\footnote{3 Even nursery-tales of the present time speak of a *groszmächtige Mercurius*, Kinderm. no. 99. 2, 86.}

\footnote{4 This *Termagan, Termagant* occurs especially in O. Engl. poems, and may have to do with the Irish *tormac augmentum*, tormacaim angere.
It is therefore not without significance, that also the wanderings of the Herald of gods among men, in whose hovels he now and then takes up his lodging, are paralleled especially by those of Óðinn and Hœnir, or, in christian guise, of God and St. Peter.

Our olden times tell of Wuotan's wanderings, his waggon, his way, his retinue (duce Mercurio, p. 128).—We know that in the very earliest ages the seven stars forming the Bear in the northern sky were thought of as a four-wheeled waggon, its pole being formed by the three stars that hang downwards:

"Ἀρκτον θ', ἵν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν. II. 18, 487.

Od. 5, 273. So in OHG. glosses: ursa wagen, Jun. 304; in MHG. himelwagen, Walth. 54, 3.1 herwagen Wackern. lb. 1. 772, 26. The clearest explanation is given by Notker cap. 64: Selbu ursa ist pi demo norde mannelichemi zeichenhaftiu fone dien siben gлатën sternôn, die allër der liut waghen heizet, unde nàh einemo glocceun joche2 gescaffien sint, unde ebenmichel sint, åne (except) des mittelöstens. The Anglo-Saxons called the constellation wænes þîsl (waggon's thill, pole), or simply þîsl, but earles wæn also is quoted in Lye, the Engl. charles wain, Dan. karlwoghe, Swed. karlwagn. Is earl here equivalent to lord, as we have herrenwagen in the same sense? or is it a transference to the famous king of christian legend? But, what concerns us here, the constellation appears to have borne in heathen times the full name of Wuotanes wagen, after the highest god of heaven. The Dutch language has evidence of this in a MS. of as late as 1470: ende de poeten in heure fablen heetend (the constell.) ource, dat is te segghene Woenswaghen. And elsewhere: dar dit teekin Arcturus, dat wy heeten Woonswaghen, up staet; het sevenstarre òfde Woenswaghen; conf. Huydec. proeven 1, 24. I have nowhere met with plaustrum Mercurii, nor with an ON. Óðins vagn; only vagn á himnum.

It is a question, whether the great open highway in heaven—to which people long attached a peculiar sense of sacredness, and perhaps allowed this to eclipse the older fancy of a 'milky way' (caer Gwydion, p. 150)—was not in some districts called Wuotanes wæce or stráza (way or street). Wöldnesweg, as the name of a place, stood its ground in Lower Saxony, in the case of a village near Magdeburg, Ch. ad ann. 973 in Zeitschr. für archivk. 2, 349; an

1 Septenttrion, que nos char el ciel apeldon; Roman de Rou.
2 Crossbeam, such as bells (glocken) are suspended on; conf. ans, ãs, p. 125.

Plainer, and more to the purpose, appear the names of certain mountains, which in heathen times were sacred to the service of the god. At *Sigtys bergi*, Sæm. 248a. *Othensberg*, now *Onsberg*, on the Danish I. of Samsö; *Odensberg* in Schonen. Godesberg near Bonn, in docs. of Mid. Ages *Gudenesberg*, Günther 1, 211 (anno 1131), 1, 274 (anno 1143), 2, 345 (anno 1265); and before that, *Wōdennesberg*, Lacomblet 97. 117, annis 947, 974. So early as in Caesarius heisterb. 8, 46 the two forms are put together: *Gudinsberg* vel, ut alii dicunt, *Wudinsberg*. Near the holy oak in Hesse, which Boniface brought down, there stood a *Wudenesberg*, still so named in a doc. of 1154 (Schminke beschr. von Cassel, p. 30, conf. Wenk 3, 79), later *Vdenesberg*, *Gudensberg*; this hill is not to be confounded with *Gudensberg* by Erkshausen, district Rotenburg (Niederhess. wochenbl. 1830, p. 1296), nor with a *Gudenberg* by Oberelsungen and Zierenberg (ib. p. 1219. Rommel 2, 64. *Gudenberg* by Landau, p. 212); so that three mountains of this name occur in Lower Hesse alone; conf. *montem Vodinberg, cum Silva eidem monti attinente*, doc. of 1265 in Wenk II, no. 174. In a different neighbourhood, a Henricus comes de *Wōdennesberg* is named in a doc. of 1130, Wedekind’s notes 1, 367; a curtis *Wōdennesberg* in a doc. of 973, Falke tradit. corb. 534. *Gotansberg* (anno 1275), Langs reg. 3, 471: *vineas duas gotansberge vocatas*. Mabillon’s acta Bened. sec. 5, p. 208 contain the following: ‘in loco ubi mons quem dicunt Wonesberth (l. *Wōnesberh* = *Wōdanesberg*) a radicibus astra petit,’ said to be situate in pagus Gandavensis, but more correctly Mt. Ardenghen between Boulogne and St. Omer. Comes *Wadianimontis*, aft. Vaudemont in Lorraine (Don Calmet, tome 2,
preuves XLVIII. L.), seems to be the same, and to mean Wodani-mons.¹ A Wōdnes beorg in the Sax. Chron. (Ingram pp. 27. 62), later Wodnesborough, Wansborough in Wiltshire; the corruption already in Ethelwerd p. 835: 'facta ruina magna ex utraque parte in loco qui dicitur Wodnesbury' for Wodnesberg; but Florence, ed. 1592, p. 225, has 'Wodnesbeorf, id est mons Wodeni'.² A Wōdnes-beorg in Lappenberg's map near the Bearnewudu, conf. Wodnesbury, Wodnesdyke, Wōdanesfeld in Lappenb. engl. gesch. 1, 131. 258. 354.

To this we must add, that about the Hessian Gudensberg the story goes that King Charles lies imprisoned in it, that he there won a victory over the Saxons, and opened a well in the wood for his thirsting army, but he will yet come forth of the mountain, he and his host, at the appointed time. The mythus of a victorious army pining for water is already applied to King Carl by the Frankish annalists (Pertz 1, 150. 348), at the very moment when they bring out the destruction of the Irminsul; but beyond a doubt it is older and heathen: Saxo Gram. 42 has it of the victorious Balder. The agreement of such legends with fixed points in the ancient cultus cannot but heighten and confirm their significance. A people whose faith is falling to pieces, will save here and there a fragment of it, by fixing it on a new and unpersecuted object of veneration. After such numerous instances of ancient Woden-hills, one need not be afraid to claim a mons Mercurii when mentioned in Latin annalists, such as Fredegar.

Other names occur, besides those of mountains. The breviarium Lulli, in Wenk II. no. 12, names a place in Thuringia: 'in Wudaneshusun,' and again Wōtuneshusun (conf. Schannat no. 84. 105); in Oldenburg there is a Wodensholt, now Godensholt, cited in a land-book of 1428, Ehrenraut Fries. arch. 1, 445: 'to Wodensholte Tideke Tammen gut x schillinge'; Wothenower (Wōdenôver ?), seat of a Brandenburg family, Höfers urk. p. 270, anno 1334; not far from Bergen op Zoom and the Scheldt, towards Antwerp, stands to this day a Woensdrecht, as if Wodani trajectum. Woensel = Wodenssele, Wodani aula, lies near Eindhoven on the

¹ We know of Graisivandan, a valley near Grenoble in Dauphiné, for which the Titurel has Graswaldane; but there is no ground for connecting it with the god.

² Our present -borough, -bury, stands both correctly for burh, beorh, castle, town (Germ. burg), and incorrectly for the lost beorg, beorh, mountain (Germ. berg).—Trans.
Dommel in N. Brabant; a remarkable passage on it in Gramaye’s Taxandria, p. 23, was pointed out to me by J. W. Wolf: Imo amplius supersunt aperte Cymbricorum deorum pagis aliquot, ubi forte culti erant, indita nomina, nominatim Mercurii in Woensel, honoris in Eersel, Martis in Roysel. Uti enim Woen Mercurium eis dictum alias docui, et eor honorem esse omnes sciunt, ita Roy Martem a colore sanguineo cognominatum ostendunt illi qui tertiam hebdomadis feriam Roydach indigitant. In due time I shall speak of Eersel and Roysel, which lie in the neighbourhood of Woensel, and all of them in the N. Brabant district of Oirschot. This Woensel is like the Oðinssalr, Othänisé, Onsala named on p. 158. Wunstorp, Wunsdorf, a convent and small town in Lower Saxony, stands unmutilated as Wodenstorp in a doc. of 1179, Falke tradit. corb. 770. Near Windbergen in the Ditmar country, an open space in a wood bears the name of Wodenslag, Wonslag. Near Hadersleben in Schleswig are the villages of Wonsbeke, Wonslei, Woyens formerly Wodensyen. An AS. doc. of 862 (Kemble 2, 73) contains in a boundary-settlement the name Wðnstoe = Wodenesstoe, Wodani stipes, and at the same time betrays the influence of the god on ancient delimitation. Wuotan, Hermes, Mercury, all seem to be divinities of measurement and demarcation; conf. Wodensspanne, Woenslet, p. 160 (see Suppl).

As these names, denoting the waggon and the mountain of the old god, have survived chiefly in Lower Germany, where heathenism maintained itself longest; a remarkable custom of the people in Lower Saxony at harvest-time points the same way. It is usual to leave a clump of standing corn in a field to Woden for his horse. Oðinn in the Edda rides the eight-footed steed Sleipnir, the best of all horses, Sæm. 46a 93b. Sn. 18. 45. 65. Sleipnis verðr (food) is a poetic name for hay, Yngl. saga cap. 21: other sagas speak of a tall white horse, by which the god of victory might be recognised in battles (see Suppl.). Christianity has not entirely rooted out the harmless practice for the Norse any more than for the Saxon peasant. In Schonen and Blekingen it continued for a long time to be the custom for reapers to leave on the field a gift for Oden’s horses. The usage in Mecklenburg is thus described by Gryse:

1 Geyers schwed. gesch. 1, 110. orig. 1, 123. In the Högrumssocken, Oeland, are some large stones named Odins flisor, Odini lamellae, of which the
Ja, im heidendom hebben tor tid der arne (at harvest-tide) de meiers (mowers) dem afgade  Woden umme god korn angeropen (invoked for good corn), denn wenn de roggenarme geendet, heft men up den lestn platz eins idern (each) veldes einen kleinen ord unde humpel korns unafgemeiet stan laten, dat sûlve haven (b‘ oben, a-b’ove) an den aren drevoldigen to samende geschörtet, unde besprenget (ears festooned together three times, and sprinkled). Alle meiers sin darumme her getreden, ere hûde (their hats) van koppe genamen (v. supra, p. 32), unde ere seisen (scythes) na der sülve wode [mode ?] unde geschrenke (encircling) den kornbusche upgerichet, und hebben den Wodendüvel dremin semplik lud averall also angeropen unde gebeden:

Wode, hale (fetch) dinem rosse nu voder,  
nu distil unde dom,  
tom andern jar beter korn!

welker afgödischer gebruk im Pawestom gebleven. Daher denn ok noch an dissen orden dar heiden gewanet, bi etliken ackerläden (-leuten, men) solker avergelövischer gebruk in anropinge des Woden tor tid der arne gespöret werd, und ok oft desûlve helsche jegor (the same hellish hunter), sonderliken im winter, des nachtes up dem velde mitinen jagethunden sik hören let.1

David Franck (Meklenb. 1, 56-7), who has heard the same from old people, quotes the rhyme thus:

story is told, that Odin, in turning his horse out to graze, took the bit off him and laid it on a huge block of stone; the weight of the bit split the stone into two pieces, which were set upright as a memorial. Another story is, that Odin was about to fight an adversary, and knew not where to tie his horse up. In the hurry he ran to the stone, pierced it with his sword, and tied his horse fast through the hole. But the horse broke loose, the stone burst in pieces and rolled away, and from this arose the deep bog named Högmansträsk; people have tied poles together, but never could reach the bottom. Abrah. Ahlquist, Oelands historia, Calmar 1822. 1, 37, 2, 212. There is a picture of the stones in Liliengren och Brunius, no. xviii. In the Högbysecken of Oeland is also a smooth block of granite named Odinssten, on which, acc. to the folk-tale, the warriors of old, when marching to battle, used to whet their swords; Ahlquist 2, 79. These legends confirm the special importance of Odin’s horse in his mythus. Verellii note on the Gautrekkssaga p. 40 quote from the Clavis computi runici: ‘Odin beter hesta sina i belg ’bunden, which I do not quite understand. In the Form. sög. 9, 55-6 Odin has his horse shod at a blacksmith’s, and rides away by enormous leaps to Sweden, where a war breaks out (see Suppl.).

1 Spiegel des antichristischen pawestdoms (popery), dorich Nicolaum Grysen, predigern in Rostock, Rost. 1593. 4, sheet E iii. With the verses cited by him, conf. the formula in weisthümer: Let it lie fallow one year, and bear thistle and thorn the next.
Wode, Wode,
hal dinen rosse nu voder,
nu distel un dorn,
ächter jar beter korn!

He adds, that at the squires' mansions, when the rye is all cut, there is Wodel-beer served out to the mowers; no one weeds flax on a Wodenstag, lest Woden's horse should trample the seeds; from Christmas to Twelfth-day they will not spin, nor leave any flax on the distaff, and to the question why? they answer, Wode is galloping across. We are expressly told, this wild hunter Wode rides a white horse.\(^1\) Near Sätuna in Vestergötländ are some fine meadows called Onsängarne (Odens ängar, ings), in which the god's horses are said to have grazed, Afzelius 1, 4. In S. Germany they tell of the lord of the castle's grazing gray (or white), Mone anz. 3, 259; v. infra, the 'wütende heer'. I have been told, that in the neighbourhood of Kloppenburg in Oldenburg, the harvesters leave a bunch of corn-stalks uncut on the field, and dance round it. There may be a rhyme sung over it still, no doubt there was formerly.

A custom in Schaumburg I find thus described;\(^2\) the people go out to mow in parties of twelve, sixteen or twenty scythes, but it is so managed, that on the last day of harvest they all finish at the same time, or some leave a strip standing which they can cut down at a stroke the last thing, or they merely pass their scythes over the stubble, pretending there is still some left to mow. At the last stroke of the scythe they raise their implements aloft, plant them upright, and beat the blades three times with the strop. Each spills on the field a little of the drink he has, whether beer, brandy, or milk, then drinks himself, while they wave their hats, beat their scythes three times, and cry aloud Wöld, Wöld, Wöld! and the women knock all the crumbs out of their baskets on the stubble. They march home shouting and singing. Fifty years ago a song was in use, which has now died out, but whose first strophe ran thus:

Wöld, Wöld, Wöld!
hävenhüne weit wat schüt,
jümm hei dal van häven süt.

\(^1\) Mussäns meklenb. volkssagen no. 5; in Lisch meklenb. jahrb. 2, 133 it is spelt Wawd, and a note is made, that on the Elbe they say fru' Wod, i.e. frohö, lord; conf. infra, fru Gane and fru Gauen in the 'wütende heer'.

\(^2\) By Münchhausen in Bragur VI. 1, 21—34.
Vulle kruken un sangen hât hei,
upen holte wässt (gröss) manigerlei:
hei is nig barn un wert nig old.
Wöld, Wöld, Wöld!

If the ceremony be omitted, the next year will bring bad crops of hay and corn.

Probably, beside the libation, there was corn left standing for the venerated being, as the fourth line gives us to understand: 'full crocks and shocks hath he'; and the second strophe may have brought in his horse. 'Heaven's giant knows what happens, ever he down from heaven sees,' accords with the old belief in Wuotan's chair (p. 135); the sixth line touches off the god that 'ne'er is born and ne'er grows old' almost too theosophically. Wöld, Wöld, Wöld!

A Schaumburg man pronounced the name to me as Wauden, and related as follows: On the lake of Steinhude, the lads from the village of Steinhude go every autumn after harvest, to a hill named Heidenhügel, light a fire on it, and when it blazes high, wave their hats and cry Wauden, Wauden! (see Suppl.).

Such customs reveal to us the generosity of the olden time. Man has no wish to keep all his increase to himself; he gratefully leaves a portion to the gods, who will in future also protect his crops. Avarice increased when sacrificing ceased. Ears of corn are set apart and offered here to Wuotan, as elsewhere to kind spirits and elves, e.g., to the brownies of Scotland (see Suppl. to Elves, pixy-hoarding).

It was not Wuotan exclusively that bestowed fertility on the fields; Donar, and his mother the Earth, stood in still closer connexion with agriculture. We shall see that goddess put in the place of Wuotan in exactly similar harvest-ceremonies.

In what countries the worship of the god endured the longest, may be learnt from the names of places which are compounded with his name, because the site was sacred to him. It is very unlikely that they should be due to men bearing the same name as the god, instead of to the god himself; Wuotan, Oöinn, as a man's

1 Conf. Dutch oud, goud for old, gold; so Woude, which approximates the form Wöde. Have we the latter in 'Theodericus de Wodestede'? Scheidt's mantissa p. 433, anno 1205.
name, does occur, but not often; and the meaning of the second half of the compounds, and their reappearance in various regions, are altogether in favour of their being attributable to the god. From Lower Germany and Hesse, I have cited (p. 151) Wödenesweg, Wödenesberg, Wödenesholt, Wödeneshäusen, and on the Jutish border Winsild; from the Netherlands Woensdrecht; in Upper Germany such names hardly show themselves at all. In England we find: Woodnesboro' in Kent, near Sandwich: Wednesbury and Wednesfield in Staffordshire; Wednesham in Cheshire, called Wednesfield in Ethelwerd p. 848. But their number is more considerable in Scandinavia, where heathenism was preserved longer: and if in Denmark and the Gothland portion of Sweden they occur more frequently than in Norway and Sweden proper, I infer from this a preponderance of Odin-worship in South Scandinavia. The chief town in the I. of Funen (Fion) was named Odinsæe (Formm. sog. 11, 266. 281) from ve, a sanctuary; sometimes also Oðinsey (ib. 230. 352) from ey, island, meadow; and later again Odense, and in Waldemar’s Liber censualis 530. 542 Oðinsó. In Lower Norway, close to Frederikstad, a second Oðinsey (Heimskr. ed. Havn. 4, 348. 398), aft. called Onsø. In Jutland, Oðånsyhull (−huld, grace, Wald. lib. cens. 519), aft. Onsild. Oðånsleif (Othin reliquiae, leavings, ib. 526), now Onslev. In Halland, Oðånsdall (−saal, hall, ib. 533), now Önsala (Tuneld’s geogr. 2, 492, 504); as well as in Old Norway an Oðånsdall (conf. Woensel in Brabant, Woenssele ?). In Schonen, Oðånskäret (Wald. lib. cens. 528); Oðånsstrå (Brig 2, 62. 138. 142), now Onsjö (Tuneld 2, 397); Onskunda (−grove, Tuneld 2, 449); Oðånsvaro (Brig 2, 46–7, Othenvara 39); Oðånsströ (Brig 2, 48), from vara, foedus, and tro, fides? In Småland, Odesvalahult (Tuneld 2, 146) and Odesjö (2, 109. 147. Sjöborg försök p. 61). In Östergötland, Odenfors (Tuneld 2, 72). In Vestergötland, Odeskulla (2, 284) and Odenskulla (2, 264), a medicinal spring; Odesåker, Onsåker (−acre, field, 2, 204. 253). In

1 An Odensberg in the Mark of Bibelnheim (now Biebesheim below Gernsheim in Darmstadt) is named in a doc. of 1403. Chmels reg. Ruperti p. 204; the form Wodensberg would look more trustworthy.

2 If numbers be an object, I fancy the English contribution might be swelled by looking up in a gazetteer the names beginning with Wans−, Wens−, Wadden−, Weddin−, Wed−, Wood−, Wam−, Wem−, Wom−.—Trans.

3 Langebek script. tom. 7.

4 Sven Bring, monumenta Scanensia, vol 2, Lond. goth. 1748.
Westmanland, *Odensvi* (1, 266. conf. Grau, p. 427),\(^1\) like the Odinsve of Fünen; and our Lower Saxon Wodeneswege may have to do with this *ve* (not with *weg, via*), and be explained by the old *wih, templum* (see p. 67). This becomes the more credible, as there occurs in the Cod. exon. 341, 28 the remarkable sentence:

\[
Wöden \text{ worhte } weos, \text{ wuldor alwealda rume roderas;}
\]

*i.e.*, Wöden construxit, creavit fana (idola), Deus omnipotens amplos coelos; the Christian writer had in his recollection the heathen sanctuaries assigned to Wöden, and contrasts with them the greater creations of God. The plur. *weos* is easily justified, as *wih* is resolved into *weoh*, and *weohas* contracted into *weos*: so that an AS. *Wodenesweoh* would exactly fit the OS. *Wodanesweg* = *Wōdaneswih*, and the ON. *Oðinsve*. Also in Westmanland, an *Odensjö* (Grau p. 502). In Upland, *Odensala* (Tuneld 1, 56); *Odensfors* (1, 144); *Onsike* (1, 144). In Nerike, *Odensbacke* (1, 240), (see Suppl.).

It seemed needful here to group the most important of these names together, and no doubt there are many others which have escaped me;\(^2\) in their very multitude, as well as the similarity or identity of their structure, lies the full proof of their significance. Few, or isolated, they might have been suspected, and explained otherwise; taken together, they are incontestable evidence of the wide diffusion of Odin’s worship.

Herbs and plants do not seem to have been named after this god. In Brun’s *beitr.*, p. 54, *wedesterne* is given as the name of a plant, but we ought first to see it in a distincter form. The Icelanders and Danes however call a small waterfowl (tringa minima, inquieta, lacustris et natans) *Oðinshani, Odenshane, Odens fugl*, which fits in with the belief, brought out on p. 147, in birds consecrated to him. An OHG. gloss (Haupts altd. bl. 2, 212) supplies a doubtful-looking *vtinswaluwe*, fulica (see Suppl.).

Even a part of the human body was named after the god: the

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\(^2\) There are some in Finn Magnusen’s *lex. myth.* 648; but I do not agree with him in including the H. Germ. names Odenwald, Odenheim, which lack the HG. form Wuoatan and the -s of the genitive; nor the Finn. *Odenpä*, which means rather bear’s head.
space between the thumb and the forefinger when stretched out, which the Greeks name \(\chi\varepsilon\varsigma\), was called in the Netherlands Woedensspanne, Woedensspanne, Woenslet. The thumb was sacred, and even worshipped as thumbkin and Pollux = pollex; Wodan was the god of play, and lucky men were said to have the game running on their thumb. We must await further disclosures about the name, its purport, and the superstition lying at the bottom of it (see Suppl.).

I started with assuming that the worship of this divinity was common to all the Teutonic races, and foreign to none, just because we must recognise him as the most universal and the supreme one. Wuotan—so far as we have succeeded in gleaning from the relics of the old religion an idea of his being—Wuotan is the most intellectual god of our antiquity, he shines out above all the other gods; and therefore the Latin writers, when they speak of the German cultus, are always prompted to make mention first of Mercury.

We know that not only the Norsemen, but the Saxons, Thuringians, Alamans and Langobards worshipped this deity; why should Franks, Goths, and the rest be excluded from his service?

At the same time there are plain indications that his worship was not always and everywhere the dominant one. In the South of Germany, although the personification of Wish maintained its ground, Wuotan became extinct sooner than in the North; neither names of places, nor that of the fourth day of the week, have preserved him there. Among the Scandinavians, the Swedes and Norwegians seem to have been less devoted to him than the Gothenlanders and Danes. The ON. sagas several times mention images of Thor, never one of Oðinn; only Saxo Gram. does so in an altogether mythical way (p. 113); Adam of Bremen, though he names Wodan among the Upsala gods, assigns but the second place to him, and the first to Thor. Later still, the worship of Freyr seems to have predominated in Sweden.

An addition to the St. Olaf saga, though made at a later time, furnishes a striking statement about the heathen gods whom the introduction of Christianity overthrew. I will quote it here, intending to return to it from time to time: ‘Olaf r konungr kristnaði þetta ríki allt, öll blót braut hann niðr ok öll goð, sem
Thór Engilsmanna gøð, ok Oðin Saxa gøð, ok Skióld Skáfnúnga gøð, ok Frey Svía gøð, ok Godörm Dana gøð’; i.e. king O. christened all this kingdom, broke down all sacrifices and all gods, as Thor the Englishmen’s god, Oðin the Saxons’ god, &c., Formm. sög. 5, 239.—This need not be taken too strictly, but it seems to me to express the still abiding recollections of the old national gods: as the Swedes preferred Freyr, so probably did the Saxons Wôden, to all other deities. Why, I wonder, did the writer, doubtless a Norwegian, omit the favourite god of his own countrymen? To them he ought to have given Thor, instead of to the English, who, like other Saxons, were votaries of Wôden.

Meanwhile it must not be overlooked, that in the Abrenuntiatio, an 8th century document, not purely Saxon, yet Low German, O. Frankish and perhaps Ripuarian, Thunar is named before Vuodan, and Saxnot occupies the third place. From this it follows at all events, that the worship of Thunar also prevailed in those regions; may we still vindicate Vuodan’s claims to the highest place by supposing that the three gods are here named in the order in which their statues were placed side by side? that Vuodan, as the greatest of them, stood in the middle? as, according to Adam of Bremen, Thor did at Upsala, with Wôden and Frecco on each side of him.

In the ON. sagas, when two of these gods are named together, Thôrr usually precedes Oðinn. The Laxdœlasaga, p. 174, says of Kiartan: At hann þykist eiga meira traust undir aflí sinu ok váþnum (put more trust in his strength and weapons, conf. pp. 6, 7) helðr enn þar sem er Thôrr ok Oðinn. The same passage is repeated in Formm. sög. 2, 34. Again, Eyvindr relates how his parents made a vow before his birth: At sá maðr skal alt til dauðadags þíona Thôr ok Oðni (this man shall until death-day serve, &c.), Formm. sög. 2, 161. But it does not follow from this, that Thôrr was thought the greatest, for Eyvindr was actually dedicated to Oðinn. In Formm. sög. 5, 249, Styrbiörn sacrifices to Thôrr, and Eirekr to Oðinn, but the former is beaten. Thôrr tók

1 So in an AS. homily De temporibus Antichristi, in Wheloc’s Beda p. 495, are enumerated ‘Thor and Eówen, þe hacene men herið swíðe’; and before that, ‘Erculus se ent (Hercules gigas) and Apollinis (Apollo), þe hi mærne god létan’. The preacher was thinking of the Greek and the Norse deities, not of the Saxon, or he would have said Thumor and Wôden. And in other cases, where distinctly Norse gods are meant, AS. writers use the Norse form of name. F. Magnusens lex. p. 919.
jolaveizlu frá Haraldi, enn Oðinn tók frá Hálfndáni, Forrn. sög. 10, 178. In the popular assembly at Thrândheim, the first cup is drunk to Oðinn, the second to Þórr, ibid. 1, 35. In the famous Bràvalla fight, Óthin under the name of Bruno acts as charioteer to the Danish king Harald, and to the latter’s destruction; on the Swedish side there fight descendants of Freyr, Saxo Gram. 144-7. Yet the Eddic Harbarzlióð seems to place Oðinn above Þórr.

A contrast between Oðinn and Þórr is brought out strongly in the Gautrekssaga quoted below, ch. XXVIII. But, since Þórr is represented as Oðin’s son, as a rejuvenescence of him, the two must often resolve into one another.¹

If the three mightiest gods are named, I find Oðinn foremost: Oðinn, Þórr, Freyr, Sn. edda 131. According to Forrn. sög. 1, 16, voyagers vow money and three casks of ale to Freyr, if a fair wind shall carry them to Sweden, but to Þórr or Oðinn, if it bring them home to Iceland (see Suppl.).

It is a different thing, when Oðinn in ON. documents is styled Thrúdi, the third;² in that case he appears not by the side of Þórr and Freyr, but by the side of Hárr and Iafanhár (the high and the even-high or co-equal, OHG. epan hoh) as the Thríð High³ (see Suppl.), Sn. 7. Yngl. saga 52. Sæm. 46a. As we might imagine, the grade varies: at other times he is Tveggi (duplex or secundus). Again, in a different relation he appears with his brothers Vili and Ve, Sn. 7; with Hœnir and Loðr, Sæm. 3b, or with Hœnir and Loki Sæm. 180. Sn. 135; all this rests upon older myths, which, as peculiar to the North, we leave on one side. Yet, with respect to the trilogy Oðinn, Vili, Ve, we must not omit to mention here, that the OHG. willo expresses not only voluntas, but votum, impetus and spiritus,⁴ and the Gothic viljan, velle, is closely connected with valjan, eligere; whence it is easy to conceive and

¹ When Oðinn is called Thundr in the songs of the Edda, Sæm. 28⁶ 47⁶, this may be derived from a lost þýnja = AS. þunian, tonare, and so be equivalent to Donar; it is true, they explain þundr as loricator, from þund lorica. But Wuotan, as Vóm, is the noise of the rushing air, and we saw him hurl the cudgel, as Þórr does the hammer.
² As Zeus also is τρίτος, from which Ἰτρογένεια is more easily explained than by her birth from his head (see Suppl.).
³ Elfrie's glosses 56⁶, Altanus: Wóden. Altanus, like Summanus, an epithet of Jove, the Altissimus; else Altanus, as the name of a wind, might also have to do with the storm of the 'wütende heer'.
⁴ The Greek μενος would be well adapted to unite the meanings of courage, fury (mnt, wut), wish, will, thought.
believe, how Wuotan, Wish and Will should touch one another (see Suppl.). With the largitor opum may also be connected the AS. wela, OS. welo, OHG. wolo, welo = opes, felicitas [weal, wealth], and Wela comes up several times almost as a personification (conf. Gramm. 4, 752), like the Lat. goddess Ops (conf. infra Sælde, note); there is also a Vali among the Norse gods. In the case of Ve, gen. vea, the sense may waver between who, sanctus (Goth. Alma sa veiha, Holy Ghost), and wiḥ, idolum. In Sæm. 63, Loki casts in the teeth of Frigg her intrigues with Ve and Vili; this refers to the story in Yngl. saga cap. 3, from which we clearly gather the identity of the three brothers, so that Frigg could be considered the wife of any one of them.¹

Lastly, a principal proof of the deeply-rooted worship of this divinity is furnished by Wôdan's being interwoven with the old Saxon genealogies, which I shall examine minutely in the Appendix.²

Here we see Wôdan invariably in the centre. To him are traced all the races of heroes and kings; among his sons and his ancestors, several have divine honours paid them. In parti-

¹ According to this story, Oðinn was abroad a long time, during which his brothers act for him; it is worthy of note, that Saxo also makes Othin travel to foreign lands, and Mithothin fill his place, p. 13; this Mithothin's position throws light on that of Vili and Ve. But Saxo, p. 45, represents Othin as once more an exile, and puts Olver in his place (see Suppl.). The distant journeys of the god are implied in the Norse by-names Gângráðr, Gângleri, Végamr, and Vígforval, and in Saxo 45 viator indefessus. It is not to be overlooked, that even Paulus Diae, 1, 9 knows of Wodan's residence in Greece (qui non circa haece temporâ—of the war between Langobards and Vandals—sed longe anterius, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia fuisse peribetur; while Saxo removes him to Byzantium, and Snorri to Tyrkland). In the passage in Paul. Diae.: Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercuruies dicitur, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur, qui non circa haece temporâ, sed longe anterius, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia fuisse peribetur—it has been proposed to refer the second 'qui' to Mercurius instead of Wodan (Ad. Schmidt zeitschr. 1, 264), and then the harmony of this account with Snorri and Saxo would disappear: But Paul is dealing with the absurdity of the Langobardic legend related in 1, 8, whose unhistoric basis he lays bare, by pointing out that Wodan at the time of the occurrence between the Wandali and Winili, had not ruled in Germany, but in Greece; which is the main point here. The notion that Mercury should be confined to Greece, has wider bearings, and would shock the heathen faith not only of the Germans but of the Romans. The heathen gods were supposed to be omnipresent, as may be seen by the mere fact that Woden-hills were admitted to exist in various spots all over the country; so that the community of this god to Germans, Greeks and Romans raised no difficulty.

² This Appendix forms part of the third volume. In the meanwhile, readers may be glad to see for themselves the substance of these pedigrees, which I have extracted from the Appendix, and placed at the end of this chapter.—Trans.
cular, there appear as sons, Baldor and that Saxnöt who in the 8th century was not yet rooted out of N.W. Germany; and in the line of his progenitors, Heremôd and Geât, the latter expressly pronounced a god, or the son of a god, in these legends, while Wôdan himself is regarded more as the head of all noble races. But we easily come to see, that from a higher point of view both Geât and Wôdan merge into one being, as in fact Óïnn is called ‘alda Gautr,’ Sæm. 93\textsuperscript{b} 95\textsuperscript{b}; conf. infra Goz, Koz.

In these genealogies, which in more than one direction are visibly interwoven with the oldest epic poetry of our nation, the gods, heroes and kings are mixed up together. As heroes become deified, so can gods also come up again as heroes; amid such reappearances, the order of succession of the individual links varies [in different tables].

Each pedigree ends with real historical kings: but to reckon back from these, and by the number of human generations to get at the date of mythical heroes and gods, is preposterous. The earliest Anglo-Saxon kings that are historically certain fall into the fifth, sixth or seventh century; count four, eight or twelve generations up to Wôden, you cannot push him back farther than the third or fourth century. Such calculations can do nothing to shake our assumption of his far earlier existence. The adoration of Wôden must reach up to immemorial times, a long way beyond the first notices given us by the Romans of Mercury's worship in Germania.

There is one more reflection to which the high place assigned by the Germans to their Wuotan may fairly lead us. Monotheism is a thing so necessary, so natural, that almost all heathens, amidst their motley throng of deities, have consciously or unconsciously ended by acknowledging a supreme god, who has already in him the attributes of all the rest, so that these are only to be regarded as emanations from him, renovations, rejuvenescences of him. This explains how certain characteristics come to be assigned, now to this, now to that particular god, and why one or another of them, according to the difference of nation, comes to be invested with supreme power. Thus our Wuotan resembles Hermes and Mercury, but he stands higher than these two; contrariwise, the German Donar (Thunor, Thôrr) is a weaker Zeus or Jupiter; what was added to the one, had to be subtracted from the other; as for Ziu
(Tiw, Tyr), he hardly does more than administer one of Wuotan’s offices, yet is identical in name with the first and highest god of the Greeks and Romans: and so all these god-phenomena keep meeting and crossing one another. The Hellenic Hermes is pictured as a youth, the Teutonic Wuotan as a patriarch: Odinn hinn gamli (the old). Yngl. saga cap. 15, like ‘the old god’ on p. 21. Ziu and Froho are mere emanations of Wuotan (see Suppl.).

**Genealogies of Anglo-Saxon Kings.**

*Descending Series.*

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<td>Wecta</td>
<td>Cásere</td>
<td>Saxneát</td>
<td>Wihlæg</td>
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<td>Witta</td>
<td>Titmon</td>
<td>Geselg</td>
<td>Wærmond</td>
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<td>Wihlgils</td>
<td>Trigel</td>
<td>Andseeg</td>
<td>Offa</td>
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<td>Hengest (d. 489)</td>
<td>Hróðmund</td>
<td>Sweppa</td>
<td>Angeltheow</td>
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<td>Eoric (Oese)</td>
<td>Hrippa</td>
<td>Sigelugel</td>
<td>Eomær</td>
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<td>Octa</td>
<td>Quichelm</td>
<td>Bedeca</td>
<td>Icel</td>
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<td>Eormanric</td>
<td>Uffa</td>
<td>Offa</td>
<td>Cnëbba</td>
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<td>Æthelbeorht (567)</td>
<td>Tidel</td>
<td>Æscwine (527)</td>
<td>Cynewald</td>
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<td>Eorppwald (632)</td>
<td>Rædwald (d. 617)</td>
<td>Sledda</td>
<td>Creoda</td>
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*Deira.*

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<th>Lindesfaran.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Woden</td>
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<td>Bældæg</td>
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<td>Sigeátr</td>
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<td>Frídhogar</td>
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<td>Sæbald</td>
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<td>Sæflugel</td>
<td>Ingwi</td>
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<td>Westralfocena</td>
<td>Esa</td>
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<td>Wilgiel</td>
<td>Eoppa</td>
<td>Elesa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Usecræa</td>
<td>Ida (d. 560)</td>
<td>Cerdic (d. 534)</td>
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<td>Yffe</td>
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<td>Ælle (d. 588)</td>
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According to this, Woden had seven sons (Bældæg being common to two royal lines); elsewhere he has only three, e.g. Wil. Malm. p. 17: tres filii, Weldegius, Withlegius et Beldlegius, from whom the Kentish kings, the Mercian kings, and the West Saxon and Northumbrian kings respectively were descended.

*Ascending Series.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woden</th>
<th>Finn</th>
<th>Beaw</th>
<th>Hathra (Itermóð)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fridhuald</td>
<td>Godwulf (Folcwald)</td>
<td>Sceldwa</td>
<td>Hwala (Hathra)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fréawine (Fréalaf)</td>
<td>Geát</td>
<td>Heremóð (Sceáf)</td>
<td>Bedwig (Hwala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fridhuwulf</td>
<td>Taewa</td>
<td>Itermoon (Heremóð)</td>
<td>Seeáf (Bedwig)</td>
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Some accounts contain only four links, others eight, others sixteen, stopping either at Fridhuwulf, at Geát, or at Sceáf. Sceáf is the oldest heathen name; but after the conversion the line was connected with Noah, and so with Adam!
CHAPTER VIII.

DONAR, THUNAR, (THÖRR).

The god who rules over clouds and rain, who makes himself known in the lightning's flash and the rolling thunder, whose bolt cleaves the sky and alights on the earth with deadly aim, was designated in our ancient speech by the word Donar itself, OS. Thunar, AS. Thunor, ON. Thórr.¹ The natural phenomenon is called in ON. þruna, or duna, both fem. like the Gothic þeihvō, which was perhaps adopted from a Finnic language. To the god the Goths would, I suppose, give the name Thunra. The Swed. thördun, Dan. torden (tonitru), which in Harpstræng still keeps the form thordyn, thordun, is compounded of the god's name and that same duna, ON. Thörduna? (see Suppl.). In exactly the same way the Swed. term åska (tonitru, fulmen), in the Westgotl. Laws åsikkia,² has arisen out of åsaka, the god's waggon or driving, from ås, deus, divus, and aka, vehere, vehi, Swed. åka. In Gothland they say for thunder Thorsåkan, Thor's driving; and the ON. reið signifies not only vehiculum, but tonitru, and reiðarslag, reiðarþruna, are thunderclap and lightning. For, a waggon rumbling over a vaulted space comes as near as possible to the rattling and crashing of thunder. The comparison is so natural, that we find it spread among many nations: δοκεῖ ὁχήμα τοῦ Διός ἡ βροντῆ εἶναι, Hesychius sub. v. ἐλασίβροντα. In Carniola the rolling of thunder is to this day gottes fahren. [To the Russian peasant it is the prophet Iliā driving his chariot, or else grinding his corn.] Thörr in the Edda, beside his appellation of Asapôrr, is more minutely described by Ökupôrr, i.e. Waggon-thôrr (Sn. 25); his waggon is drawn by two he-goats (Sn. 26). Other gods have their

¹ So even in High German dialects, durstag for donntag, Engl. Thursday, and Bav. doren, daren for donnurn (Schm. 1, 390). In Thörr it is not RR, but only the first R (the second being factional), that is an abbrev. of NR.; i.e. N suffers syncope before R, much as in the M. Dut. ere, mire, for ènre minre.
² Conf. Oniske (Odin's drive ὑ) supra, p. 159.
waggons too, especially Óðinn and Freyr (see pp. 107, 151), but Thórr is distinctly thought of as the god who drives; he never appears riding, like Óðinn, nor is he supposed to own a horse: either he drives, or he walks on foot. We are expressly told: ‘Thórr gengr til dömsins, ok veðr är,’ walks to judgment, and wades the rivers (Sn. 18).\footnote{1} The people in Sweden still say, when it thunders: \textit{godgyubben åker}, the good old (fellow) is taking a drive, Ívre 696, 740. 926. \textit{gefar åkar, goffar kör}, the gaffer, good father, drives (see Suppl.). They no longer liked to utter the god’s real name, or they wished to extol his fatherly goodness (v. supra, p. 21, the old god, Dan. \textit{vor gamle fader}). The Norwegian calls the lightning \textit{Thorsvarme}, -warmth, Faye p. 6.

Thunder, lightning and rain, above all other natural phenomena, proceed directly from God, are looked upon as his doing, his business (see Suppl.).\footnote{2} When a great noise and racket is kept up, a common expression is: you could not hear the Lord \textit{thunder} for the uproar; in France: \textit{le bruit est si fort, qu’on n’entend pas Dieu tonner}. As early as the Roman de Renart 11898:

\begin{center}
Font une noise si grant  
que len ni oist pas Dieu \textit{tonant}.
\end{center}

29143: Et commença un duel si grant,  
\textit{ni oissiez nis ame Dieu tonant}.

Ogier 10915: Lor poins deterdent, lor paumes vont batant,  
\textit{ni oissiez nis ame Dieu tonant}.

Garin 2, 38: Nes Dieu \textit{tonnant} ni possiez oir.

And in the Roman de Maugis (Lyon 1599, p. 64): De la noyse quils faisoient neust lon pas ouy Dieu \textit{tonner}.

But thunder is especially ascribed to an angry and avenging god; and in this attribute of \textit{anger} and \textit{punishment} again Donar resembles Wuotan (pp. 18, 142). In a thunderstorm the people say to their children: the \textit{gracious God} is angry; in Westphalia: \textit{use hergot kif} (chides, Strodtm. osnabr. 104); in Franconia: God is out

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{1} Scarcely contradicted by his surname \textit{Hlórirði}; this \textit{rìði} probably points to \textit{reið}, a waggon; \textit{Hlórirði} seems to me to come by assimilation from \textit{hlóriði}, conf. ch. XIII, the goddess \textit{Hlōðyn}.

\footnote{2} A peasant, being requested to kneel at a procession of the Host, said: I don’t believe the Lord can be there, ’twas only yesterday I heard him thunder up in heaven; Weidners apophthegmata, Amst. 1643, p. 277.
\end{footnotesize}
there scolding; in Bavaria: der himmeltat (-daddy) greint (Schm. 1, 462). In Eckström's poem in honour of the county of Honstein 1592, cii, it is said:

\[ \text{Gott der herr muss warlich from sein (must be really kind),} \]
\[ \text{dass er nicht mit donner schlegt drein.} \]

The same sentiment appears among the Letton and Finns. Lettic: wezzajs kahjas, wezzajs tehws barrahs (the old father has started to his feet, he chides), Stender lett. gramm. 150. With dievas (god) and dievaitis (godkin, dear god) the Lithuanians associate chiefly the idea of the thunderer: dievaitis grauja! dievaitis ji numusse. Esthonian: wanna issa hüib, wanna essä wiljan, mürrisep (the old father growls), Rosenplánters beitr. 8, 116. 'The Lord scolds,' 'heaven wages war;' Joh. Christ. Petris Eihstland 2, 108 (see Suppl.).

Now with this Donar of the Germani fits in significantly the Gallic Taranis whose name is handed down to us in Lucan 1, 440; all the Celtic tongues retain the word taran for thunder, Irish toran, with which one may directly connect the ON. form Thôrr, if one thinks an assimilation from \( rm \) the more likely. But an old inscription gives us also Tanaruss (Forcellini sub v.) = Taranis. The Irish name for Thursday, dia Tordain (dia ordain, diardaoin) was perhaps borrowed from a Teutonic one (see Suppl.).

So in the Latin Jupiter (literally, God father, Diespiter) there predominates the idea of the thunderer; in the poets Tonans is equivalent to Jupiter (e.g., Martial vi. 10, 9, 13, 7. Ovid Heroid. 9, 7. Fasti 2, 69. Metam. 1, 170. Claudian's Stilicho 2, 439); and Latin poets of the Mid. Ages are not at all unwilling to apply the name to the Christian God (e.g., Dracontius de deo 1, 1. satisfact. 149. Ven. Fortunat. p. 212-9. 258). And expressions in the lingua vulgaris coincide with this: celui qui fait toner, qui fait courre la nue (p. 23-4). An inscription, Jovi tonanti, in Gruter 21, 6. The Greek Zeus who sends thunder and lightning (κεραυνός) is styled κεραύνεος. Ζεύς ἐκτυπε, Il. 8, 75, 170. 17, 595. Διὸς κτύπος, Il. 15, 379. And because he sends them down from the

1 In a poem made up of the first lines of hymns and songs: Ach gott vom himmel sich darein, und werfe einen donnerstein, es ist gewislich an der zeit, dass schwelgerei und üppigkeit zerschmettert werden mausetot! sonst schrein wir bald aus tiefer noth.

2 One might be tempted to connect the Etruscan Tina = Jupiter with Tonans and Donar; it belongs more immediately to Zîv (v. infra, Zio).
height of heaven, he also bears the name ἀκριός, and is pictured dwelling on the mountain-top (ἀκρις). Zeus is enthroned on Olympus, on Athos, Lycaeus, Casius, and other mountains of Greece and Asia Minor.

And here I must lay stress on the fact, that the thundering god is conceived as emphatically a fatherly one, as Jupiter and Diespiter, as far and tatl. For it is in close connexion with this, that the mountains sacred to him also received in many parts such names as Etzel, Altvater, Grossvater.1 Thörr himself was likewise called Atli, i.e. grandfather.

A high mountain, along which, from the earliest times, the main road to Italy has lain, in the chain between the Graian and Pennine Alps, what we now call the St. Bernard, was in the early Mid. Ages named mens Jovis. This name occurs frequently in the Frankish annals (Pertz 1, 150. 295. 453. 498. 512. 570. 606. 2, 82), in Otto fris. de gest. Frid. 2, 24, in Radevicius 1, 25, who designates it via Julii Caesaris, modo mens Jovis; in AS. writers munt Jafes (Lye sub. v.), in Ælfr. Boët. p. 150 muntgiow; in our Kaiserchronik 88d monte job.—The name and the worship carry us back to the time of the Romans; the inhabitants of the Alps worshipped a Peninus deus, or a Penina dea: Neque montibus his ab transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri, incolae jugi ejus norunt nomen inditum, sed ab eo (al. deo) quem in summno sacratum vertice peninum montani adpellant; Livy 31, 38. Quamvis legatur a poenina dea quae ibi colitur Alpes ipsas vocari; Servius on Virg. Aen. 10, 13. An inscription found on the St Bernard (Jac. Spon miscellanea antiq. Lugd. 1685, p. 85) says expressly: Lucius Lucilius deo Penino opt. max. donum dedit; from which it follows, that this god was understood to be no other than Jupiter. Conf. Jupiter apenninus, Micali storia 131-5. Zeus kapaios occurs in Hesych. [kápa means head, and so does the Celtic pen, ben]. The classic writers never use mens Jovis, and the tabula Antonini names only the summus Penninus and the Penni lucus; but between the 4th and 7th centuries Jovis mens seems to have taken the place of these,

1 Zeitschr. des hess. vereins 2, 139-142. Altd. blätt. 1, 288. Haupts zeitschr. 1, 26. Finnish: isänen panee (Renval. 118), the father thunders. To the Finns ukko signifies proavus, senex, and is a surname of the gods Wäinäsnöinen and Ilmarinen. But also Ukko of itself denotes the thunder-god (v. infra). Among the Swedish Lapps aija is both avus and tonitrus (see Suppl.).
perhaps with reference [not so much to the old Roman, as] to the Gallic or even German sense which had then come to be attached to the god’s name. Remember that German isarnodori on the Jura mountains not far off (p. 80).  

Such names of mountains in Germany itself we may with perfect safety attribute to the worship of the native deity. Every one knows the Donnersberg (mont Tonnerre) in the Rhine palatinate on the borders of the old county of Falkenstein, between Worms, Kaiserslautern and Kreuznach; it stands as Thoneresberg in a doc. of 869, Schannat hist. womat. probat. p. 9. Another Thoneresberg situate on the Diemel, in Westphalia, not far from Warburg, and surrounded by the villages of Wormeln, Germete and Welda, is first mentioned in a doc. of 1100, Schaten mon. paderb. 1, 649; in the Mid. Ages it was still the seat of a great popular assize, originally due, no doubt, to the sacredness of the spot: ‘comes ad Thoneresberhe’ (anno 1123), Wigands feme 222. comitia de Dunrisberg (1105), Wigands arch. I. 1, 56. a judicio nostro Thonresberek (1239), ib. 58. Precisely in the vicinities of this mountain stands the holy oak mentioned on p. 72-4, just as the rohner Jovis by Geismar in Hesse is near a Wuotansberg, p. 152. To all appearance the two deities could be worshipped close to one another. The Knüllgebirge in Hesse includes a Donnkerkante. In the Bernerland is a Donnerbügel (doc. of 1303, Joh. Müller 1, 619), called Tonrbüt in Justingers Berner chron. p. 50. Probably more Donnersbergs are to be found in other parts of Germany. One in the Regensburg country is given in a doc. of 882 under the name of Tuniesberg, Ried, cod. dipl. num. 60. A Sifridus marshalcus de Donnersperch is named in a doc. of 1300, MB. 33, pars 1, p. 289; an Otto de Donersperg, MB. 4, 94 (in 1194), but Duonesberc, 4, 528 (in 1153), and Tunniesberg 11, 432. In the Thüringer wald, between Stein-

1 This mons Jovis must be distinguished from mons gaudii, by which the Mid. Ages meant a height near Rome: Otto frising 1. c. 2, 22; the Kaiserchr. 884 translates it verbally mendelbere. In Romance poems of the 12-13th centuries, monjoié is the French battle-cry, generally with the addition of St Denis, e.g. monjoié, monjoié sant Denis! Ferabras 365. monjoié enseigne S. Denis! Garin 108. Ducange in his 11th dissertation on Joinville declares monjoié inadmissible as a mere diminutive of mont, since in other passages (Roquefort 2, 207) it denotes any place of joy and bliss, a paradise, so that we can fairly keep to the literal sense; and there must have been mountains of this name in more than one region. It is quite possible that monjoié itself came from an earlier monjove (mons Jovis), that with the god’s hill there associated itself the idea of a mansion of bliss (see Suppl.).
bach and Oberhof, at the 'rennsteig' is a Donershauk (see Suppl.).
—A *Donares eih*, a *robur Jovis*, was a tree specially sacred to the
god of lightning, and of these there grew an endless abundance in
the German forests.

Neither does Scandinavia lack mountains and rocks bearing the
name of Thôrr: *Thors klínt* in East Gothland (conf. Wildegren's
Östergötland 1, 17); *Thorsborg* in Gothland, Mølbech tidskr. 4, 189.
From Norway, where this god was pre-eminently honoured, I have
nevertheless heard of none. The peasant in Vermland calls the
south-west corner of the sky, whence the summer tempests mostly
rise, *Thorshāla* (-hole, cave, Geijer's Svearikes häfder 1, 268).

And the Thunder-mountains of the Slavs are not to be over-
looked. Near Milleschau in Bohemia stands a *Hromolan*, from
hrom, thunder, in other dialects grom. One of the steepsy moun-
tains in the Styrian Alps (see Suppl.) is *Grimming*, i.e., Sl. germnik,
OSl. gr"mnik, thunder-hill (Sloven. gr'mi, it thunders, Serv. grmi,
Russ. grom gremit, quasi βρόμος βρέμει); and not far from it is a
rivulet named *Donnersbach*.¹ The Slavs then have two different
words to express the phenomenon and the god: the latter is in OSl.
Perún, Pol. *Piorun*, Boh. *Peraun*;² among the Southern Slavs it
seems to have died out at an earlier time, though it is still found in
derivatives and names of places. Dobrowsky (inst. 289) traces the
word to the verb peru, ferio, quatio [general meaning rather pello,
to push], and this tolerably apt signification may have contributed
to twist the word out of its genuine form.³ I think it has dropt a
k: the Lithuanian, Lettish and OPrussian thundegod is *Perkunas,*
*Pehrkons,* *Perkunos*, and a great many names of places are com-
pounded with it. Lith., Perkunas grauja (P. thunders), Perkunas
musza (P. strikes, ferit); Lett., Pehrkons sperr (the lightning
strikes, see Suppl.). The Slav. *perun* is now seldom applied
personally, it is used chiefly of the lightning's flash. Procopius (de
Bello Goth. 3, 14) says of the Sclaveni and Antes: θεόν μέν γάρ
ένα τὸν τῆς ἀ σ τ ρ α π ἦς ὅμουργόν ἀπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτόν

¹ Kindermann, abriss von Steiermark pp. 66, 67, 70, 81.
² The Slovaks say *Parom*, and *paromova strela* (P.'s bolt) for perunova ;
phrases about Parom, from Kollar, in Hanusch 259, 260.
³ Might *perun* be connected with *κεραυνός* = περανύσ? Still nearer to
Perun would seem to be the Sansk. *Parjanya*, a name borne by Indra as
Jupiter pluvius, literally, fertilizing rain, thunder-cloud, thunder. A hymn to
this rain-god in Rosen's Vedae specimen p. 23. Conf. Hitzig Philist. 296, and
Holtzmann 1, 112, 118.
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νομιζοντω είναι, καὶ θύσων αὐτῷ βάς τε καὶ ίμερον ἀπάντα.

Again, the oak was consecrated to Perun, and old documents define boundaries by it (do perunova duda, as far as P.'s oak); and the Romans called the the acorn füglans, i.e., joviglans, Jovis glans, the fruit of the fatherly god. Lightning is supposed to strike oaks by preference (see Suppl.).

Now Perkun suggests that thundergod of the Morduins, Förgunin (p. 27), and, what is more worthy of note, a Gothic word also, which (I grant), as used by Ulphilas, was already stript of all personification. The neut. noun faïrguni (Gramm. 2, 175. 453) means ἀκρός, mountain.1 What if it were once especially the Thunder-mountain, and a lost Faïrguns the name of the god (see Suppl.)? Or, starting with faîrguni with its simple meaning of mons unaltered, may we not put into that masc. Faïrguns or Faïrguneis, and consequently into Perkunas, the sense of the above-mentioned ἀκρός, he of the mountain top? a fitting surname for the thundergod. Fërgunna, ending like Patunna, p. 71, signifies in the Chron. moissiac. anno 805 (Pertz 1, 308) not any particular spot, but the metal-mountains (erzgebirge); and Virgunnia (Virgundia, Virgunda, conf. Zeuss p. 10) the tract of wooded mountains between Ansbach and Ellwangen. Wolfram, Wh. 390, 2, says of his walt-swenden (wood-wasting?): der Swarzwalt und Virgun müesen dà von eode ligen, Black Forest and V. must lie waste thereby. In the compounds, without which it would have perished altogether, the OHG. virgun, AS. fürgen may either bear the simple sense of mountainous, woody, or conceal the name of a god.—Be that as it may, we find faîrguni, virgun, firgen connected with divinely-honoured beings, as appears plainly from the ON. Förgyn, gen. Förgynjar, which in the Edda means Thór's mother, the goddess Earth: Thór Jöðar bür, Sæm. 70a 68a. Oðin son, Sæm. 73a 74b. And beside her, a male Förgynn, gen. Förgyns, Förgvins, appears as the father of Oðin's wife Frigg, Sn. 10, 118. Sæm. 63a. In all these words we must take faîrg, firg, förg as the root, and not divide them as faîr-guni, fir-gun, för-gyn. Now it is true that all the Anzeis, all the Aesir are enthroned on mountains (p. 25), and Firgun might have been used of more than one of them; but that we have a right to claim it specially for Donar and his mother, is shewn by Perun,

1 Matt. 8, 1. Mk 5, 5. 11. 9, 2, 11, 1. Lu. 3, 5, 4. 29. 9, 37. 19, 29. 37. 1 Cor. 13, 2. Baîrgahei (ἡ φρενлит) in Lu. 1, 39, 65; never the simple baîrgs.
Perkun, and will be confirmed presently by the meaning of mount and rock which lies in the word hamar. As Zeus is called ἐνάκριος, so is his daughter Pallas ἀκρία, and his mother ὁρευστέρα Πᾶ, μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός (Sophocl. Philoct. 389); the myth transfers from him to his mother and daughter. Of Donar's mother our very stories have things to tell (Pentam. 5, 4); and beyond a doubt, the stories of the devil and his bath and his grandmother are but a vulgarization of heathen notions about the thundergod. Lasicz 47 tells us: Percuna tete mater est fulminis atque tonitrui quae solem fessum ac pulverolentum balneo excipit, deinde lotum et nitidum postera die emittit. It is just materterra, and not mater, that is meant by teta elsewhere.

Christian mythology among the Slav and certain Asiatic nations has handed over the thunderer's business to the prophet Elijah, who drives to heaven in the tempest, whom a chariot and horses of fire receive, 2 Kings 2, 11. In the Servian songs 2, 1. 2, 2 he is expressly called gromovnik Iliya, 1 lightning and thunder (munya and grom) are given into his hand, and to sinful men he shuts up the clouds of heaven, so that they let no rain fall on the earth (see Suppl.). This last agrees with the O.T. too, 1 Kings 17, 1. 18, 41-5; conf. Lu. 4, 25, Jam. 5, 17; and the same view is taken in the OHG. poem, O. iii. 12, 13:

Quedent sum giwåro, Helias sis ther máro,
ther thiz lant sô tharta, then himil sô bisparta,
ther iu ni liaz in nôtin regonon then liutin,
thuangta si giwâro harto filu suåro. 2

But what we have to note especially is, that in the story of Anti-Christ's appearance a little before the end of the world, which was current throughout the Mid. Ages (and whose striking points of agreement with the ON. mythus of Surtr and Muspellsheim I shall speak of later), Helias again occupies the place of the northern thundergod. Thôrr overcomes the great serpent, but he has scarcely moved nine paces from it, when he is touched by its venomous breath, and sinks to the ground dead, Sn. 73. In the

1 Udri gromom, gromovit Iliya! smite with thunder, thunderer Elias, 1, 77.
2 Greg. tur., pref. to bk 2: Meminerit (lector) sub Heliae tempore, qui pluvias cum voluit abstulit, et cum libuit arenibus terris infudit, &c.
OHG. poem of Muspilli 48—54, Antichrist and the devil do indeed fall, but Elias also is grievously wounded in the fight:

Doh wanit des vilu gotmanno\(^1\)
daz *Elias* in demo wige arwartit:
sår só daz *Eliaes* pluot
in erda kitriuft,
só imprinuant die perga;

his blood dripping on the earth sets the mountains on fire, and the Judgment-day is heralded by other signs as well. Without knowing in their completeness the notions of the devil, Antichrist, Elias and Enoch, which were current about the 7th or 8th century,\(^2\) we cannot fully appreciate this analogy between Elias and the Donar of the heathens. There was nothing in christian tradition to warrant the supposition of Elias receiving a wound, and that a deadly one. The comparison becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-christian races in the Caucasus worship *Elias* as a god of thunder. The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Ilia* has taken him to himself; survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing: *O Ellai, Ellai, eldaer tchoppei!* (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits). By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias (see Suppl.). They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *hail* away from them.\(^3\) Olearius already had put it upon record, that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias’s day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers.\(^4\) Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunderstorm may be averted, name the name of *Ilya*.\(^5\)

Now, the Servian songs put by the side of Elias the Virgin *Mary*; and it was she especially that in the Mid. Ages was invoked for rain. The chroniclers mention a rain-procession in the Liège

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\(^1\) *Gotman*, a divine, a priest? Conf. supra, pp. 88-9.

\(^2\) The Rabbimical legend likewise assumes that *Elias* will return and slay the malignant Sammael; Eisenmenger 2, 696. 851.

\(^3\) Klaproth’s travels in the Caucasus 2, 606, 601.

\(^4\) Erman’s archiv für Russland 1841, 429.

\(^5\) Ad. Olearius reiseschr. 1647, pp. 522-3.
country about the year 1240 or 1244;¹ three times did priests and people march round (nudis pedibus et in laneis), but all in vain, because in calling upon all the saints they had forgotten the Mother of God; so, when the saintly choir laid the petition before God, *Mary opposed*. In a new procession a solemn ‘salve regina’ was sung: *Et cum serenum tempus ante fuisset, tanta inundatio pluviae facta est, ut fere omnes qui in processione aderant, hac illaque dispergerentur.* With the Lithuanians, the holy goddess (dievaite sventa) is a rain-goddess. Heathendom probably addressed the petition for rain to the thundergod, instead of to Elias and Mary.² Yet I cannot call to mind a single passage, even in ON. legend, where Thôrr is said to have bestowed rain when it was asked for; we are only told that he sends *stormy weather* when he is angry, Olafs Tryggv. saga 1, 302-6 (see Suppl.). But we may fairly take into account his general resemblance to Zeus and Jupiter (who are expressly *vētios, pluvius*, II. 12, 25: *de Zeús συνεχέσ*), and the prevalence of *votis imbre vocare* among all the neighbouring nations (see Suppl.).

A description by Petronius cap. 44, of a Roman procession for rain, agrees closely with that given above from the Mid. Ages: Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et *Jovem aquam exorabat*; itaque statim urceatum (in bucketfuls) pluebat, aut tune aut nunquam, et omnes ridebant, uvidi tanquam mures. M. Antoninus (*eis έαυτόν 5, 7*) has preserved the beautifully simple prayer of the Athenians for rain: *εὗχη Ἀθηναίων, ὕσου, ὕσου, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων* (see Suppl.). According to Lasiecz, the Lithuanian prayer ran thus: *Percune deevaite niemuski und mana dirvu* (so I emend dievų), melsu tavi, palti miessu. Cohibe te, Percune, neve in meum agrum calamitatem immittas (more simply, strike not), ego vero tibi hane succidiam dabo. The Old Prussian formula is said to have been: *Dievas Perkūnos, absolo mns!* spare us, = Lith. apsangok mus! To all this I will add a more extended petition in Esthonian, as Gutslafl³ heard an old peasant say it as late as the

¹ Aegidius aurcae vallis cap. 135 (Chapeauville 2, 267-8). Chron. belg. magn. ad ann. 1244 (Pistorius 3, 263).

² Other saints also grant rain in answer to prayer, as St Mansuetus in Pertz 6, 512⁴, 513⁴; the body of St Lupus carried about at Sens in 1097, Pertz 1, 106-7. Conf. infra, Rain-making.

³ Joh. Gutslafl, kurzer bericht und unterricht von der falsch heilig ge-
17th century: 'Dear Thunder (woda Picker), we offer to thee an ox that hath two horns and four cloven hoofs, we would pray thee for our ploughing and sowing, that our straw be copper-red, our grain be golden-yellow. Push elsewhither all the thick black clouds, over great fens, high forests, and wildernes. But unto us ploughers and sowers give a fruitful season and sweet rain. Holy Thunder (põha Picken), guard our seedfield, that it bear good straw below, good ears above, and good grain within.' Picker or Picken would in modern Estonian be called Pitkne, which comes near the Finnic pitkäinen = thunder, perhaps even Thunder; Hüpel's Esth. Dict. however gives both pikkene and pikne simply as thunder (impersonal). The Finns usually give their thundergod the name Ukko only, the Estonians that of Turris as well, evidently from the Norse Thórr (see Suppl.).

As the fertility of the land depends on thunderstorms and rains, Pitkäinen and Zeus appear as the oldest divinity of agricultural nations, to whose bounty they look for the thriving of their cornfields and fruits (see Suppl.). Adam of Bremen too attributes thunder and lightning to Thor expressly in connexion with dominion over weather and fruits: Thor, inquinuit, praesidet in aëre, qui tonitrua et fulmina, ventos imbrisque, serena et fruges gubernat. Here then the worship of Thor coincides with that of Wuotan, to whom likewise the reapers paid homage (pp. 154—7), as on the other hand Thor as well as Óðinn guides the events of war, and receives his share of the spoils (p. 133). To the Norse mind indeed, Thor's victories and his battles with the giants have thrown his peaceful office quite into the shade. Nevertheless to Wuotan's mightiest son, whose mother is Earth herself, and who is also named Perkunos, we must, if only for his lineage sake, allow a direct relation to Agriculture.¹ He clears up the atmosphere, he sends fertilizing

¹ Ukko is, next to Ysmala (whom I connect with Wuotan), the highest Finnish god. Pitkäinen literally means the long, tall, high one.

² Uhland in his essay on Thórr, has penetrated to the heart of the ON. myths, and ingeniously worked out the thought, that the very conflict of the summer-god with the winter-giants, itself signifies the business of bringing land under cultivation, that the crushing rock-splitting force of the thunderbolt prepares the hard stony soil. This is most happily expounded of the Hrunungir and Órvandill sagas; in some of the others it seems not to answer so well.
showers, and his sacred tree supplies the nutritious acorn. Thor's minni was drunk to the prosperity of cornfields.

The German thundergod was no doubt represented, like Zeus and Jupiter, with a long beard. A Danish rhyme still calls him 'Thor med sit lange skjögg' (F. Magnusen's lex. 957). But the ON. sagas everywhere define him more narrowly as red-bearded, of course in allusion to the fiery phenomenon of lightning: when the god is angry, he blows in his red beard, and thunder peals through the clouds. In the Formn. sög. 2, 182 and 10, 329 he is a tall, handsome, red-bearded youth: Mikill vexti (in growth), ok ungligr, friðr sýnum (fair to see), ok rauðskeggjaðr; in 5, 249 maðr rauðskeggjaðr. Men in distress invoked his red beard: Landsmenn tóko þat ræð (adopted the plan) at heita þetta hit rauða skegg, 2, 183. When in wrath, he shakes his beard: Reiðr var þá, sexy nam at hrista, scör nam at dyjja (wroth was he then, beard he took to bristling, hair to tossing), Sæm. 70a. More general is the phrase: læt siga brýnnar ofan fyrir augu (let sink the brows over his eyes), Sn. 50. His divine rage (ásmóðr) is often mentioned: Thórr varð reiðr, Sn. 52. Especially interesting is the story of Thor's meeting with King Olaf 1, 303; his power seems half broken by this time, giving way to the new doctrine; when the christians approach, a follower of Thórr exhorts him to a brave resistance: þeyt þu í mot þeim skeggróðd þína (raise thou against them thy beard's voice). þá gengu þeir út, ok ìlæs Thórr fast í kampana, ok þeytti skeggrovstina (then went they out, and Th. blew hard into his beard, and raised his beard's voice). kom þá þegar andviðri mótí konungí svá styrt, at ekki mätti við hálta (immediately there came ill-weather against the king so strong, that he might not hold out, i.e., at sea).—This red beard of the thunderer is still remembered in curses, and that among the Frisian folk, without any visible connexion with Norse ideas: 'diis ruadhúret donner regiir!' (let red-haired thunder see to that) is to this day an exclamation of the North Frisians.1 And when the Icelanders call a fox holtabórr, Thórr of the holt,2 it is probably in allusion to his red fur (see Suppl.).

The ancient languages distinguish three acts in the natural

1 Der geizhalz auf Silt, Flensburg 1809, p. 123; 2nd ed. Sonderburg 1833, p. 113.
2 Nucleus lat. in usum scholae schalholtinae. Hafniae 1738, p. 2088.
phenomenon: the flash, _fulgur_, _dστραπη_, the sound, _tonitrus_, _βροντη_, and the stroke, _fulmen_, _κεραυνος_ (see Suppl.).

The lightning’s flash, which we name _blitz_, was expressed in our older speech both by the simple _plih_, Graff 3, 244, MHG. _blie_, lw. 649. Wigal. 7284, and by _plechazunga_ (coruscatio), derived from _plechazan_, 1 a frequentative of _plechēn_ (fulgere), Diut. 1, 222-4; they also used _plechunga_, Diut. 1, 222. _Pleccateshēm_, Pertz 2, 383, the name of a place, now Blexen; the MHG. has _blüze_ (fulgur): die _blüzen_ und die donerslege sint mit gewalde in siner pflege, MS. 2, 166b.—Again _lōhazan_ (unicare, coruscare), Goth. lāunatjan, presupposes a lōhēn, Goth. lāunan. From the same root the Goth forms his _lāuhmuni_ ( _dστραπη_), while the Saxon from _blie_ made a _blesmo_ (fulgur). AS. _leoma_ (jubar, fulgur), ON. _liomi_, Swed. _ljungeld_, Dan. _lyn_.—A Prussian folk-tale has an expressive phrase for the lightning: ‘ _He with the blue whip chases the devil,’ i.e. the giants; for a blue flame was held specially sacred, and people swear by it, North Fris. ‘ _donners blöskēn_ (blue sheen) help!’ in Hansens geizhals p 123; and Schärtlin’s curse was _blau feuer!_ (see Suppl.).

Beside _donar_, the OHG. would have at its command _caprēh_ (fragor) from _prēhhan_ (frangere), Gl. _lrah_, 963b, for which the MHG. often has _blac_, Troj. 12231. 14693, and _krach_ from krachen, (crepare): mit krache gap der doner duz, Parz. 104, 5; and as krachen is synonymous with _rizen_ (strictly to burst with a crash), we also find _wolkenröz_ fem. for thunder, Parz. 378, 11. Wh. 389, 18; _gegenröz_, Wartb. kr. jen., 57; reht als der wilde dunrs lac von himel kam _gerizzen_, Ecke 105. der _chlafondo_ doner, N. Cap. 114; der _chlafleih_ heizet toner; der doner stet _gespannen_, Apollon. 879. I connect the Gothic _peihvō_ fem. with the Finnic _teuhaam_ (strepo), _teuhaus_ (streptus, tumultus), so that it would mean the noisy, uproarious. Some L. Germ. dialects call thunder _grummel_, Strdtm. Osnabr. 77, agreeing with the Slav. _grom_, hrom (see Suppl.).

For the notion of fulmen we possess only compounds, except

1 While writing _plechazan_, I remember _plekkan_, _plahta_ ( _patere_, _nudari_; _bleak_), MHG. _blecken_, _blate_; Wigal. 4890; which, when used of the sky, means: the clouds open, heaven opens, as we still say of forked and sheet lightning; conf. Lohengr. p. 125: reht alsam des himmels bliz von doner sich _erblecket_. If this _plekhan_ is akin to _plih_ (fulgur), we must suppose two verbs _plihhan_ _pleih_, and _plekhan_ _plah_, the second derived from the first. Slav. _blesk_, _blisk_, but Boh. _bozhi_ _posel_, god’s messenger, lightning-flash. Russ. _molniya_, Serv. _munya_, fem. (see Suppl.).
when the simple donner is used in that sense: sluoc alse ein donner, Roth. 1747. hiure hât der schûr (shower, storm) erslagen, MS. 3, 223\*; commonly donnererschlag, blitzschlag. OHG. blîg-sceuz (-shot, fulgurum jactus), N. cap. 13; MHG. blickschoz, Barl. 2, 26. 253, 27, and blichschoz, Martina 205\*; fürin donnerstrûle, Parz. 104, 1; donnerstrûle, Iv. 651; ter sceuz tero fiuèrentûn donnerstrûlo (ardentis fulminis), erscezen mit tien donnerstrûlôm, N. Bth. 18. 175; MHG. wetterstrahl, blitzstrahl, donnerstrahl. MIHG. wilder donnerlas, Geo. 751, as lightning is called wild fire, Rab. 412, Schulm. 1. 553, and so in ON. villi-eldr, Sn. 60 (see Suppl.).

So then, as the god who lightens has red hair ascribed to him, and he who thunders a waggon, he who smites has some weapon that he shoots. But here I judge that the notion of arrows being shot (wilder pfill der ûz dem doure snellet, Troj. 7673. donors pfill, Turnei von Nanteiz 35. 150) was merely imitated from the θῆλα Δίος, tela Jovis; the true Teutonic Donar throws wedge-shaped stones from the sky: 'ez wart nie stein geworfen dar er enkaeme von der schûre,' there was never stone thrown there (into the castle high), unless it came from the storm, Ecke 203. ein vlins (flint) von donnerstrûlen, Wolfram 9, 32. ein herze daz von vlinsce ime donner gewahsen ware (a heart made of the flint in thunder), Wh. 12, 16. schûrstein, Bit. 10332. schauerstein, Suchenw. 33, 83. só slahe mich ein donnerstein! Ms. H. 3, 202\*. We now call it donnerkeil, Swed. åsk-vigg (-wedge); and in popular belief, there darts out of the cloud together with the flash a black wedge, which buries itself in the earth as deep as the highest church-tower is high.\(^1\) But every time it thunders again, it begins to rise nearer to the surface, and after seven years you may find it above ground. Any house in which it is preserved, is proof against damage by lightning; when a thunder-storm is coming on, it begins to sweat.\(^2\) Such stones are also called donnerräxtc (-axes) donnersteine, donnerhammer, alschosse (elfshots), strahlsteine, teufelsfinger, Engl. thunder-bolts, Swed. Thors vigge, Dan. tordenkile, tordenstrûale (v. infra, ch. XXXVII),\(^3\) and stone hammers and knives found in ancient tombs bear the same name. Saxo Gram. p. 236: Inusitati ponderis malleos, quos Joviales voca-

\(^1\) This depth is variously expressed in curses, &c. e.g. May the thunder strike you into the earth as far as a hare can run in a hundred years!

\(^2\) Weddigens westfäl. mag. 3, 713. Wigands archiv 2, 320, has nine years instead of seven.

\(^3\) The Grk name for the stone is βελευνίτης a missile.
bant, . . . prisca virorum religione cultos; . . . cupiens enim antiquitas tonitruorum causas usitata rerum similitudine comprehendere, malleos, quibus coeli fragata cieri credebit, ingenti aere complexa fucrat (see Suppl.). To Jupiter too the silex (flins) was sacred, and it was held by those taking an oath. From the mention of ‘elf-shots’ above, I would infer a connexion of the elf-sprites with the thundergod, in whose service they seem to be employed.

The Norse mythology provides Thôrr with a wonderful hammer named Miölnir (mauler, tudes, contundens), which he hurls at the giants, Sæm. 57b 67b 68b; it is also called prudhamar, strong hammer, Sæm. 67b 68b, and has the property of returning into the god’s hand of itself, after being thrown, Sn. 132. As this hammer flies through the air (er hann kemr á loft, Sn. 16), the giants know it, lightning and thunder precede the throwing of it: þvi næst sá hann (next saw he, giant Hrûngnir) eldingar oc heyriði prumur stôrar, sá hann þá Thóir i ðsmôði, fôr hann ákaflëga, oc reiddi hamarin oc kastaði, Sn. 109. This is obviously the crushing thunderbolt, which descends after lightning and thunder, which was nevertheless regarded as the god’s permanent weapon; hence perhaps that rising of the bolt out of the earth. Saxo, p. 41, represents it as a club (clava) without a handle, but informs us that Hôther in a battle with Thor had knocked off the manubium clavae; this agrees with the Eddic narrative of the manufacture of the hammer, when it was accounted a fault in it that the handle was too short (at forskępit var heldr skamt), Sn. 131. It was forged by cunning dwarfs,1 and in spite of that defect, it was their masterpiece. In Saxo p. 163, Thor is armed with a torrida chalybs.2 It is noticeable, how Frauenlob MS. 2, 214b expresses himself about God the Father: der smit ûz Oberlande warf sinen hamer in mine schoz. The hammer, as a divine tool, was considered sacred, brides and the bodies of the dead were consecrated with it, Sæm. 74b. Sn. 49. 66; men blessed with the sign of the hammer,3 as christians did with the sign of the cross, and a stroke of lightning was long regarded in the

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1 As Zens’s lightning was by the Curetes or Cyclopes.
2 That in ancient statues of the thundergod the hammer had not been forgotten, seems to be proved by pretty late evidence, e.g. the statue of a dorper mentioned in connexion with the giants (ch. XVIII, quotation from Fergût). And in the AS. Solomon and Saturn, Thunor yields a fiery axe (ch. XXV, Muspilli).
3 In the Old Germ. law, the throwing of a hammer ratifies the acquisition of property.
Mid. Ages as a happy initiatory omen to any undertaking. Thôrr with his hammer hallows dead bones, and makes them alive again, Sn. 49 (see Suppl.).—But most important of all, as vouching for the wide extension of one and the same heathen faith, appears to me that beautiful poem in the Edda, the Hamars heimt (hammer's homing, mallei recuperatio),¹ whose action is motivated by Thôrr's hammer being stolen by a giant, and buried eight miles underground: ‘ek hei Hlôrrida hamar umfôlginn ãtta rôstom for fôrd nedan,’ Sæm. 71⁵. This unmistakably hangs together with the popular belief I have quoted, that the thunderbolt dives into the earth and takes seven or nine years to get up to the surface again, mounting as it were a mile every year. At bottom Thrymr, ërsa drôttinn, lord of the durses or giants, who has only got his own hammer back again, seems identical with Thôrr, being an older nature-god, in whose keeping the thunder had been before the coming of the ëses; this is shown by his name, which must be derived from þruma, tonitru. The compound þrunketill (which Biôrn explains as æs tinniens) is in the same case as the better-known þôrketill (see Suppl.).

Another proof that this myth of the thundergod is a joint possession of Scandinavia and the rest of Teutondon, is supplied by the word hammer itself. Hamar means in the first place a hard stone or rock;² and secondly the tool fashioned out of it; the ON. hamarr still keeps both meanings, rupes and malleus (and sahs, seax again is a stone knife, the Lat. saxum). Such a name is particularly well-suited for an instrument with which the mountain-god Donar, our ‘Fairguncis,’ achieves all his deeds. Now as the god's hammer strikes dead, and the curses ‘thunder strike you’ and ‘hammer strike you' meant the same thing, there sprang up in some parts, especially of Lower Gernany, after the fall of the god Donar, a personification of the word Hamar in the sense of Death or Devil: ‘dat die de Hamer! i vor den Hamer! de Hamer sla!’ are phrases still

¹ No other lay of the Edda shows itself so intergrown with the people's poetry of the North; its plot survives in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian songs, which bear the same relation to that in the Edda as our folk-song of Hildebrand and Alebrand does to our ancient poesy. Thor no longer appears as a god, but as Thôrkar (Thorkarl) or Thord of Hafsgaard, who is robbed of his golden hammer, conf. Iduna 8, 122. Nyrup's udvalg 2, 188. Arvidsson 1, 3. Schade's beskrivelse over ëen Mors, Aalborg 1811, p. 93. Also the remarkable legend of Thor með tungrim hamri in Faye's norske sangn. Arendal 1833, p. 5, where also he loses and seeks his hammer.

² Slav. kamen gen. kammia, stone; Lith. akmû gen. akmens; kam = kam.
current among the people, in which you can exchange Hamer for Dävel, but which, one and all, can only be traced back to the god that strikes with the hammer. In the same way: 'dat is en Hamer, en hamersken kerl,' a rascally impudent cheat.\(^1\) de Hamer keunt se all! the devil may know them all, Schütze 2, 96. Hemmerlein, meister Hämmerlein, signified the evil spirit. Consider also the curses which couple the two names; donner und teufel! both of which stood for the ancient god. By gammel Thor, old Thor, the common people in Denmark mean the devil; in Sweden they long protested by Thorr gud. The Lithuanians worshipped an enormous hammer, Seb. Frankes weltbuch 55\(^b\) (see Suppl.).

It must have been at an earlier stage that certain attributes and titles of the Saviour, and some Judeo-christian legends, were transferred to the heathen god, and particularly the myth of Leviathan to Förmungandr. As Christ by his death overmastered the monster serpent (Barl. 78, 39 to 79, 14), so Thôrr overcomes the miðgarðs-erm (-worm, snake that encircles the world), and similar epithets are given to both.\(^2\) Taking into account the resemblance between the sign of the cross and that of the hammer, it need not seem surprising that the newly converted Germans should under the name of Christ still have the lord of thunder and the giver of rain present to their minds; and so a connexion with Mary the Mother of God (p. 174) could be the more easily established. The earliest troubadour (Diez p. 15. Raynouard 4, 83) actually names Christ still as the lord of thunder, Jhesus del tro.

A Neapolitan fairy-tale in the Pentamerone 5, 4 personifies thunder and lightning (truone e lampe) as a beautiful youth, brother of seven spinning virgins, and son of a wicked old mother who knows no higher oath than 'pe truone e lampe'. Without asserting any external connexion between this tradition and the German

\(^1\) Brem. wtb. 2, 575. dat di de hamer sla! Strödtm. p. 80, conf. Schm. 2, 192. the hammer, or a great hammer strike you! Abeles künstl. umdrn. 4, 3. Gerichtsh. 1, 673. 2, 79. 299. 382. verhamert dir, kolt, Schütze 2, 96 = verdonnert, vertenfelt, blasted, cursed, &c. How deeply the worship of the god had taken root among the people, is proved by these almost ineradicable curses, once solemn protestations: donner! donnerwetter! heiliges gewitter (holy thunder-storm)! And, adding the christian symbol: kreuz donnerwetter! Then, euphemistically disguised: bim (by the) dummer, potz dummer! dummer auch! Slutz 1, 123. 2, 161-2. 3, 56. bim dummer hammer 3, 51. bim dumastig, dumastig! as in Hesse: donnerstag! bim hamer! In Flanders: bi Vids morkel hamer! Willem's vloeken, p. 12.

\(^2\) Finn Magnusen lex. 484-5.
one, we discover in it the same idea of a kind and beneficent, not a hostile and fiendish god of thunder.

The large beetle, which we call stag-beetle or fire-beetle, Lucanus cervus, taurus (ch. XXI, beetles), is in some districts of South Germany named donnerguge, donnergyge, donnerpuppe (gueg, guegi, beetle), perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, the tree sacred to thunder. For he also bears the name eichhochs, Swed. ekoxe (oak-ox); but then again feuerschröter, fürböter (fire-beetle, i.e. kindler), böerner or haus-brenner (-burner), which indicates his relation to thunder and lightning. It is a saying, that on his horns he carries redhot coals into a roof, and sets it alight; more definite is the belief mentioned in Aberglaube, p. xcvi, that lightning will strike a house into which this beetle is carried. In Swed. a beetle is still named hornroll (see Suppl.).

Among herbs and plants, the following are to be specially noted: the donnerwurt, stonecrop or houseleek, sempervivum tectorum, which, planted on the roof, protects from the lightning's stroke: barba Jovis vulgari more vocatur (Macer Floridus 741), Fr. Joubarbé (conf. Append. p. Iviii);—the donnerbesen (-besom), a shaggy tangled nest-like growth on boughs, of which superstition ascribes the generation to lightning; otherwise called alypruth;—the donnerkrant, sedum;—the donnerflag, fumaria bulbosa;—the donnerdistel, eryngium campestre;—the Dan. tordenskrepp, burdock.—The South Slavs call the iris perunik, Perun’s flower, while the Lettons call our

1 How comes the Ital. to have a trono (Neap. truono, Span. trueno) by the side of tuono? and the Provençal a trons with the same meaning? Has the R. slipt in from our donor, or still better from the Goth. drünjs, sons, Rom. 10, 18 (conf. drönen, ‘cymbal’s droning sound’ of Dryden)? or did the Lat. thronus pass into the sense of sky and thunder? ‘förest nicht, wanns onntert, ein tron wereld vom himmel fallen?’ Garg. 181. The troubardour’s ‘Jhesus del tro’ might then simply mean lord of the firmament.


3 A Provençal troubadour, quoted by Raynouard sub v. barbojol, says: e da-quel erba tenon pro li vilan sobra lur maixo. ‘Beside this hauswurz (hauswurzel; Superst. 60), the hawthorn, albaspina, is a safeguard against lightning (Mém. de l’acad. celt. 2, 212), as the laurel was among the ancient Romans, or the white vine planted round a house; conf. brennessel (Superst. 336); ‘palm branches laid upon coals, lighted cannel’s, a fire made on the hearth, are good for a thunderstorm,’ Braunschw. anz. 1760, p. 1392. The crossohill too is a protector (Superst. 335); because his beak forms the sign of the cross or hammer? but the nest-making redbreast or redstart appears to attract lightning (ch. XXI, redbreast; Superst. 629, 704); was he, because of his red plumage, sacred to the redbearded god? (see Suppl.).
hederich (ground-ivy? hedge-mustard?) pehrkones; Perunika is also, like Iris, a woman’s name. The oak above all trees was dedicated to the Thunderer (pp. 67, 72): quercus Jovi placuit, Phaedr. 3, 17; magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus, Virg. Georg. 3, 332. At Dodona stood the ἡρώς ὑψίκομος Δίως, Od. 14, 327. 19, 297, but at Troy the beech often named in the Iliad: ἕφητος ὑψηλός Δίως αἰγύπτων, 5, 693. 7, 60. A particular kind of oak is in Servian grm, and grmik: is quercetum, no doubt in close connexion with grom (tonitrus), grniti or grnlieti (tonare). The acorn is spoken of above, p. 177.

Apparently some names of the snipe (scolopax gallinago) have to do with this subject: donnerziege (-goat), donnerstagspferd (Thursday horse), himmelsziege (capella coelestis); because he seems to bleat or whinny in the sky? But he is also the weatherbird, stormbird, rainbird, and his flight betokens an approaching thunder-storm. Dan. myrchest, Swed. horsefok, Icel. hrossgaukr, horsegowk or cuckoo, from his neighing; the first time he is heard in the year, he prognosticates to men their fate (Biörn sub v.); evidently superstitious fancies cling to the bird. His Lettish name pehrkona kasa, pehrkona ahsis (thunder’s she-goat and he-goat) agrees exactly with the German. In Lithuanian too, Mielecke 1, 294. 2, 271 gives Perkuno ozhys as heaven’s goat, for which another name is tikkutis.—Kannes, pantheum p. 439, thinks the name donnerstagspferd belongs to the goat itself, not to the bird; this would be welcome, if it can be made good. Some confirmation is found in the AS. firgengeot (ibex, rupicapra, chamois), and firginbucca (capricornus), to which would correspond an OHG. virgungieiz, virgun-pocch; so that in these the analogy of fairguni to Donar holds good. The wild creature that leaps over rocks would better become the god of rocks than the tame goat. In the Edda, Þórr has he-goats yoked to his thunder-car: between these, and the weather-fowl described by turns as goat and horse (always a car-drawing beast), there might exist some half-obscured link of connexion (see Suppl.). It is significant also, that the devil, the modern representative of the thunder god, has the credit of having created goats, both he and she; and as Þórr puts away the bones of his goats after they have been picked, that he may bring them to life again (Sn. 49. 50),¹ so the Swiss shepherds believe that the goat has

¹ The myth of the slaughtered goats brought to life again by hammer-conse-
something of the devil in her, she was made by him, and her feet especially smack of their origin, and are not eaten, Tobler 214a. Did the German thundergod in particular have he-goats and she-goats sacrificed to him (supra, p. 52)? The Old Roman or Etruscan bidental (from bidens, lamb) signifies the place where lightning had struck and killed a man: there a lamb had to be sacrificed to Jupiter, and the man’s body was not burned, but buried (Plin. 2, 54). If the Ossetes and Circassians in exactly the same way offer a goat over the body killed by lightning, and elevate the hide on a pole (supra, p. 174), it becomes the more likely by a great deal that the goat-offering of the Langobards was intended for no other than Donar. For hanging up hides was a Langobardish rite, and was practised on other occasions also, as will presently be shown. In Carinthia, cattle struck by lightning are considered sacred to God; no one, not even the poorest, dares to eat of them (Sartoris reise 2, 158).

Other names of places compounded with that of the thundergod, besides the numerous Donnersbergs already cited, are forthcoming in Germany. Near Oldenburg lies a village named Donnerschwee,
formerly Donerswe, Donnerswehe, Donnerswede (Kohli handb. von Oldenb. 2, 55), which reminds us of Oösinswe, Wodeneswege (p. 151), and leaves us equally in doubt whether to understand with a temple, or we ag a way. The Norwegian folk-tale tells us of an actual Thors vej (way, Faye p. 5). A village Donnersweh is to be found in Franconia towards Bohemia, a Donnersted in Thedinghausen bailiwick, Brunswick, a Thunresfeld [Thurfield] in AS. documents, Kemble 2, 115. 195. 272, &c. &c.—Many in Scandinavia, e.g., in Denmark, Torslunde (Thors lundr, grove), Tosingo (Thörs engi, ing) 2 several in Sweden, Tors måse (gurges) in a boundary-deed of Östergötland, Broeckman 1, 15, Thorsborg in Gothland, Gutalag p. 107. 260. Thörsbiörg (mountain) and Thörshöfn (haven) in Norway, Formm. sög. 4, 12. 343; Thörsmörk (wood, a holy one ?), Nialss. cap. 149. 150.3 Thörs nes (nose, cape), Sæm. 155a and Eyrb. saga cap. 4 (see Suppl.). Thors bro (Thörs brú, bridge) in Schonen, like the Norwegian Thor's-way, leads us to that prevalent belief in devil's bridges and other buildings, which is the popular way of accounting for peculiarly shaped rocks, precipices and steep mountain paths: only God or the devil could have burst them so.

As a man's name, Donar in its simple form is rarely found; one noble family on the Rhine was named Donner von Lorheim, Siebmach. 5, 144. Its derivatives and compounds are not common in any High Germ. dialect; a Carolingian doc. in the Cod. lauresh. no. 464 has Donarad, which I take to be the ON. Thórr; and the Trad. fuld. 2, 23 Albothonar, which is the ON. Thördalfr inverted. Such name- formations are far more frequent in the North, where the service of the god prevailed so long: Thörarr (OHG. Donarari ?), Thórir, Thórr, Thórhallr, Thördalfr (OS. Thunerulf in Calend. merseb. Septemb.), Thörodar, and the feminines Thóra, Thórun, Thórvarna (formed like diorna, Gramm. 2, 336), Thórkatla, Thórhildr, Thórdís, &c. I cannot see why the editors of the Form- manna sögur deprive such proper names as Thorgeirr, Thörbjörn,

1 'to Donerswe, dar heft de herscup den tegenden (teind, tithe),' Land-register of 1428.
2 Others specified in Sahm, krit. hist. 2, 651.
3 The settlers in Iceland, when they consecrated a district to Thórr, named it Thörsmörk, Landn. 5, 2. ed. nova p. 343. From Donnersmark (Zschödtö tökely) in the Hungarian county of Zips, comes the Silesian family of Henkel von Donnersmark. Walach. manura: die Donnersmarkt.
It is observable that in different lays of the Edda Thórr goes by different names. In Lokaglepsa and Harbardslíoð he is 'Thórr, Asaþorr,' but in Hamarsheimt 'Vingþorr, Hlórridó' (yet Thórr as well), in Alvismál always 'Vingþórr,' in Hymnisvíða 'Værr, Hlórridi,' not to mention the periphrases vagina verr (curruum dominus), Sifjar verr, Oðins sorr. Hlórridó was touched upon in p. 167, note. Vingþórr they derive from vængr, ala; as if Wing-thunder, the winged one, æra quatients? This appears to be far from certain, as he is elsewhere called föstri Vingnis, Sn. 101, and in the genealogies this Vingnąr appears by the side of him. Especially important is Værr, which outside of Hymnisvíða is only found once, Sæm. 9a, and never except in the nom. sing.; it belongs doubtless to ve, wih, and so betokens a holy consecrated being, distinct from the Ve, gen. Vea on p. 163; the OHG. form must have been Wihor, Wihar? (see Suppl.).

As Oðinn was represented journeying abroad, to the Eastern land (p. 163), so is Thórr engaged in eastward travels; Thórr var i austreýgi, Sæm. 59, á austreýga 68a; for or austreýgi, 75; ec var austr, 78a,b; austrförom þinom scaltu aldregi segja seggjom frá, 68a. In these journeys he fought with and slew the giants: var hunn

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1 To the Borít Mongols beyond L. Baikal, fairy-rings in grass are "where the sons of the lightning have danced."—Trans.
fariinn ʰ ansterreg at berja tröll, Sn. 46. And this again points to the ancient and at that time still unforgotten connexion of the Teutonic nations with Asia; this ‘faring east-ways’ is told of other heroes too, Sn. 190. 363; e.g., the race of the Skilfingar is expressly placed in that eastern region (sú kynslóð er í austrvegum), Sn. 193; and Iötunheim, the world of the giants, was there situated.

Thórr was considered, next to Oðinn, the mightiest and strongest of all the gods; the Edda makes him Oðin’s son, therein differing entirely from the Roman view, which takes Jupiter to be Mercury’s father; in pedigrees, it is true, Thórr does appear as an ancestor of Oðinn. Thórr is usually named immediately after Oðinn, sometimes before him, possibly he was feared more than Oðinn (see Suppl.). In Saxo Gramm., Regner confesses: Se, Thor déo excepto, nullam monstrigenae virtutis potentiam expavere, ejus (sc. Thor) virium magnitudini nihil humanarum divinarumque rerum digna possit aequalitate conferri. He is the true national god of the Norwegians, landás (patrium numen), Egilss. p. 365-6, and when áss stands alone, it means especially him, e.g., Sæm. 70b, as indeed the very meaning of ans (jugum montis) agrees with that of Fairguneis. His temples and statues were the most numerous in Norway and Sweden, and ásmegin, divine strength, is understood chiefly of him. Hence the heathen religion in general is so frequently expressed by the simple Thórr blöta, Sæm. 113b, héð (called) á Thórr, Landn. 1, 12, trúði (believed) á Thórr, Landn. 2, 12. He assigns to emigrants their new place of abode: Thórr vísaði honum (shewed him), Landn. 3, 7, 3, 12. From the Landnámabók we could quote many things about the worship of Thórr: þar stendir enn Thórs steinn, 2, 12. gånga til frétta við Thórr, 3, 12. Thórr is worshipped most, and Freyr next, which agrees with the names Thóruvíðr and Freyvíðr occurring in one family line 2, 6; víðr is wood, does it here mean tree, and imply a priestly function? Oðinvíðr does not occur, but Tuþvíðr is the name of a plant, ch. XXXVII. It is Thór’s hammer that hallows a mark, a marriage, and the runes, as we find plainly stated on the stones. I show in ch. XXXIII how Thórr under various aspects passed into the devil of the christians, and it is not surprising if he acquired some of the clumsy boorish nature of the giant in the process, for the giants likewise were turned into fiends. The foe and pursuer
of all giants in the time of the Ases, he himself appeared a lubber to the christians; he throws stones for a wager with giants (conf. ch. XVIII). But even in the Eddic Thrymsqviða, he eats and drinks immoderately like a giant, and the Norwegian folk-tale makes him take up cask after cask of ale at the wedding, Faye p. 4; conf. the proverb: mundi enginn Asathór af drecka (outdrink). Conversely, the good-natured old giant Thrymir is by his very name a Donar (conf. ch. XVIII). The delightful story of the hobergs-gubbe (old man of the mountain, giant) was known far and wide in the North: a poor man invites him to stand godfather to his child, but he refuses to come on hearing that Thor or Tordenveir is also a hidden guest (conf. ch. XVIII); he sends however a handsome present (conf. Afzelius 2, 158. Molbech’s eventyr no. 62, F. Magn. p. 935). In spite of all divergences, there appears in the structure of this fable a certain similarity to that of Gossip Death, ch. XXVII, for death also is a devil, and consequently a giant; conf. Müllenhoff, schl. holst. p. 289. That is why some of the old tales which still stood their ground in the christian times try to saddle him with all that is odious, and to make him out a diabolic being of a worse kind than Óðinn; conf. Gautrekssaga p. 13. Finnr drags the statue of Thórr to King Olafir, splits and burns it up, then mixes the ashes in furmety and gives it to dogs to devour: ‘tis meet that hounds eat Thórr, who his own sons did eat,’ Fornm. sög. 2, 163. This is a calumny, the Edda knows of no such thing, it relates on the contrary that Móði and Magni outlived their father (see Suppl.). Several revived sagas, like that of the creation of wolves and goats, transform Wuotan into the good God, and Donar into the devil.

From the time they became acquainted with the Roman theogony, the writers identify the German thundergod with Jupiter. Not only is dies Jovis called in AS. Thunresdæg, but Latona Jovis mater is Thunres mòdur, and capitolum is translated Thôrshof by the Icelanders. Conversely, Saxo Gram. p. 236 means by his ‘Jupiter’ the Teutonic Thor, the Jupiter ardens above (p. 110); did that mean Donar? As for that Thôrðr devouring his children, it seems [a mere importation, aggravated by] a downright confusion of Jupiter with his father Saturn, just as the Norse genealogy made Thôrð an ancestor of Óðinn. The ‘presbyter Jovi
mactans,' and the 'sacra' and 'feriae Jovis' (in Indicul. pagan.) have been dealt with above, p. 121.

Letzner (hist. Caroli magni, Hildesh. 1603, cap. 18 end) relates: The Saturday after Laetare, year by year, cometh to the little cathedral-close of Hildesheim a farmer thereunto specially appointed, and bringeth two logs of a fathom long, and therewith two lesser logs pointed in the manner of skittles. The two greater he planteth in the ground one against the other, and a-top of them the skittles. Soon there come hastily together all manner of lads and youth of the meaner sort, and with stones or staves do pelt the skittles down from the logs; other do set the same up again, and the pelting beginneth a-new. By these skittles are to be understood the devilish gods of the heathen, that were thrown down by the Saxon-folk when they became christian.

Here the names of the gods are suppressed, but one of them must have been Jupiter then, as we find it was afterwards. Among the farmer's dues at Hildesheim there occurs down to our own times a Jupitergeld. Under this name the village of Grossen-Algermissen had to pay 12 g. grosch. 4 pfen. yearly to the sexton of the cathedral; an Algermissen farmer had every year to bring to the cathedral close an eight-cornered log, a foot thick and four feet long, hidden in a sack. The schoolboys dressed it in a cloak and crown, and attacked the Jupiter as they then called it, by throwing stones first from one side, then from the other, and at last they burnt it. This popular festivity was often attended with disorder, and was more than once interdicted, pickets were set to carry the prohibition into effect; at length the royal treasury remitted the Jupiter's geld. Possibly the village of Algermissen had incurred the penalty of the due at the introduction of Christianity, by its attachment to the old religion. Was the pelting of

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1 In the Corbei chron., Hamb. 1590, cap. 18, Letzner thinks it was the god of the Irmensul. He refers to MS. accounts by Con. Fontanus, a Helmershaus Benedictine of the 13th century.

2 A Hildesheim register drawn up at the end of the 14th century or beginn. of the 15th cent. says: 'De abgotter (idols), so sumnabends vor lactare (Letzn. 'sonnab. woch lact.') von einem hausmann von Algermissen gesetzet, davor (for which) ihm eine hofe (hufe, hide) landes gehört zur sankwieisterie (chantry!), und wie solches von dem hausmann nicht gesetzt worden, gehört Cantori de hove landes.' Hannoversche landesblätter 1833, p. 30.

the logs to express contempt? In Switzerland the well-known throwing of stones on the water is called *Heiden werfen*, heathen-pelting; otherwise: 'den Herrgott lösen, watter und mutter lösen,' releasing, ransoming? Tobler 174* (see Suppl.).

I do not pretend to think it at all established, that this *Jupiter* can be traced back to the *Thunar* of the Old Saxons. The custom is only vouched for by protocols of the last century, and clear evidence of it before that time is not forthcoming; but even Letzner's account, differing as it does, suggests a very primitive practice of the people, which is worth noting, even if Jupiter has nothing to do with it. The definite date 'laetare' reminds one of the custom universal in Germany of 'driving out Death,' of which I shall treat hereafter, and in which Death is likewise set up to be pelted. Did the skittle represent the sacred hammer?

An unmistakable relic of the worship paid to the thunder-god is the special observance of *Thursday*, which was not extinct among the people till quite recent times. It is spoken of in quite early documents of the Mid. Ages: 'nullus *diem Jovis in otio observet,*' Aberglaube p. xxx. 'de *feriis quae faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio,*' p. xxxii. quintam feriam in honorem *Jovis* honorasti, p. xxxvii. On Thursday evening one must neither spin nor hew; Superst., Swed. 55. 110. and Germ. 517. 703. The Estonians think Thursday holier than Sunday.1 What punishment overtook the transgressor, may be gathered from another superstition, which, it is true, substituted the hallowed day of Christ for that of Donar: He that shall work on Trinity Sunday (the next after Pentecost), or shall wear anything sewed or knitted (on that day), shall be *stricken by thunder*; Scheffer's Haltaus, p. 225 (see Suppl.).

If *Jupiter* had these honours paid him in the 8th century, if the Capitulare of 743 thought it needful expressly to enjoin an 'ec forsacho *Thunare,*,' and much that related to his service remained uneradicated a long time after; it cannot well be doubted, that at a still earlier time he was held by our forefathers to be a real god, and one of their greatest.

If we compare him with Wuotan, though the latter is more intellectual and elevated, Donar has the advantage of a sturdy material strength, which was the very thing to recommend him to

1 Etwas über die Ehsten, pp. 13-4.
the peculiar veneration of certain races; prayers, oaths, curses retained his memory oftener and longer than that of any other god. But only a part of the Greek Zeus is included in him.
CHAPTER IX.

ZIO, (TIW, TYR).

The ON. name for dies Martis, Týsdagr, has the name of the Eddie god Týr (gen. Týs, acc. Tý) to account for it. The AS. Tiwesdag and OHG. Ziestac scarcely have the simple name of the god left to keep them company, but it may be safely inferred from them: it must have been in AS. Tiw,1 in OHG. Zio. The runic letter Ti, Ziu, will be discussed further on. The Gothic name for the day of the week is nowhere to be found; according to all analogy it would be Tivisdags, and then the god himself can only have been called Tius. These forms, Tiu-s, Tiw, Tý-r, Zio make a series like the similar þiu-s, peow (þiw), þý-r, dio = puer, servus.

If the idea of our thundergod had somewhat narrow limits, that of Zio lands us in a measureless expanse. The non-Teutonic cognate [Aryan] languages confront us with a multitude of terms belonging to the root div, which, while enabling us to make up a fuller formula div, tiw, zio, yield the meanings ‘brightness, sky, day, god’. Of Sanskrit words, dyaus (coelum) stands the closest to the Greek and German gods’ names Zeús, Tius.

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To the digammated and older form of the Greek oblique cases there corresponds also the Latin Jovem, Jovis, Jovi, for which we

1 It might have been Teow, from the analogy of þew to þýr. Lye quotes, without references: Tüig, Mars, Tiiges- vel Tiis-dag, dies Martis. The Epinal glosses brought to light by Mone actually furnish, no. 520 (Anzeiger 1838, p. 145), Tüig, Mars; also Oehler p. 351. The change of letters is like that of briğ, iuconsulum, for briw; and we may at least infer from it, that the vowel is long, Tig.
must assume a nom. Ju, Jus, though it has survived only in the
compound Jupiter = Jus pater, Zeús πατήρ. For, the initial in
Jus, Jovis [pronounce j as y] seems to be a mere softening of the
fuller dj in Djus, Djovis, which has preserved itself in Dijovis, just
as Zeús presupposes an older Δεύς which was actually preserved in
the Αἰολic dialect. These Greek and Latin words likewise contain
the idea of the heavenly god, i.e., a personification of the sky.
Dium, divum is the vault of heaven, and Zeus is the son of heaven,
Οὐρανοῦ νός, οὐράνιος, Zeús αἰθέρι ναῦων (see Suppl.).

But apart from ‘daus, Zeus and Jupiter,’ the three common nouns
dévas (Sansk.), theós and deus express the general notion of a
divinity; they are related to the first three, yet distinct from them.
The Lat. deus might seem to come nearest to our Tius, Zio; but
its u, like the o in theós, belongs to the flexion, not to the root, and
therefore answers to the a in dévas.¹ Nevertheless deus too must
have sprung from devus, and theós from theos, because the very θ
instead of δ in the Greek word is accounted for by the reaction of
the digamma on the initial. In the shortness of their e they both
differ from dévas, whose è (=ai) grew by guna out of i, so that the
Lith. dievas comes nearer to it.² But the adjectives δίος (not from
δίος, but rather for δίός) and divus correspond to dévas as dives
divitis (p. 20) to dévatas (deus). This approximation between divus
and deus serves to confirm the origin of deus out of devus or divus
with short i (see Suppl.)³. Still more helpful to us is the fact that
the Edda has a plur. tívar meaning gods or heroes, Sæm. 30ᵃ 41ᵃ;
rikir tívar (conf. rich god, p. 20), Sæm. 72ᵃ 93ᵃ; valtívar, 52ᵃ;
sigtívar, 189ᵃ 248ᵃ; the sing. is not in use. This tívar, though not
immediately related to Týr, yet seems related to it as δίος, theós,
θείος are to Zeús; its i is established by the fact that the ON.
dialect contracts a short iv into y; thus we obtain by the side of
tív a tív, in Sanskrit by the side of div a dév, and in Latin by the
side of deus a divus, these being strengthened or guna forms of the

¹ Kuhn, in Zeitschr. f. d. alt. 2, 231, has rightly pointed out, that Zio can
be immediately related only to dyaus and Zeús, not to deus and theós; but he
ought to have admitted that mediately it must be related to these last also.
That div was the root of Zeus, had already been shown by O. Müller in Gött.
anz. 1834, pp. 795-6.
² Conf. piemu ποιμήν, and kiemas κόμη háims.
³ If, as hinted on p. 26, δίος deus were conn. with δίος, the notion of bind-
ing must have arisen first out of the divine band, which is hardly conceivable.
root div, tiv (splendere). If the earthborn Tuisco, the ancestral god of our nation, stands (as Zeus p. 72 has acutely suggested) for Tivisco, Tuisco, it shews on its very face the meaning of a divine heavenly being, leaving it an open question whether we will choose to understand it of Wuotan or any other god, barring always Tius himself, from whom it is derived (see Suppl.).

The light of day is a notion that borders on that of heaven, and it was likewise honoured with personification as a god: Lucetium Jovem appellabant, quod eum lucis esse causam credebant; Festus sub v. To begin with, dies (conf. interdii, dio) is itself connected with deus and divus; Jupiter was called Diespiter, i.e., diei pater, for the old gen. was dies. Then the word in the sing. fluctuates between the masc. and fem. genders; and as the masc. Ju, Dju with the suffix n, is shaped into the fem. forms Jūno for Jovino, Diovino, and Diana, just so the Lith. name for day, dēna, is fem., while the Slav. den, dzien, dan, is masc. The Teutonic tongues have no word for sky or day taken from this root, but we can point to one in Greek: Cretenses Δία τήν ἡμέραν vocant (call the day Zeus), ipsi quoque Romani Diespitrem appellant, ut diei patrem; Macrob. Sat. 1, 15. The poetic and Doric forms Zηύα, Ζηνός, Ζηνή, and Ζανά, Ζανός, Ζανή, for Δία, Δίος, Δί, correspond to the above formations; and the Etruscans called Jupiter Tina, i.e. Dina; O. Müller 2, 43 (see Suppl.).

A derivative from the same root with another suffix seems to present itself in the ON. tivar (deus?), Sæm. 6b, AS. tīr, gen. tires (tiir, Cod. exon. 331, 18 gloria, splendor), and OS. tír, gen. tires, tireas; with which I connect the OHG. ziori, ziar, zieri (splendidus), and the Lat. decus, decor, decorus. The AS. poets use the word tīr only to intensify other words: tirmetod (deus gloriae, sumnum deus), Cædm. 143, 7; rēstir wera (hasta gloriosa virorum), 124, 27; rēsen tīr, 127, 10; tīrwine, Boëth. metr. 25, 41; tirfruma, Cod. exon. 13, 21; tirmelāhtig (potentissimus), 72, 1; tīredig (felicissimus), Cædm. 189, 13, 192, 16; tīrfrāst (firmissimus), 64, 2, 189, 19;

1 Sometimes, though rarely, we find another ON. dīar, Sæm. 91a. Sn. 176. Yngl. saga cap. 2; it agrees with theós more than with διος.
2 We know to what shifts Socrates is driven in trying to explain the forms Ζηύα and Δία (Plato’s Cratylus p. 29, Bekker); theós he derives from theīn, currere (p. 32).
3 Or must we read it tivar, and connect it with the AS. tīfer, tiber, OHG. zēpar?
much in the same way as the AS. eormen, OIH. irman is prefixed. Now when a similar prefix $t\tilde{y}$ meets us in the ON. writings, e.g. $t\tilde{y}hraustr$ (fortissimus), $t\tilde{y}sp\ddot{a}kr$ (sapientissimus), Sn. 29, it confirms the affinity between $t\tilde{y}$ and $T\ddot{j}-r$.

These intricate etymologies were not to be avoided: they entitle us to claim a sphere for the Teutonic god Zio, Tiw, $T\ddot{y}r$, which places him on a level with the loftiest deities of antiquity. Represented in the Edda as $O\ddot{u}in'$s son, he may seem inferior to him in power and moment; but the two really fall into one, inasmuch as both are directors of war and battle, and the fame of victory proceeds from each of them alike. For the olden time resolved all glory into military glory, and not content with Wuotan and Zio, it felt the need of a third war-god Ha\ddot{u}; the finer distinctions in their cultus are hidden from us now.—It is not to be overlooked, that $O\ddot{u}inn$ is often named Sig$t\ddot{y}$r, H\ddot{r}\ddot{o}pta$t\ddot{y}$r, Gauta$t\ddot{y}$r, h\ddot{a}ngat$\ddot{y}$r, farma$t\ddot{y}$r (S\ddot{a}em. 30. 47. 248\textsuperscript{a}. Sn. 94-6), b\ddot{o}dvart$\ddot{y}$r, quasi pugnae deus, geir$t\ddot{y}$r (Formm. s\ddot{o}g. 9, 515-8); and that even Th\ddot{e}rr, to whom Jupiter's lightning has been handed over, appears as Rei\ddot{f}art$\ddot{y}$r, Reidit$\ddot{y}$r (Sn. 94), i.e. god of the waggon.\textsuperscript{1} In all these poetical terms, we see that $t\ddot{y}$r bears that more general sense which makes it suitable for all divinities, especially the higher ones. $T\ddot{y}r$ has a perfect right to a name identical with Zeus. Add moreover, that the epithet of $father$ was in a special degree accorded, not only to Jupiter, Diespiter, but to victory's patron Marspiter.\textsuperscript{2}

Further, this lofty position is claimed for Zio by the oldest accounts that have reached us. $Mars$ is singled out as a chief god

\textsuperscript{1} I do not reckon $Angan\ddot{t}yr$ among this set of words. It occurs frequently, both in the Hervararsaga and in S\ddot{a}em. 114\textsuperscript{a} 119\textsuperscript{b} 9\textsuperscript{a}; this last passage calls $O\ddot{u}inn$ ‘Friggjar $angant\ddot{y}$r’. The true form is doubtless $Angan\ddot{p}yr$, as appears from the OIH. $Angandeo$ (Trad. fuld. 1. 57), and the AS. $Ongenpew$, Ongenpio (Beow. 4770. 4945-67. 5843-97. 5917-67); -$\ddot{y}$r would have been in AS. -teow, in OIH. -zio. Graff gives an Agandeo 1, 132. 5, 87, which seems to be a mis-spelling, though the Trad. wizemb. no. 20 have a woman's name Agathiu (for Anganthiu), to which add the ace. Agathien, Agacien (Walshar. 629). The meaning of angan, ongen, is doubtful; ‘angan illar br\ddot{u}dhar’ is said to be ‘deliciae malae nullieris’; but Bi\ddot{r}n interprets it pedis$e$qu, and $O\ddot{u}inn$ might fitly be called Friggae pedis$e$qu. That some proper names in the Edda are corrupt, is plain from Hamdir, which ought everywhere to be Ham$\ddot{y}$r, OIH. Hamadio, Hamideo (Schanmat no. 576. Cod. lauresh. 2529), MHG. Hamdie (MSH 3. 213\textsuperscript{a}). This much I am sure of, that neither Angan$\ddot{y}$r nor Ham$\ddot{y}$r can contain a t$\ddot{y}$r, which is almost always compounded with genitives in a figurative sense.

\textsuperscript{2} Gellius 5, 12.
of all the Germanic nations, and mentioned side by side with Mercury. The evidence is collected on p. 44.\(^1\) Tacitus, in Hist. 4, 64, makes the Teneteri say right out: Communibus deis, et praeципuo đœorum Marti grates agimus; we have no occasion to apply the passage to Wuotan, to whom the highest place usually belongs, as particular races may have assigned that to Zio. The still clearer testimony of Procopius 12, 15 to the worship of Ares among the dwellers in the North,\(^2\) which says expressly: ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτῶν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι, ought to be compared with the statements of Jornandes on the Gothic Mars; in both places human sacrifices are the subject, and therefore Zeuss, p. 22, is for understanding it of Wuotan again, because to him Tacitus says that men were sacrificed; but he does not say to him alone,—on the contrary, anent the Hermundurian offering, Ann. 13, 57, where 'viri' were also slain, Mars stands mentioned before Mercury. And Jornandes, who identifies the 'Gradivus pater' of the Getae in Virg. Aen. 3, 35 with the Mars of the Goths, must have been thinking of the special god of war, not of a higher and more general one, intimately as they interpenetrate one another in name and nature. All in favour of this view are the Scythian and Alanic legends of the war-sword, which will be examined by and by: if the Getic, Scythian and Gothic traditions meet anywhere, it is on this of Mars-worship. Neither can we disregard Widukind’s representation at a later time (Pertz 5, 423) of the Saxon Mars set up on high. Donar and Wuotan, with whom at other times he is combined in a significant trilogy, appear, like Jupiter and Mercury, to retire before him. But it is quite conceivable how the glossist quoted on p. 133 could render Wuotan by Mars, and Widukind glide easily from Mars to Hermes, i.e., Wodan, particularly if he had in his mind the analogy of those prefixes innan- (of which he is speaking) and tir-. The ON. writers, while they recognise Oðin’s influence on war and victory, speak no less distinctly of Tyr, who is em-

\(^1\) A passage in Florus 2, 4: 'max Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militia praedam Marti suo torquem: intercept Jupiter votum, nam de torquibus eorum aequum tropaneum Jovi Flaminium crexit,' speaks of the Insularian Gauls, who were beaten in the consulship of Flaminius B.C. 223. But these Galli are both in other respects very like Germani, and the name of their leader is that of the Suevic (Swabian) king in Caesar.

\(^2\) Θωλίται (men of Thule) is their generic name, but he expressly includes among them the Færoë, whom he rightly regards as a different people from the Fōðræ, conf. Gött. anz. 1828, p. 553.
phatically their Vigaguð (deus proeliorum), Sn. 105, and again: hann er diarfastr ok best hugaðr, ok hann raðr miöc sigri & orostom, Sn. 29 (see Suppl.).

No doubt there were mountains hallowed to Zio, as well as to Wuotan and Donar; the only difficulty is, to know which god, Wuotan or Zio, was meant by a particular name. May we place to his credit the name of the abbey of Siegburg in the Lower Rhine, which was founded in 1064 on a mountain where the ancient assize of the people was held? From that time the mountain was to have been called Mons sancti Michaelis after the christian conqueror, but the heathen Siegberg could not be dislodged, it was only distorted into Siegburg; or are we to explain the name by the river Sieg, which flows through the district? The ON. Sigtysberg (OS. Signu-tiwis-berag?), Scm. 348 might belong to Oðinn or to Týr. The Weimar map has in section 38 a Tisdorf, and in section 48 a Ziesberg, both in Lower Saxon districts on the Elbe. A place in Zealand, about which there are folk-tales, is Tybiery (Thiele 2, 20); also in Zealand are Tisvelde (Ti's well), Tysting; in Jutland, Tyslade, Tiislunde. In Sweden: Tistad, Tisby, Tisjö, Tyved. Zierberg in Bavaria (Cirberg, Zirbere, MB. 11, 71-3-5-6) and Zierenberg in Lower Hesse may be derived from the collateral form (see Suppl.). The mons Martis at Paris (Montmartre), of which even Abbo de bell. Par. 2, 196 makes mention, has to do with the Gallic Mars, whom some take to be Belus, others Hesus. With far better right than the Parisian mons Martis (yet conf. Waitz's Salic law, p. 52), we may assign to Zio the fanum Martis, now Fanars in Hainault (p. 84), according to Herm. Müller the Old Frankish 'Disbargum (or Disbargus) in termino Toringorum' of Greg. tur. 2, 9, Chlodio's castellum. Dis- would be a Latinized form of Tis = Tives, perhaps recalling Dispiter, Diespiter; there is no Gallic word like it looking towards Mars, and the district is thoroughly Frankish, with Liphtinæ close by, where we have Saxnöt named by the side of Thunar and Wðdan. As for Eresberg and Morsberg (3 or 4 pp. on), I have compared the oldest documents in Seibertz: no. 11 (anno 962) gives us Eresburg; no. 25 (1030) already Mersburg; 1, 98 (1043) mons Eresburg; no. 51 (1150) mons Eresberg; no. 70 (1176) mons Eresberch; no. 85 (1184) Heresburg;

1 Docum. in Lacomblet, no. 203-4.
no. 115 (1201) mons Martis; no. 153 (1219) Mersberch; no. 167 (1222) Eresberch; no. 179 (1228) mons Martis; no. 186 (1229) mons Heresberg; no. 189 (1230) mons Martis and Mersberg. Mons Martis was the learned name, Mersberg the popular, and Eresberg the oldest. As mons and castellum are used by turns, berg and burg are equally right. Widukind 2, 11 and Dietmar 2, 1 spell Heresburg and Eresberch, when they describe the taking of the place in 938. According to the Ann. Corb. (Pertz 5, 8), they are sacred to both Ares and Hermes (Mars and Mercury).

The names of places also confess the god: ON. Týr{s}iola, I dare-say after the Lat. viola Martis, march-violet; Týrhialm (aconitum), otherwise Thorhialm, Thorhat (helmet, hat), conf. Germ. sturmhat, eisenhut, Dan. trolldhat, a herb endowed with magic power, whose helmet-like shape might suggest either of those warlike gods Týr and Thórr; Týv{i}d;r, Tý’s wood, Dan. Tyved, Tyved (daphne mezereum), in the Helsing. dial. tis, tistbast, the mezereon, a beautiful poison-flower (see Suppl.).

While these names of places and plants sufficiently vouch for the wide-spread worship of the god, we must lay particular stress on one thing, that the name for the third day of the week, which is what we started with, bears living witness to him at this moment, not only in Scandinavia and England (ON. Tysdagr, Swed. Tisdag, Dan. Tirsdag, AS. Tiwesdaeg), but among the common people in Swabia and Switzerland (Ziestag, Tiestag, diestik, beside our universal Dienstag); Schm. 4, 214 brings all the forms together. And there is yet one more testimony to the high antiquity of Zio-worship in Swabia, which we may gather from an old Wessobrunn gloss ‘Cyuvari = Sùpa,’ MB. 7, 375 and Diut. 2, 370; which I take to be not Teutonoari, as Zeuss does, pp. 146-9, but Zìowari Martem colentes, varian expressing, like Lat. colere, both habitare and θεράπευεν, so that the Suevi are θεράποντες ‘Aρηος.

But that is not all: further and weighty disclosures on the name and nature of the war-god await us at the hands of the Runic alphabet.

It is known that each separate rune has a name to itself, and these names vary more or less according to the nations that use them, but they are mostly very ancient words. The OHG. runes having to bestow the name dorn on D, and tac on T, require for their aspirate Z which closes the alphabet the name of Zio. In the ON.
and AS. alphabets, dag stood for D, *Týr* and *Tiw* for T, þorn for þ, being the same three words, only in different places; occasionally the Anglo-Saxons wrote Tir or Tis. Whenever a list of runes keeps thorn for Th, and dag for D, it is sure to have *Tí* for T (as the Cod. Isidori paris. and bruxell.); so it is in the St Gall cod. 260 and the Brussels 9565, except that dorn is improperly put for thorn, and tag for dag, but Ti stands correctly opposite T. The Paris cod. 5239 has dhron (dhorn), tac, Ziu, that of Salzburg dhorn, Ti, daeg: everywhere the form *Ziu* shows the High Germ. acceptation, and the form *Tí* (once, in Cod. vatic. Christinæa 338, spelt Tu, perh. Tii) the Low Germ., the Saxon. The *u* in *Ziu* seems to be more archaic than the *o* of *Zio*, which has kept pace with the regular progress of the OHG. dialect, and follows the analogy of dio, servus; this relation between *u* and *o* may perhaps be seen still more in its true light, as we go on. But what is very remarkable, is that in the Vienna cod. 140 the name *Tyz* is given to T in an alphabet which uses the Gothic letters, for *Tyz* comes very near to our conjectural Goth. *Tiũs*. As well the retention as the unavoidable alterations of this divine name in the runes of the various races, may be taken as proofs of the antiquity and extent of *Zio*-worship.

How comes it that no rune has taken its name from Wuotan or Oðinn, the inventor of writing itself? *R* = reið, rād, *i.e.*, waggon, may indirectly at least be referred to the god of the Thunder-car; and F according to one interpretation signifies Freyr. Anyhow, *T=Tyr* appears to have been a supremely honoured symbol, and the name of this god to have been specially sacred: in scratching the runes of victory on the sword, the name of *Týr* had to be twice inserted, Sæm. 194b. The shape of the rune ✡ has an obvious resemblance to the old-established symbol of the planet Mars when set upright ✡, and an AS. poem on the runes expressly says: *tir* bið *tācnum* sum (tir is one of the tokens, is a certain sign); where again the derivative form tir is employed to explain the the simple *Tiw* or Ti. Occasionally the poets speak of 'tire tācnum,' to mark with tir (El. 753. Jud. 137, 18), and 'tires to tācnum,' as mark of tir (Beow. 3306); we may expound it as 'gloria, decore insignire, in gloriae signum,' and still think of the heathen symbol of the god, pretty much as we saw it done at the solemn blessing of the ale-
cups (see Suppl.).

1 Conf. note to Elene 155-6.
Thus far we have dealt with the runic name Tyr, Tiw, Zio, and no other. But here the same alphabets come out with a sharp distinction between two names of the selfsame god. First, in the AS. lists, in addition to Tir, we come upon a similar arrow with two barbs added '↑' and the name Ear attached to it. Then the OHG. alphabets, after using ↑ for tac, find a use for that very symbol '↑' to which some of them give the name Zio, others again Eo, Eor, Aer. And there are AS. alphabets that actually set down by '↑' the two names Tir and Ear, though Tir had already been given to ↑. It is evident then, that Tir and Ear—Zio and Eo, Eor—were two names for one god, and both must have been current among the several races, both Low German and High.

Evidence as regards Low Germany is found both in the rune Ear occurring in Anglo-Saxon, and in the remarkable name of Eresbury, Acresbury being given to a notable seat of pagan worship in a district of Westphalia, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Irmansul (v. supra, p. 116). That it was strictly Eresburg (as Siegburg was originally Sigberg, p. 198), follows both from the Latin rendering mens Martis, and from its later name Mersberg, whose initial M could be explained by the contraction of the words 'in dem Eresberge, Aresberge,' or it may be an imitation of the Latin name. There was a downright Marsberg in another district of Westphalia. This Eresbure then is a Ziesbere, a Sig-tiwas-berg, and yet more closely an Areopagus, Mars' hill, Αρειώπαγος, πέταρα πάγος τ' Ἀρείως (Aeschy. Enn. 690).

Still more plainely are High German races, especially the Bavarian (Marcomannic) pointed to by that singular name for the third day of the week, Ertag, Iertag, Irtag, Ertag, Eritag, Erichtag, Erlichtag, which answers to the rune Eor, and up to this moment lives to part off the Bavarians, Austrians and Tyrolese from the Swabians and Swiss (who, as former Ziowari, stick to Ziestag); along the boundary-line of these races must also have run formerly the frontier between Eor-worship and Zio-worship. True, the compound Ertac lacks

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1 In one poem, Cod. exon. 481, 18, the rune contains simply the vowel sound ea.
2 This Eresburg or Mersberg stands in the pagus Hessi saxonicus (registr. Sarachonis p. 42, 735); conf. Wigands archiv I. 1, 36-7. II. 143. 268.
3 So: Motgers = in dem Otgers hove [and, the nonce = then once, &c.].
4 In the pagus Marstem, Marshem, Marsem (close to the Weser, near Marklo), reg. Sarachonis 42, 727.
the genitive ending -s which is preserved in Ziestac, and I have not been so fortunate as to hunt up an Erestac\(^1\) in the older records of the 13-14th centuries; nevertheless the coincidence of the double names for the day and for the rune should be conclusive here, and we must suppose an OHG. Erestac, to match the Eresberg. One might be led to imagine that in Ertag the Earth (Erde according to the forms given at the beginning of ch. XIII) was meant. But the ancient way of thinking placed the earth in the centre of the world, not among the planets; she cannot therefore have given name to a day of the week, and there is no such day found in any nation, unless we turn Venus and Freyja into the earth.—To bear this Ertag company, there is that name of a place Eersel, quoted p. 154 from Gramaye, in which neither èra honor, nor its personification Era (ch. XVI, XXIX) is to be thought of, but solely a god of the week. It is worth noticing, that Ertac and Erdag occur as men’s names; also, that the Taxandrian Eersel was but a little way off the Tisberg or Fanmars in Hainault (see Suppl.).—Now comes something far more important. As Zio is identical with Zeus as director of wars, we see at a glance that Eor, Er, Ear, is one with \(\text{\textit{A}p\textit{h}s}\) the son of Zeus; and as the Germans had given the rank of Zeus to their Wuotan, Tyr and consequently Eor appears as the son of the highest god. Have we any means now left of getting at the sense of this obscure root Eor?

The description of the rune in the AS. poem gives only a slight hint, it runs thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{Ear} & \textit{bið egle eorla gehwilcum,} \\
\textit{þonne fæstlice fæsc orginneð} \\
\textit{hræw cöljan, hrusan ceosan} \\
\textit{blâc tó gebeddan. blæda gedreosæð,} \\
\textit{wynna gewitað, wera geswicað;}
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{i.e., Ear} fit importunus hominum cuicumque, quum caro incipit refrigerescere, pallidumque corpus terram eligere conjugem. tune enim gloriae dilabuntur, gaudia evanescunt, foedera cessant. The description is of death coming on, and earthly joys dropping off; but who can that be, that at such a time is burdensome (egle, all-some) to men? The ordinary meaning of \textit{ear}, spica, arista, can be of no use here; I suppose that approaching dissolution, a personified death

\(^1\) In a passage from Keisersberg quoted by Schm. 1, 97, it is spelt Eristag, apparently to favour the derivation from ‘dies acris.’
is to be understood, from which a transition to the destructive god of battles, the \textit{βροτολογίος}, \textit{μιαφόνος} \textit{Ἀργης} is easy to conceive.\(^1\) \textit{Ἀργης} itself is used abstractly by the Greeks for destruction, murder, pestilence, just as our Wuotan is for furor and belli impetus,\(^2\) and the Latin Mars for bellum, exitus pugnae, furor bellicosus, conf. \textit{Mars =caefht,' gefecht, fight}, in Gl. Hrab. 969\(^3\); as conversely the OHG. \textit{wig} pugna, bellum (Graff 1, 740) seems occasionally to denote the personal god of war. \textit{Wiech quoque Mars est'} says Ernoldus Nigellus (Pertz 2, 468), and he is said to farneman, AS. forniman, carry off, as Hild (Bellona) does elsewhere: dat inan wic fornam, Hildebr. lied; in AS.: \textit{wig} calle fornam, Beow. 2155 ; \textit{wig} fornoman, Cod. exon. 291, 11. Do we not still say, war or battle snatched them all away? A remarkable gloss in the old Cod. sangall. 913, p. 193, has \textit{turbines =ziu'} (we have no business to write \textit{zui}), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, saevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed; so it is either \textit{Zio} himself, or a synonymous female personification \textit{Ziu}, bearing the same relation to \textit{Zio} as diu (ancilla) to dio (servus).

Here comes in another string of explanations, overbold as some of them may seem. As \textit{Eresbury} is just as often spelt \textit{Heresburg} by the Frankish annalists, we may fairly bring in the Goth. \textit{hairus}, AS. \textit{heor}, OS. \textit{heru}, ON. \textit{hörr}, ensis, cardo, although the names of the rune and the day of the week always appear without the aspirate. For in Greek we already have the two unaspirated words \textit{Ἀργης} and \textit{ἀο̂ρ}, sword, weapon, to compare with one another, and these point to a god of the sword. Then again the famous Abrernuntiatio names three heathen gods, \textit{Thunar, Wóden, Saxnót}, of whom the third can have been but little inferior to the other two in power and holiness. \textit{Saxsnót} is word for word gladii consors, ensifer [Germ. genoss, sharer]; who else but \textit{Zio} or \textit{Eor} and the Greek \textit{Ares}?\(^3\) The AS. genealogies preserve the name of \textit{Saxncēt}

\(^1\) Or, without the need of any transition, Ear might at once be Ares: ‘war is burdensome in old age’.—\textsc{Transl.}

\(^2\) The notions of raving (wütten) and insanire are suitable to the blustering stormful god of war. Homer calls \textit{Ares θοῖρος} the wild, and \textit{ἀφρων} the insensate, \textit{ός οὐτια οἰδε θεμοτα}, II. 5, 761. But \textit{μαίετα} is said of other gods too, particularly Zeus (8, 360) and Dionysos or Bacchus (6, 132).

\(^3\) One might think of Frö, Freyr (ch. X), but of course glittering swords were attributed to more than one god; thus Poseidon (Neptune) wields a \textit{δεινὸν ἀο̂ρ}, II. 14, 385, and Apollo is called \textit{χρυσάρος}, 5, 509. 15, 256.
as the son of Wōden, and it is in perfect accordance with it, that Týr was the son of Oōinn, and Ares the son of Zeus (see Suppl.). But further, as the Saxons were so called, either because they wielded the sword of stone (saxum), or placed this god at the head of their race, so I think the Cheruscans of Tacitus, a people synonymous, nay identical with them, were named after Cheru, Heru = Eor, from whom their name can be derived. After this weighty consonance of facts, which opens to us the meaning of the old national name, and at the same time teaches that 'heru' was first of all pronounced 'cheru,' and last of all 'eru, er,' I think we may also bring in the Gallic war-god Hesus or Esus (Lucan 1, 440), and state, that the metal iron is indicated by the planetary sign of Mars, the AS. 'tires tācen,' and consequently that the rune of Zio and Eor may be the picture of a sword with its handle, or of a spear. The Scythian and Alanic legends dwell still more emphatically on the god's sword, and their agreement with Teutonic ways of thinking may safely be assumed, as Mars was equally prominent in the faith of the Scythians and that of the Goths.

The impressive personification of the sword matches well with that of the hammer, and to my thinking each confirms the other. Both idea and name of two of the greatest gods pass over into the instrument by which they display their might.

Herodotus 4, 62 informs us, that the Scythians worshipped Ares under the semblance or symbol of an ancient iron sword (άκινάκης), which was elevated on an enormous stack of brushwood ['three furlongs in length and breadth, but less in height']: ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐδή τοῦ ὁγκοῦ ἀκινάκης σειδύρεος ἱδρυται ἄρχαῖος ἐκώστοις καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐστι τοῦ Ἄρηος τὸ ἀγαλμα. Ammianus Marcellinus 31, 2 says of the Alani: Nee templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico viti humi figitur nudus, cunque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcircirem præsulem, verecundius colunt. And he had previously asserted of the Quadi also, a decidedly German people, 17, 12 (A.D. 358): Eductis mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, juravere se permansuros in fide. Perhaps all

1 The suffix -sk would hardly fit with the material sense of heru, far better with a personal Heru.

2 Does the author overlook, or deliberately reject, the ON. ör, gen. örrar, AS. arwe, arrow? Among the forms for Tuesday occur Erigtag, Ergetag; erge is to arwe, as sorge to sorwe, morgen to morwen, &c.—Trans.
the Teutonic nations swore by their weapons, with a touching of the weapon, just as the Scythians and Romans did *per Martis frameam*, Juvenal 13, 79. So Arnobius 6, 11: *Ridetis temporibus priscis coluisse aecinaem Scythiae nationes, . . . pro Marte* Romanos hastam, ut Varronis indicant Musae; this framea and hasta of the Romans is altogether like the Scythian sword. Jornandes, following Priscus 201, 17, tells of the Scythian sword, how it came into the hands of Attila, cap. 35: *Qui *(Attila), quamvis hujus esset naturae ut semper confideret, addebat ei tamen confidentiam *gladius Martis* inventus, apud Scytharum reges semper habitus. *Quern* Priscus historicus tali refert occasione detectum, *quum* pastor, inquiens, quidam gregis unam buculam conspiceret claudicantem (noticed one heifer walking lame), nee causam tanti vulneris iuveniret, sollicitus vestigia cruoris insequitur, tandemque venit ad *gladiura*, quern depascens herbas bucula incaute calcaverat, elfossumque protinus ad Attilam defert. *Quo* illae munere gratulatus, ut erat magnanimus, arbitratur se totius mundi principem constitutum, et *per Martis gladium* potestatem sibi concessam esse bellorum.—But the sword degenerated into an unlucky one, like some far-famed northern swords. Lambert relates, that a queen, Solomon of Hungary's mother, made a present of it to Otto, duke of Bavaria, that from this Otto's hands it came by way of loan to the younger Dedi, margrave Dedi's son, then to Henry IV., and lastly to Lupold of Mersburg, who, being thrown by his horse, and by the same sword transpierced, was buried at Mertenefeld. It is a question whether these local names Mersburg and Mertenefeld can have any reference to the sword of Mars. A great while after, the duke of Alba is said to have dug it out of the earth again after the battle of Mühlberg (Deutsche heldensage p. 311). We see through what lengthened periods popular tradition could go on nourishing itself on this world-old worship (see Suppl.).

With the word "*Apys* the Lat. *Mars* appears to have nothing to do, being a contraction of Mavors, and the indispensable initial being even reduplicated in *Mamers*; so the fancied connexion between Eresburg and Marsberg will not hold.

In the Old Roman worship of Mars a prominent place is given

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1 Conf. RA. 896; and so late as Wigal. 6517: 'Swert, uf dinem knopfe ich des swer,' Sword, on thy pommel I swear it.
2 Juro *per Dianam et Martem*, Plaut. Mil. glor. 5, 21.
to the legend of Picus, a son of Saturn, a wood-spirit who helped to nurse the babes Remus and Romulus; certain features in our antiquities seem to recall him, as will be shown later. Romulus consecrated the third month of the year to Mars, his progenitor; our ancestors also named it after a deity who may perhaps be identified with Mars. That is to say, the Anglo-Saxons called March *Hröðemónad*, which Beda without hesitation traces to a goddess *Hröða*; possibly other races might explain it by a god *Hröðu*? These names would come from hrôð gloria, fama, ON. *hröðr*, OHG. Hruod, OFrank. chrôd, which helped to form many ancient words, e.g. OHG. Hruodgang, Hruodhilt, OFrank. Chrôdogang, Chrôdhild; did *Hruodo, Chrôdo* express to certain races the shining god of fame?¹ The Edda knows of no such epithet for Tyr as Hrôdr or Hröði (see Suppl.).

To these discoveries or conjectures we have been guided simply by the several surviving names of one of the greatest gods of our olden time, to whose attributes and surroundings we have scarcely any other clue left. But now we may fairly apply to him in the main, what the poetry of other nations supplies. Zio is sure to have been valiant and fond of war, like Ares, lavish of glory, but stern and bloodthirsty (αἰματός ἄσων "Αρης, II. 5, 289. 20, 78. 22, 267); he raves and rages like Zeus and Wuotan, he is that ‘old blood-shredder’ of the Servian song, he gladdens the hearts of ravens and wolves, who follow him to fields of battle, although these creatures again must be assigned more to Wuotan (p. 147); the Greek phrase makes them oïnovoi and κύνες (birds and dogs), and

¹ In this connexion one might try to rescue the suspicious and discredited legend of a Saxon divinity *Krodo*; there is authority for it in the 15th century, none whatever in the earlier Mil. Ages. Bothe’s Sassenchronik (Leibn. 3, 286) relates under the year 780, that King Charles, during his conquest of the East Saxons, overthrew on the Hartesburg an idol similar to Saturn, which the people called *Krodo*. If such an event had really happened, it would most likely have been mentioned by the annalists, like the overthrow of the Irmansül. For all that, the tradition need not be groundless, if other things would only correspond. Unfortunately the form Crôdo for Hrôdo, Rôdo [like Catti, alterw. Chatti, Hatti, Hessen] is rather too ancient, and I can find no support for it in the Saxon speech. A doc. of 1284 (Langs reg. 4, 247) has a Waltherus dictus *Krode*, and a song in Nithart’s MsH. 3, 208³ a *Krotolf*, which however has no business to remind us of Hrudolf, Ruodolf, being not a proper name, but a nickname, and so to be derived from krote, a toad, to which must be referred many names of places, Krotenpful, &c., which have been mistakenly ascribed to the idol. The true form for Upper Germany would not tolerate a Kr, but only *Hr* or *R* (see Suppl.).
the fields of the slain, where the hounds hold revel, are called κυνῶν μέλπηθρα, II. 13, 233. 17, 255. 18, 179. Battle-songs were also sure to be tuned to the praises of Zio, and perhaps war-dances executed (μελπεσθαι Ἰρη, II. 7, 241), from which I derive the persistent and widely prevalent custom of the solemn sword-dance, exactly the thing for the god of the sword. The Edda nowhere lays particular stress on the sword of war, it knows nothing of Sahsnot, indeed its sverðas is another god, Heimdallr;² but it sets Týr before us as one-handed, because the wolf, within whose jaws he laid his right hand as a pledge, bit it off at the joint, whence the wrist was called ðulþiðr, wolf-lith, Sæm. 65a. Sn. 35-6. This incident must have been well-known and characteristic of him, for the ON. exposition of runes likewise says, under letter T: Týr er einhendi Æsa; conf. Sn. 105. The rest of Teutonic legend has no trace of it,² unless we are to look for it in Walther’s onchantedness, and find in his name the mighty ‘ wielder of hosts’. I prefer to adopt the happy explanation;³ that the reason why Týr appears one-handed is, because he can only give victory to one part of the combatants, as Hadu, another god who dispenses the fortune of war, and Plutos and Fortuna among the Greeks and Romans, are painted blind, because they deal out their gifts at random (see Suppl.). Now, as victory was esteemed the highest of all fortune, the god of victory shares to the full the prominent characteristics of luck in general, partiality and fickleness. And a remoter period of our nation may have used names which bore upon this.⁴

Amongst the train of Ares and Mars there appear certain mythic beings who personify the notions of fear and horror. Δειμος and Φόβος (II. 4, 440. 11, 317. 15, 119) answer to the Latin Pallor

1 Conf. Apollo χρυσάρος above, p. 203, note.
2 Cod. pal. 361, 65a tells of Julian, that he was forced to put his hand into the mouth of Mercury’s statue: Die hant stiez er im in den munt dar, darine uobte sich der valant (devil), er clemmete im die hant, und gehabete sie im so vaste, daz er sich niht ilósen mohte (could not get loose). Besides, the wolf’s limb has a likeness to the Wotan’s limb, Woens-let, p. 160.
3 Wackernagel’s, in the Schweiz. mus. 1, 107.
4 The Greek epos expresses the changefulness of victory (νίκη ἑτεραλκής, II. 8, 171. 16, 362; νίκη ἐπαμείζεται ἄνδρας, 6, 339) by an epithet of Ares, Ἀλλοτρόπικλος 5, 831. 889. A certain many-shaped and all-transforming being, with a name almost exactly the same, Vilanders (Ls. 1, 363-92), Baldanderst, Baldander (H. Sachs 1, 537. Simpliciss. bk 6, c. 9), has indeed no visible connexion with the god of war, but it may have been the name of a god. The similarity of this Vilanders to the name of a place in the Tyrol, Villanders near Brixen (Vulunutris, Vulunuturusa, acc. to Steub. p. 79. 178) is merely accidental.
and Pavor; it is the two former that harness the steeds of Ares, Φόβος is called his son (13, 299), and in Aeschylus he is provided with a dwelling (μέλαθρον tectum), out of which he suddenly leaps. So in the old Bohemian songs, Třas (tremor) and Strakh (terror) burst out of forest shades on the enemy's bands, chase them, press on their necks and squeeze out of their throats a loud cry (Königinh. hs. 84. 104); they are ghostly and spectral. This borders upon Võma, Omi and Yggr (pp. 119, 120), terms which designate the god himself, not his companions, sons or servants, yet they again bear witness to the community there was between Wotan and Zio. Thòrr was called ötti iötna, terror gigantum. When in our modern phraseology fear 'surprises, seizes, shakes, deprives of sense,' personification is not far off; in the Iliad also 17, 67 χαορφόν δέος (neut.) αἴρει, pale fear seizes; but masculine embodiments like δέιμος, φόβος, pallor, pavor, třas, strakh, bring it more vividly before us, and pavor was weakened by passing into the fem. paura, peur of the Romance. AS. þâ hine se brôga ongeat (terror cum invasit), Beow. 2583. OHG. forhta cham mih ana, N. ps. 54, 5; forhta anaśiel ubar inan, T. 2, 4; conf. MHG. diu sorge im was sô verre entritten, sie möchte erreichen niht ein sper, fear was fled so far from him, a spear could not reach it, Wh. 280, 10 (see Suppl.). But further on, we shall get acquainted with a female Hilta, comparable to the Lat. Bellona and the Gr. Enyo and Eris, who is really one with war and the war-god.

Týr is described in Sn. 105 as a son of Oðinn, but in the Hymisqviða as a kinsman of the giants. His mother, whose name is not found, but whose beauty is indicated by the epithet all-gullin, all-golden, Sæm. 53a, must have been a giant's daughter, who bore to Oðinn this immortal son (see Suppl.).
CHAPTER X.

FRO, (FREYR).

The god that stands next in power and glory, is in the Norse mythology Freyr (Landn. 4, 7); with the Swedes he seems even to have occupied the third place. His name of itself proclaims how widely his worship prevailed among the other Teutonic races, a name sacred enough to be given to the Supreme Being even in christian times. There must have been a broad pregnant sense underlying the word, which made it equally fit for the individuality of one god, and for the comprehensive notion of dominion, whether sacred or secular: to some nations it signified the particular god, to others the sovereign deity in general, pretty much as we found, connected with the proper names Zio, Zeus, the more general term deus, θεός. While the names of other heathen gods became an abomination to the christians, and a Gothic Vôdans or Thunrs would have grated harshly on the ear; this one expression, like the primitive gap itself, could remain yet a long time without offence, and signify by turns the heavenly lord and an earthly one.

It is true, the names do not correspond quite exactly. The ON. Freyr gen. Freys, which Saxo gives quite correctly in its Danish form as Frō gen. Frōs (whence Frösö, Fro's island), the Swed. likewise Frō, ought to be in Gothic Frīus or Fravis,¹ instead of which, every page of Ulphilas shows frāuja gen. frāujins, translating κύριος; on the other hand, the ON. dialect lacks both the weak form (Freyi, Freyja), and the meaning of lord. The remaining languages all hold with the Gothic. In OHG. the full form frouwo was already lost, the writers preferring truhtin; it is only in the form of address ‘frō min!’ (O. i. 5, 35. ii. 14, 27. v. 7, 35. Ludw. lied) that the

¹ Frey = Fravi, as hey = havi (hay), mey = mavi (maid), ey = avi (isle), &c.
word for a divine or earthly lord was preserved, just as that antique
sihora and sire (p. 27) lasted longest in addresses. In the Heliand
too, when the word is used in addressing, it is always in the short-
ened form frō min! 123, 13, 140, 23. frō min the gödo! 131, 6.
134, 15, 138, 1. 7. waldand frō min! 153, 8. drohtin frō min! 
15, 3; but in other cases we do find the complete frōho gen. frōhon
3, 24; frōho 119, 14, gen. frāhons 122, 9, frāon 3, 24, 5, 23 ; frōio
93, 1. 107, 21. Still the OS. poet uses the word seldom than the
synonyms drohtin and hērro, and he always puts a possessive with
it, never an adjective (like māri drohtin, riki drohtin, craftag drohtin,
liob hērro), still less does he make compounds with it (like sigi-
drohtin): all symptoms that the word was freezing up. The AS.
frēa gen. freān (for freāan, freāwan) has a wider sweep, it not only
admits adjectives (freā ælmihtig, Cædm. 1, 9. 10, 1), but also forms
compounds: ãgendfreā, Cædm. 135, 4. aldorfreā 218, 29. folcfrēa
111, 7; and even combines with dryhten: freādryhten, Cædm. 54,
29, gen. freahdrihtnes, Beow. 1585, dat. freodryhtne 5150.—But
now by the side of our OHG. frō there is found a rigid (indecl.)
frōno, which, placed before or after substantives, imparts the notion
of lordly, high and holy; out of this was gradually developed a
more flexible adj. of like meaning frōn, and again an adj. frōnise
(pulcher, mundus, inclytus, arcanus), OS. frōnisk, frānisk. In
MHG. and even modern German we have a good many compounds
with vrōn, as also the adj. in the above sense, while frehnen, frōhnen
is to do service to one's lord, to dedicate. The Frisian dialect contrib-
utes a frūn, dominicus, and frāna, minister publicus. The added
-n in all these derivatives can be explained by the Gothic frāujinon
dominari, though there was probably no Gothic frāujinisks, as
frōnisc seems not to have been formed till after the contraction frō
and frōno had set in.

But even the Gothic frāuja does not present to us the simple
stem, I look for it in a lost adj. fravis (like navis vekepōs, Rom. 7, 2),
the same as the OHG. frō gen. frouwes, OS. fra gen. frahes, MHG.
vrō, and our froh [frōlich, frolic, &c.], and signifying mitis, laetus,
blandus; whence the same dialects derive frouwl, gaudium, frouwan,
laetum reddere, vrouwida, laetitia, &c. (see Suppl.).

I do not mean to assert that a god Frāuja, Frouwo, Fraho was
as distinctly worshipped by the Goths, Alamans, Franks and
Saxons in the first centuries of our era, as Freyr was long after in
Scandinavia; it is even possible that the form fránja already harboured a generalization of the more vividly concrete Fravis = Freyr, and therefore seemed less offensive to the christians. But in both words, the reference to a higher being is unmistakable, and in the Mid. ages there still seems to hang about the compounds with vrón something weird, unearthly, a sense of old sacredness; this may account for the rare occurrence and the early disappearance of the OHG. frô, and even for the grammatical immobility of fróno; it is as though an echo of heathenism could be still detected in them.

A worship of Frô may be inferred even from the use of certain proper names and poetic epithets, especially by the Anglo-Saxons. The Goths even of later times use Fránja as a man's name, to which we can hardly attribute the sense of lord simply: an envoy from king Hadafus to Charles the Great is called Froia (Pertz 1, 184, 2, 223), perhaps Froîla (Fráujila); an OHG. Frewilô occurs in a document in Neugart no. 162. The AS. genealogies contain Wâsefreā; the name is often found elsewhere (Beda 138, 19. 153, 5), and seems suitable to Wôden the god or lord of wishing (p. 144). Equally to the point is the poetic fredâwine (freâwine folca) in Beow. 4708. 4853. 4871, where it is a mere epithet of divine or god-loved heroes and kings. But the Wessex pedigree can produce its Fredâwine, whom Saxo Gram. calls Frowinus (better Fröwinus); OHG. documents likewise have the proper name Fröwin (Trad. juvav. p. 302, Cod. lauresh. 712, but Friówín 722), and in several noble families, e.g., the distinguished one of the Von Huttens, it has been kept up till modern times. What is remarkable, the Edda uses of a hero Freys vinr (Sæm. 219b), like the AS. freâwine, only uncompounded: Sigurdr is Frey’s friend and protégé, or perhaps his votary and servant, in the way shown on p. 93. Here again frei, frô, freyr, cannot have merely the general meaning of lord, any lord. The Swedish heroes in the Bravalla fight, who boast their descent from Frô, are in Saxo, p. 144, called Frô dei necessarii, which is exactly our Freys vinr. In the same way the AS. and ON. poetries, and consequently the myths, have in common the expression fred Ingwina (gen. pl.), Beow. 2638, Ingvinar (gen. sing.) freyr, Ingunnar freyr, Sæm. 65b, Ingifreyr (Thorlac. obs. bor. spec. 6, p. 43), by which is to be understood a hero or god, not ‘junior dominus,’ as Thorlacius, p. 68, supposes. Yngvifreyr is called Oðin’s son, Sn.
211. I shall come back to this mysterious combination of two mythical names, when I come to speak of the hero Ingo. The ON. skalds append this freyr to other names and to common nouns, e.g., in Kormakssaga, pp. 104. 122, 'fiörnis freyr, myrðifreyr' mean no more than hero or man in the heightened general sense which we noticed in the words irmin, tir and týr. In the same way the fem. freyja means Frau, woman, lady, Kormakss. p. 317.

All that I have made out thus far on the name and idea of the god, will receive new light and confirmation when we come to examine his divine sister Freyja. The brother and sister are made alike in all their attributes, and each can stand for the other.

Fro does not appear in the series of gods of the week, because there was no room for him there; if we must translate him by a Roman name, it can scarcely be any other than that of Liber, whose association with Libera is extremely like that of Fro with Froða (Freyr with Freyja). As Liber and Libera are devoted to the service of Ceres or Démétère, Fro and Froða stand in close union with Nerthus. Fro's godhead seems to hold a middle place between the notion of the supreme lord and that of a being who brings about love and fruitfulness. He has Wuotan's creative quality, but performs no deeds of war; horse and sword he gives away, when consumed with longing for the fair Gerðr, as is sung in one of the most glorious lays of the Edda. Snorri says, rain and sunshine are in the gift of Freyr (as elsewhere of Wuotan and Donar, pp. 157. 175); he is invoked for fertility of the soil and for peace (til års ve friðar, Sn. 28; conf. Yngl. saga cap. 12). The Swedes revered him as one of their chief gods, and Adam of Bremen says that at Upsal his statue stood by those of Thórr and Wódan (see Suppl.). Also in Scem. 85b he is named next to Oðinn and Thórr (ásabragr) as the third god. Adam calls him Friccheo,1 which is precisely parallel to the frequent confusion of the two goddesses Freyja and Frigg, which I shall deal with at a future time. But he paints him as a god of peace and love: Tertius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cujus etiam simulachrum fingunt ingenti

1 Which occurs elsewhere as a man's name, e.g., Friccheo in Schannat, Trad. fald. 386.
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priapo,¹ si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, (sacrificia offerunt) Fricconi. Then there is the story, harmonizing with this, though related from the christian point of view and to the heathen god’s detriment, of Frey’s statue being carried round the country in a waggon, and of his beautiful young priestess, Formm. sög. 2, 73-8. This progress takes place, ‘þá er ham skal gera mönnum árbót,’ when he shall make for men year’s boot; the people flock to meet the car, and bring their offerings, then the weather clears up and men look for a fruitful year. The offerings are those which Saxo, p. 15, names Fröblót; live animals were presented, particularly oxen (Vigagl. saga, p. 56. Islend. sög. 2, 348), which seems to explain why Freyr is reckoned among the poetic names for an ox, Sn. 221a; in like manner, horses were consecrated to him, such a one was called Freyfaxi and accounted holy, Vatnsd. p. 140; and human victims fell to him in Sweden, Saxo Gram. 42. Freyr possessed a boar named Gullinbursti, whose ‘golden bristles’ lighted up the night like day, who ran with the speed of a horse and drew the deity’s car, Sn 66. 132. It is therefore in Frey’s worship that the atonement-boar is sacrificed (p. 51);² in Sweden cakes in the shape of a boar are baked on Yule-eve.—And here we come upon a good many relics of the service once done to the god, even outside of Scandinavia. We hear of the clean gold-hog (-ferch, whence dimin. farrow) in the popular customs of the Wetterau and Thuringia (p. 51). In the Mid. Dutch poem of Lantslöt ende Sandrin, v. 374, a knight says to his maiden: ‘ie heb u liever dan én everswin, al waert van ﬁven gode ghewracht;’ I hold you dearer than a boar-swine, all were it of fine gold y-wrought; were they still in the habit of making gold jewels in the shape of boars? at least the remembrance of such a thing was not yet lost. Frô and his boar may also have had a hand in a superstition of Gelderland, which however puts a famous hero in the place of the god: Derk met den

¹ With priapus πριαπος I would identify the ON. friof semen, friofr fecundus; conf. Goth. frailv, seed. The statement of Adamns Bremensis looks better, since Wolf in his Wodana xxi. xxii. xxiii brought to light the festivals and images of Priapus or Ters at a late period in the Netherlands. This ters is the AS. teors, OHG. zers, and Herbort 4054 is shy of uttering the name Xerses. Phallus-worship, so widely spread among the nations of antiquity, must have arisen out of an innocent veneration of the generative principle, which a later age, conscious of its sins, prudishly avoided. After all is said, there is an inkling of the same in Phol too and the avoidance of his name (eh. XI), though I do not venture exactly to identify him with φαλλας.

² Not only Demeter, but Zeus received boar-offerings, Il. 19, 197. 251.
beer (Theoderic, Derrick with the boar) goes his round on Christmas-eve night, and people are careful to get all implements of husbandry within doors, else the boar will trample them about, and make them unfit for use.¹ In the same Christmas season, dame Holda or Bertha sallied out, and looked after the ploughs and spindles, motherly goddesses instead of the god, Frouwa instead of Frö. With this again are connected the formae aporum worn as charms by the remote Aestyans, who yet have the ‘ritus habitusque Suevorum’. Tacitus Germ. 45 says, these figures represent the worship of the ‘mater deūm,’ of a female Frö, i.e., of Freyja; and, what is conclusive on this point, the Edda (Sæm. 114a) assigns the Gullinburstī to Freyja, though elsewhere he belongs to Freyr (see Suppl.).—Anglo-Saxon poetry, above all, makes mention of these boar-badges, these gold swine. When Constantine sees a vision in his sleep, he is said to be ceforecumile bepeahēt (apri signo tectus), El. 76; it must have been fastened as an auspicious omen over the head of the bed. Afterwards again, in the description of Elenc’s stately progress to the east: þær wæs on eorle ǣgðeŷne grimhelm manig, ofonic ceforecumbl (tune in duece apparuit horrida cassis, excellens apri forma), El. 260. The poet is describing a decoration of the old heathen time, cumbl is the helmet’s crest, and the king’s helmet appears to be adorned with the image of a boar. Several passages in Beowulf place the matter beyond a doubt: coforlic seionon ofer hleor beran gehroden golde, fâh and fyrheard ferhwearde heold (apri formam videbantur supra genas gerere auro comptam, quae varia igneque durata vitam tuebatur), 605; hêt þa inberan cofor hedfodesyn, headosteápne helm (jussit afferri aprum, capitis signum, galeam in pugna prominentem), 4300; swin ofer helme (sus supra galea), 2574; swin calgylden, cofor irenheard (sus aureus, aper instar ferri durus), 2216, i.e., a helmet placed on the funeral pile as a costly jewel; helm befongen Fredwrasnum (= OHG. Fröreisanum), swâ hine fyrndagum worhte wæpna smið, besette swin-librum, þæt hine síþan no brond ne beadomécas bitan ne meahtan (galea ornata Frohonis signis, sicut eam olim fabricaverat armorum faber, circumdederat eam apri formis, ne gladius enesesve laedere cam posseint), 2905; as a sacred divine symbol, it was to protect in

¹ Staring, in the journal Mnemosyne, Leyden 1829. 1, 323; quoted thence in Westendorp’s Noordsche mythologie, Dordrecht 1830. p. 495.
battle and affright the foe. The OHG. proper name *Epurhelm*, *Eparhelm* (eber, efor, aper), placed by the side of *Fróhelm* (both occur in the Trad. patav. no. 20; MB. 28b, 18) acquires thus a special and appropriate meaning. Such boar-crests might still serve as ornaments even to christian heroes, after the memory of Fró was obliterated, and long continue to be wrought simply as jewels (see Suppl.).—Some other traces of boar consecration have lasted still later, especially in England. The custom of the *boar-cow* I have explained in RA. 900-1. As even at the present day on festive occasions a wild boar’s head is seen among the other dishes as a show-dish, they used in the Mid. Ages to serve it up at banquets, garnished with laurel and rosemary, to carry it about and play all manner of pranks with it: ‘Where stood a boar’s head garnished With bayes and rosemarye,’ says one ballad about Arthur’s Table; when three strokes have been given with a rod over it, it is only the knife of a virtuous man that can carve the first slice. At other times, even a live boar makes its appearance in the hall, and a bold hero chops its head off. At Oxford they exhibit a boar’s head on Christmas day, carry it solemnly round, singing: Caput apri defero, Reddens laudes Domino (see Suppl.). Those Aestyans may prove a link of fellowship between the Germanic nations and the Finnish and Asiatic; it is well worth noticing, that the Tcherkass (Circassians) worship a god of woods and hunting, *Mesitch* by name, who rides a wild boar with golden bristles. To most of the other gods tame animals are sacred, to Fró the daring dauntless boar, as well befits a god of the chase. Perhaps also a huge boar with white tusks, who in Slavic legend rises foaming out of a lake, is that of a kindred deity.

The Edda attributes to Freyr a sword of surpassing virtue, which could put itself into motion against the brood of giants, Sæm. 82. His giving it away when in straits, proved his ruin afterwards; it was held to be the cause of his death, when at the Ragnarörkr he had to stand single combat with Surtr (swart), and missed his

1 On this point again, the statement of Tacitus about the Aestyans agrees so exactly, that it seems worth quoting in full: Aestyorum gentes. . . . quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum. . . . Matrem deum venerantur: insignique superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant; id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultuorem etiam inter hostes praestat.—Trans.

2 Erman’s archiv für wissenschaftl. kunde Russlands 1842, heft 1, p. 118.

trustily blade. Sn. 73. There appear to have been other traditions also afloat about this sword; and it would not seem far-fetched, if on the strength of it we placed the well-known trilogy of ‘Thunor, Wōdan, Saxnōt’ beside Adam of Bremen’s ‘Wōdan, Thor and Fricco’ or the Eddie ‘Odinn, Asabrgr, Freyr’, that is to say, if we took Freyr, Fricco = Frō to be the same as Sahsnōt the sword-possessor. Add to this, that the Edda never mentions the sword of Týr. Nevertheless there are stronger reasons in favour of Sahsnōt being Zio: this for one, that he was a son of Wuotan, whereas Freyr comes of Niördr, though some genealogies to be presently mentioned bring him into connexion with Wōden.

For the brilliant Freyr, the beneficent son of Niördr, the dwarfs had constructed a wonderful ship Skidbladaðnir, which could fold up like a cloth, Sæm. 45b. Sn. 48. Yngl. saga cap. 7 (see Suppl.).

Besides the Swedes, the Threndir in Norway were devoted to Freyr above all other gods, Formm. sög. 10, 312. Occasionally priests of his are named, as Thordr Freys godi (of the 10th century), Landn. 4, 10 and Nialss. cap. 96; Flosi appears to have succeeded his father in the office; other Freysgyltingar are cited in Landn. 4, 13. The Vigaglumssaga cap. 19 mentions Freys hof at Upsala, and cap. 26 his statue at Thverm in Iceland, though only in a night-vision: he is pictured sitting on a chair, giving short and surly (stutt ok reiðuliga) answers to his supplicants, so that Glūmr, who in cap. 9 had sacrificed an old ox to him, now on awakening from his dream neglected his service. In the Landn. 3, 2 and Vatnsd. pp. 44. 50 we are told of a Freyr giörr af silfri (made of silver), which was used in drawing lots; conf. Verlauff’s note, p. 362. In the Landn. 4, 7 is preserved the usual formula for an oath: Híälpi mer svá Freyr ok Niördr ok hinn almátthi ðs (so help me F. and N. and that almighty ðs) by which last is to be understood Þórr rather than

1 In old French poetry I find a famous sword wrought by Galant himself (Wielant, Wayland), and named Frobérge or Flobërge (Garin 1, 263. 2, 30-8); the latter reading has no discoverable sense, though our later Flamberge seems to have sprung from it. Frobérge might very well be either a mere frō-bergende (lord-protecting) weapon, or a reminiscence of the god Frō’s sword; conf. the word-formations quoted in my Gramm. 2, 486. There are townships called in OHG. Helalberga, Marhaberga (horse-stable). The ON. has no Freybíörg that I know of, though it has Thôrbíörg fem., and Thôrberg masc.

2 Also in Sn. 131, Odinn, Thôrr, Freyr are speakers of doom.

3 Pliny N. H. 5, 9 mentions Ethiopian ‘naves plicatiles humeris translatae.’
than Oðinn, for in the Egilssaga p. 365, Freyr, Niðorðr and the laundás' (Thòrrr) are likewise mentioned together. In the same Egilss. p. 672, Freyr ok Niðorðr are again placed side by side. The story of the Brisinga-men (monile; append. to Sn. 354) says, Oðinn had appointed both Freyr and Niðorðr to be sacrificial gods. Hall- freðr sang (Formm. sög. 2, 53, conf. 12, 49):

Mer skyli Freyr oc Freyja, fiard laet ek aðul Niarðar,
liknist gróm við Grimmi gramr ok Thórr enn rammi!

That Freyr in these passages should be brought forward with Freyja and Niðorðr, is easy to understand (see Suppl.).

Of Niðorðr our German mythology would have nothing to tell, any more than Saxo Gram. ever mentions him by that name, had not Tacitus put in for us that happy touch of a goddess Nerthus, whose identity with the god is as obvious as that of Frò with Frouwa. The Gothic form Nairþus would do for either or even for both sexes; possibly Fränja was considered the son of the goddess Nairþus, as Freyr is of the god Niðorðr, and in the circuit which the goddess makes in her car, publishing peace and fertility to mortals, we can recognise that of Freyr or of his father Niðorðr. According to Yngl. saga cap. 11, these very blessings were believed to proceed from Niðorðr also: 'auðigr sem Niðorðr' (rich as N.) was a proverbial saying for a wealthy man, Vatnsd. p. 202. Snorri, in Formâli 10, identifies him with Saturn, for he instructed mankind in vine-dressing and husbandry; it would be nearer the mark to think of him and Freyr in connexion with Dionysus or Liber, or even with Noah, if any stress is to be laid on Niðorð's abode being in Nóatân. As 'freyr' was affixed to other names of heroes (p. 211-2), I find geirniðorðr used for a hero in general, Sæm. 266查验; conf. geirnimir, geirniðlánír, &e. The name itself is hard to explain; is it akin to north, AS. norð, ON. norðr, Goth. nairþs? In Sæm. 109查验 there is niðdrláss for sera firma, or pensilis? I have met with no Nirdu, Nerd, Nird among OÍHG. proper names, nor with a Neoró in the AS. writings. Irminon's polyptych 222查验 has Northildis (see Suppl.).

Niðorðr appears to have been greatly honoured: hofum oc horgum hann ræðr hundmorgum, Sæm. 36查验; especially, no doubt, among people that lived on the sea coast. The Edda makes him rule over wind, sea and fire, he loves waters and lakes, as Nerthus in Tacitus bathes in the lake (Sn. 27); from the mountains of the
midland he longs to be away where the swans sing on the cool shore; a water-plant, the spongia marina, bears the name of \textit{Niardur völfr}, Niörð's glove, which elsewhere was very likely passed on to his daughter Freyja, and so to Mary, for some kinds of orchis too, from their hand-shaped root, are called Mary's hand, lady-hand, god's hand (Dan. gudshaand).

As Dionysus stands outside the ring of the twelve Olympian gods, so Niörðr, Freyr and Freyja seem by rights not to have been reckoned among the Ases, though they are marshalled among them in Sn. 27-8. They were \textit{Vanir}, and therefore, according to the view of the elder Edda, different from Ases; as these dwelt in Asgard, so did the Vanir in Vanahem, the Alfar in Alfheim, the Iðnæðr in Iðtunheim. Freyr is called \textit{Vanitygi}, Æm. 86\textsuperscript{b}. The Vanir were regarded as intelligent and wise, Æm. 36\textsuperscript{a}; and they entered into intimate fellowship with the Asen, while the Alfs and Iðtuns always remained opposed to them. Some have fancied that the Alfs and Iðtuns stand for Celtic races, and the Vanir for Slav; and building chiefly on an attempt in the \textit{Yngl. saga} cap. 1 to find the name of the Tanais in Tanaqvisl (or Vanaqvisl!), they have drawn by inference an actual boundary-line between Aesir and Vanir = Germani and Slavi in the regions formerly occupied by them (see \textit{Suppl.}). And sure enough a Russian is to this day called in Finnish Wenäïkänen, in Esth. Wennelane; even the name of the Wends might be dragged in, though the Vandili of Tacitus point the other way. Granting that there may be some foundation for these views, still to my mind the conceptions of Aesir, Vanir, Alfar in the Edda are sketched on a ground altogether too mythical for any historical meaning to be got out of them; as regards the contrast between Aes and Vanir, I am aware of no essential difference in the cultus of the several gods; and, whatever stress it may be right to lay on the fact that Froiwa, Freyja answers to a Slavic goddess Priye, it does not at all follow that Frô, Froiwa and Nerthus were in a less degree Germanic deities than the rest. Tacitus is silent on the German Liber, as he is on our Jupiter, yet we are entitled to assume a universal veneration of Donar, even though the Gothic farguni is better represented in Perkunas or Perun; so also, to judge by what clues we have, Fränja, Frô, Freyr appears so firmly established, that, considering the scanty information we have about our
antiquities, no German race can be denied a share in him, though some nations may have worshipped him more than others; and even that is not easy to ascertain, except in Scandinavia.1

It is worthy of notice, that the AS. and ON. genealogies bring Frea into kinship with Woden, making Finn the father of a Freialf (Friebleir), and him again of Woden; some of them insert two more links, Friðuwulf and Friðuwald, so that the complete pedigree stands thus: Finn, Friðuwulf, Freialf, Friðuwald, Woden (or, in the place of Freialf, our old acquaintance Freáwine). Here evidently Friðuwulf, Freialf, Friðuwald are all the same thing, a mere expansion of the simple Freá. This follows even from a quite different ON. genealogy, Fornald. sög. 2, 12, which makes Burr (= Finn; conf. Rask, afl. 1, 107-8) the immediate progenitor of Osínn, and him of Freyr, Niørdr and a second Freyr. The double Freyr corresponds to the AS. Friðuwulf and Friðuwald, as the words here expressing glad, free and fair are near of kin to one another. Lastly, when the same AS. genealogies by turns call Finn's father Godwulf and Folcvaldi, this last name is supported by the 'Fin Folcvalding' (-ing = son) of Cod. exon. 320, 10 and of Beow. 2172, where again the reference must be to Freá and his race, for the Edda (Sæm. 87a, conf. 10a) designates Freyr 'folcvaldi (al. folcvaldr) göða'. Now this folkvaldi means no other than dominator, princeps, i.e. the same as freá, frô, and seems, like it, to pass into a proper name. On the linking of Freyr and Niørdr with Osínn, there will be more to say in ch. XV (see Suppl.). If Snorri's comparison of Niørdr with Kronos (Saturn) have any justification, evidently Poseidôn (Neptune) the son of Kronos would come nearer to our Teutonic sea-god; and Ποσειδόν might be referred to πόσις (lord, Lith. pats, Sansk. pātis, Goth. fāps), which means the same as Frô. Only then both Frô and Niørd would again belong to the eldest race of gods.

1 Wh. Müller, Nibelungensage pp. 136—148, wishes to extend the Vanir gods only to the Suevs and Goths, not to the western Germans, and to draw a distinction between the worship of Freyr and that of Wuotan, which to me looks very doubtful. As little can I give up the point, that Niørdr and Nerthus were brother and sister, and joint parents of Freyr and Freyja; this is grounded not only on a later representation of Snorri in the Yngl. saga cap. 4, where yet the female Niørd is nowhere named, as Tacitus conversely knows only a female Nerthus and no god of that name; but also on Sæm. 65a: 'við systor thinni gaztu slikan mög,' with thy sister begattest thou such brood, though here again the sister is left unnamed.
CHAPTER XI.

PALTAR (BALDER).

The myth of Balder, one of the most ingenious and beautiful in the Edda, has happily for us been also handed down in a later form with variations: and there is no better example of fluctuations in a god-myth. The Edda sets forth, how the pure blameless deity is struck with Mistiltein by the blind Hödr, and must go down to the nether world, bewailed by all; nothing can fetch him back, and Nanna the true wife follows him in death. In Saxo, all is pitched in a lower key: Balder and Hother are rival suitors, both wooing Nanna, and Hother the favoured one manages to procure a magic sword, by which alone his enemy is vulnerable; when the fortune of war has wavered long between them, Hother is at last victorious and slays the demigod, to whom Hel, glad at the near prospect of possessing him, shews herself beforehand. But here the grand funeral pile is prepared for Gelder, a companion of Balder, of whom the account in the Edda knows nothing whatever. The worship of the god is attested chiefly by the Fríðþjófs saga, v. Fornald. sög. 2, 63 seq. (see Suppl.).

Baldr, gen. Baldrs, reappears in the OHG. proper name Paltar (in Meichelbeek no. 450. 460. 611);¹ and in the AS. bealdor, baldor, signifying a lord, prince, king, and seemingly used only with a gen. pl. before it: gumena baldor, Cædm. 163, 4. wigena baldor, Jud. 132, 47. sina bealdor, Beow. 4852. winia bealdor 5130. It is remarkable that in the Cod. exon. 276, 18 mægna bealdor (virginum princeps) is said even of a maiden. I know of only a few examples in the ON.: baldur í brynju, Sæm. 272b, and herdaldr 218b are used for a hero in general; atgeirs baldur (lanceae vir), Formm. sög. 5, 307. This conversion from a proper name to a noun appellative

¹ Graff 1, 432 thinks this name stands for Paltaro, and is a compound of aro (aar, aquila), but this is unsupported by analogy; in the ninth and tenth centuries, weak forms are not yet curtailed, and we always find Epuraro (ebearar, boar-eagle), never Epurar.
exactly reminds us of frefju, fró, freá, and the ON. týr. As bealdor is already extinct in AS. prose, our proper name Paltar seems likewise to have died out early; heathen songs in OHG. may have known a paltar = princeps. Such Gothic forms as Baldrs, gen. Baldris, and baldrs (princeps), may fairly be assumed.¹

This Baldrs would in strictness appear to have no connexion with the Goth. balþs (bold, audax), nor Paltar with the OHG. pald, nor Baldr with the ON. báldr. As a rule, the Gothic ld is represented by ON. ld and OHG. lt: the Gothic lp by ON. ll and OHG. ld.² But the OS. and AS. have ld in both cases, and even in Gothic, ON. and OHG. a root will sometimes appear in both forms in the same language;³ so that a close connexion between balþs and Baldrs,⁴ pald and Paltar, is possible after all. On mythological grounds it is even probable: Balder’s wife Nanna is also the bold one, from nenna to dare; in Gothic she would have been Nanpré from nauþjan, in OHG. Nandó from gi-nandan. The Baldr of the Edda may not distinguish himself by bold deeds, but in Saxo he fights most valiantly; and neither of these narratives pretends to give a complete account of his life. Perhaps the Gothic Balþrhæ (Jornandes 5, 29) traced their origin to a divine Balþs or Baldrs (see Suppl.).

Yet even this meaning of the ‘bold’ god or hero might be a later one: the Lith. baltas and Lett. balts signify the white, the good; and by the doctrine of consonant-change, baltas exactly answers to the Goth. balþs and OHG. pald. Add to this, that the AS. genealogies call Wôden’s son not Bealdor, Baldor, but Bealdæg, Beldeig, which would lead us to expect an OHG. Paltac, a form that I confess I have nowhere read. But both dialects have plenty of other proper names compounded with deg and tæc: OHG. Adaltac,

¹ Baldrs, Paltar, must be kept distinct from the compound Baldtheri (Schannat no. 420, 448), Paldtheri (Trad. patav. no. 35), AS. Baldhere. This Paldheri is the same as Palduchar (Trad. patav. no. 18).
² Goth. kálds } vilþs hulþs gulp.
   O.N. káldr } but } villr hollr gull.
   OHG. chalt } wildi hold köld.
³ Conf. Gothic alþan and alþs aldís, also aldás; Goth. alþjan and OHG. faldan, afterwards faltan. As þ degenerates into d, and d into t, any d put for þ, or t for d, marks a later form: the Goth. fádr stands for fáþr, as we see by pater [the AS. ‘fæder, módor,’ after a usurpation of 1000 years, must have given place to the truer ‘father, mother’ again]. In the ON. valda pret. oflī, we must regard the ll as older than the ld, in spite of the Goth. valdan and OHG. wiltan [some would prefer to call valda an archaism].
⁴ Baldr may be related to balþ, as tir to tæc, and zor to zio.
Alptac, Ingatac, Kërtac, Helmtac, Hruodtac, Regintac, Sigitac; OS. Aladag, Alfdag (Albdag, Pertz 1, 286); Hildidag, Liuddag, Osdag, Wulfdag; AS. Wegdeag, Swefdag; even the ON. has the name Svipdagr. Now, either Bældæg simply stands for Bealdor, and is synonymous with it (as e.g., Regintac with Reginari, Sigitac with Sigar, Sigheri)\(^1\); or else we must recognise in the word dæg, dag, tac itself a personification, such as we found another root undergoing (p. 194-5) in the words div, divan, dina, dies; and both alike would express a shining one, a white one, a god. Prefixing to this the Slavic biël, bel, we have no need to take Bældæg as standing for Bealdor or anything else, Bæl-dæg itself is white-god, light-god, he that shines as sky and light and day, the kindly Biëlbógh, Bél-bógh of the Slav system (see Suppl.). It is in perfect accord with this explanation of Bæl-dæg, that the AS. tale of ancestry assigns to him a son Brond, of whom the Edda is silent, brond, brand, ON. brandr, signifying jubar, fax, titio. Bældæg therefore, as regards his name, would agree with Berhta, the bright goddess.

We have to consider a few more circumstances bearing on this point. Baldr's beauty is thus described in Sn. 26: 'Hann er svá fiagr álittum ok biartr svá at lysir af honum, oc eitt gras er svá hvitt, at iafnat er til Baldrs brdr, þat er allra grasa hvitast oc þar eiptir mättu marka hans fegurð bæði á hárri ok liki'; he is so fair of countenance and bright that he shines of himself, there is a grass so white that it is evened with Baldr's brows, it is of all grasses whitest, and thereby mayest thou mark his fairness both in hair and body. This plant, named Baldrsbrá after the god's white eyebrow,\(^2\) is either the anthemis cotula, still called Barbro in Sweden, Balsensbro, Ballensbra in Schonen, and Barbroyrás in Denmark, or the matricaria maritima inodora, which retains the original name in Iceland (see Suppl.).\(^3\) In Skåne there is a Baldursberg, in the Öttingen country a Baldern, and in the Vorarlberg, east of Bregenz, Balderschwang; such names of places demand caution, as they may be taken from men, Baldar or Baldheri, I therefore withhold the mention of several more. But the heavenly abode of the god was called Breiðablik, nom. pl. (Sæm. 41\(^b\), Sn. 21-7), i.e. broad splendors,

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\(^{1}\) The cases are hardly analogous: Bæld-æg and Regintæc.—Trans.

\(^{2}\) Homer emphasizes the dark brows of Zeus and Hera, ὑφρός κυνία. Conf. Λευκόφρως and Artemis λευκοφρώνη, white-browed Diana.

\(^{3}\) Germ. names of the camomile: kuhauge, rindsauge, ochsenauge (ox-eye). Dalecarl. hvitet-öja (white eye), in Båhuslän hvita-piga (white girl).
which may have reference to the streaks of the milky way; a place near Lethra, not far from Roeskild, is said to have borne the name of *Bredeblick*.\(^1\) This very expression re-appears in a poem of the twelfth century, though not in reference to a dwelling-place, but to a host of snow-white steeds and heroes advancing over the battle-field: Dó bráhte Dietheriches vane zvencik důsint lossam in breither blickin über lant, Roth. 2635. In Wh. 381, 16: `daz bluot über die blicke flôz, si würdn almeistic rötgevar,' did the blood flow over the paths of the field, or over the shining silks?

If *Baldag* and *Brond* reveal to us that the worship of Balder had a definite form of its own even outside of Scandinavia, we may conclude from the general diffusion of all the most essential proper names entering into the main plot of the myth there, that this myth as a whole was known to all Teutons. The goddess *Hel*, as will be more fully shown in ch. XIII, answers to the Gothic impersonal noun halja, OHG. hella. *Höðr* (ace. Höð, gen. Haðar, dat. Heði), pictured as a blind god of tremendous strength (Sn. 31), who without malice discharges the fatal arrow at Baldr, is called *Hotherus* in Saxo, and implies a Goth. *Hapus*, AS. *Heaðo*, OHG. *Hatu*, OFrank. *Chado*, of which we have still undoubted traces in proper names and poetic compounds. OHG. *Hadupraht*, Hadufuns, Hadupald, Hadufrid, Hadumár, Hadupure, Hadulint, Haduwic (Hedwig), &c., forms which abut close on the Catumèrus in Tacitus (Hadumár, Hadamár). In AS. poetry are still found the terms *heðorine* (vir egregius, nobilis), Cædm. 193, 4. Beow. 737. 4927; *heðowelm* (belli impetus, fervor), Cædm. 21, 14. 147, 8. Beow. 164. 5633; *heðowsát* (sudor bellicosus), Beow. 2919. 3211. 3334; *heðowæd* (vestis bellica), Beow. 78; *heðubyrne* (lorica bellica), Cod. exon. 297, 7; *heðosigel* and *heðogleám* (egregium jubar), Cod. exon. 486, 17 and 438, 6; *heðolæc* (pugnae ludus), Beow. 1862. 3943; *heðogrim* (atrociissimus), Beow. 1090. 5378; *heðosioe* (pugna vulneratus), Beow. 5504; *heðosteáp* (celsus), Beow. 2490. 4301. In these words, except where the meaning is merely intensified, the prevailing idea is plainly that of battle and strife, and the god or hero must have been thought of and honoured as a warrior. Therefore *Hapus*, *Höðr*, as well as Wuotan and Zio, expressed phenomena of war; and he was imagined blind, because he dealt out at random good hap and ill (p. 207).—Then, beside Höðr, we

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\(^1\) Suhm. crit. hist. 2, 63.
have *Hermóðr* interweaving himself in the thread of Balder’s history; he is dispatched to Hel, to demand his beloved brother back from the underworld. In Saxo he is already forgotten; the AS. genealogy places its *Hermóðr* among Wóden’s ancestors, and names as his son either Sceldwa or the Scauf renowned in story, whereas in the North he and Balder alike are the offspring of Oðinn; in the same way we saw (p. 219) Freyr taken for the father as well as the son of Nóórðr. A later *Hermóðr* appears in Beow. 1795. 3417, but still in kinship with the old races; he is perhaps that hero, named by the side of Sigmundr in Sæm. 113a, to whom Oðinn lends helm and hauberker. AS. title-deeds also contain the name; Kemb. 1, 232. 141; and in OHG. *Herimuot, Herimaot*, occurs very often (Graff 2, 699 anno 782, from MB. 7, 373. Neugart no. 170. 214. 244. 260. annis 809-22-30-34. Ried. no. 21 anno 821), but neither song nor story has a tale to tell of him (see Suppl.).

So much the more valuable are the revelations of the Merseburg discovery; not only are we fully assured now of a divine Balder in Germany, but there emerges again a long-forgotten mythus, and with it a new name unknown even to the North.

When, says the lay, *Phol* (Balder) and *Wodan* were one day riding in the forest, one foot of Balder’s foal, ‘demo Balderes volon,’ was wrenched out of joint, whereupon the heavenly habitants bestowed their best pains on setting it right again, but neither Sinngund and Sunna, nor yet Frúa and Folla could do any good, only Wodan the wizard himself could conjure and heal the limb (see Suppl.).

The whole incident is as little known to the Edda as to other Norse legends. Yet what was told in a heathen spell in Thuringia before the tenth century is still in its substance found lurking in conjuring formulas known to the country folk of Scotland and Denmark (conf. ch. XXXIII, Dislocation), except that they apply to Jesus what the heathen believed of Balder and Wodan. It is somewhat odd, that Cato (*De re rust. 160*) should give, likewise for a dislocated limb, an Old Roman or perhaps Sabine form of spell, which is unintelligible to us, but in which a god is evidently invoked: *Luxum si quod est, hac cantione sanum siet*. *Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam, medium diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices*. *Incipe cantare in alio S.F.*
motas vacta daries dardaries astataries Dissunupiter! usque dum coeant. What follows is nothing to our purpose.

The horse of Balder, lamed and checked on his journey, acquires a full meaning the moment we think of him as the god of light or day, whose stoppage and detention must give rise to serious mischief on the earth. Probably the story in its context could have informed us of this; it was foreign to the purpose of the conjuring-spell.

The names of the four goddesses will be discussed in their proper place; what concerns us here is, that Balder is called by a second and hitherto unheard-of name, Phol. The eye for our antiquities often merely wants opening: a noticing of the unnoticed has resulted in clear footprints of such a god being brought to our hand, in several names of places.

In Bavaria there was a Pholesouwa, Pholesouwa, ten or twelve miles from Passau, which the Traditiones patavienae first mention in a document drawn up between 774 and 788 (MB. vol. 28, pars 2, p. 21, no. 23), and afterwards many later ones of the same district: it is the present village of Pfalsau. Its composition with ave quite fits in with the supposition of an old heathen worship. The gods were worshipped not only on mountains, but on 'eas' inclosed by brooks and rivers, where fertile meadows yielded pasture, and forests shade. Such was the castum nemus of Nerthus in an insula Oceani, such Fosetesland with its willows and well-springs, of which more presently. Baldrshagi (Balderi pasceum), mentioned in the Frii-biofssaga, was an enclosed sanctuary (griðastaðr), which none might damage. I find also that convents, for which time-hallowed venerable sites were preferred, were often situated in 'eas'; and of one nunnery the very word is used: 'in der megde ouwe,' in the maids' ea (Dint. 1, 357). The ON. mythology supplies us with several eas named after the loftiest gods: Oðinsey (Odensee) in Fünen, another Oðinsey (Onsöe) in Norway, Formm. sog. 12, 33, and Thórsey, 7, 234, 9, 17; Hlæssey (Lässöe) in the Kattegat, &c., &c. We do not know any OHG. Wuotanesouwa, Donaresouwa, but Pholesouwa is equally to the point.

Very similar must have been Pholespiunt (MB. 9, 404 circ. 1138.

1 So the Old Bavarian convent of Chiemsee was called ouwe (MB. 28*, 103 an. 890), and afterwards the monastery there 'der herren wedt,' and the nunnery 'der nunnen werden.' Stat 'zo gottes ouwe' in Lisch. mekl. jb. 7, 227, from a fragment belonging to Bertholds Crane. Demantin 242.
Pfalzpiunt, 5, 399 anno 1290), now Pfalzpoint on the Altmühl, between Eichstädt and Kipfenberg, in a considerable forest. Piunt means an enclosed field or garden; and if an ea could be consecrated to a god, so could a field. Graff 3, 342 has a place called Frawânpiunt, which, to judge by the circumstances, may with like reason be assigned to the goddess Frouwa; no doubt it also belongs to Bavaria (see Suppl.).

In the Fulda Traditions (Schannat p. 291, no. 85) occurs this remarkable passage: Widerolt comes tradidit sancto Bonifacio quicquid proprietatis habuit in Pholesbrunnen in provincia Thuringiae. To this Pholesbrunno, the village of Phulsborn has the first claim, lying not far from the Saale, equidistant from the towns Apolda, Dornburg and Sulza, and spelt in Mid. Age documents Phulsborn and Pholczborn; there is however another village, Falsbrunn or Falsbronn, on the Rauhe Eberach in the Franconian Steigerwald. Now Pholesbrunno all the more plainly suggests a divinity (and that, Balder), as there are also Baldersbrunnen: a Baldebrunno has been produced from the Eifel mts, and from the Rhine Palatinate, and it has been shown that the form ought to be corrected into Baldersbrunno as well as the modern Baldenhain to Baldershain (Zeitschr. f. d. alt. 2, 256); and Bellstadt in the Klingenberg district of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen was formerly Baldersteti, Schannat dioec. Fuld. p. 244, anno 977 (see Suppl.). From the Norse mythus of Balder, as given by Saxo, we learn that Balder in the heat of battle opened a fountain for his languishing army: Victor Balderus, ut afflictum siti miliem opportuni liquoris beneficio recrearet, novos humi laties terram altius rimatus aperuit, quorum erumpentes scatebras sitibundum agmen hianti passim ore captabat. Eorundem vestigia sempiterna firmata vocabulo, quamquam pristina admodum scaturigo desierit, nondum prorsus exolevisse creduntur. This spot is the present Baldersbrönd near Roeskild (note to Müller’s Saxo, p. 120). But the legend may be the same as old German legends, which at a later time placed to king Charles’s account (p. 117, and infra, Furious host) that which heathendom had told of

1 A Salzburg doc. of the tenth cent., in Kleinmayrn p. 196: Curtilem locum cum duobus pratis, quod piunti dicimus.

2 Conf. Schöpflin’s Alsat. dipl. no. 748, anno 1285: in villa Baldeburne. A Westphal. doc. of 1203 (Falke trad. corb. p. 566) names a place Balderbroc, which might mean palus, campus Balderi.
Balder; in that case the still surviving name has itself proved a fountain, whence the myth of Balder emerges anew.¹

But the name of Phol is established more firmly still. A Heinricus de Pholing frequently appears in the Altach records of the 13th century, MB. part 11, a Rapoto de Pholingen, Phaling, in MB. 12, 56. 60; this place is on the left bank of the Danube below Straubingen, between the two convents of Altach. I doubt if the Polling in other records (and there are several Pollings in the Ammer country) can be the same word, as the aspirate is wanting and the liquid doubled. Pfullendorf or Follendorf near Gotha is in docs. of the 14th century Phulsdorf. A Pholenheim in Schannat, Vind. lit. coll. 1, 48. 53. Not far from Scharzfeld, between the Harz mts and Thuringia, is an old village named Földe, called in early records and writings Polidi, Palidi, Palithi, Pholidi (Gramm. 2, 248), the seat of a well-known convent, which again may have been founded on the site of a heathen sanctuary. If a connexion with the god can be established in this case, we at the same time gather from it the true value of the varying consonant in his name.

Of Phol so many interpretations crowd upon us, that we should be puzzled if they could all be made good. The Chaldaic bel or bal seems to have been a mere title pertaining to several gods: bel = Uranus, bel = Jupiter, bel = Mars. The Finnish palo means fire, the ON. bál, AS. bæl rogus, and the Slav. pöliti to burn, with which connect Lat. Pales and the Palilia. Of phallus we have already spoken. We must first make sure of the sounds in our native names for a divinity of whom as yet we know nothing but the bare name (see Suppl.). On the question as to the sense of the word itself, I set aside the notion one might stumble on, that it is merely a fondling form of Paltar, Balder, for such forms invariably preserve the initial of the complete name; we should expect Palzo, Balzo, but not Phol.² Nor does the OHG. Ph seem here to be equivalent

¹ Greek tradition tells of Herakles and Zeus: φασι τὸν Ἰππαλκέα δίψει ποτὲ καταχύνοντα εὔξασθαι τῷ Δίῳ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξι αὐτῷ μικρὰν λιβάδα, ὥ δὲ μὴ θέλων αὐτῶν καταρκύχεσθαι, μίσχος κεραυνῶν ἀνέδωκε μικρὰν λιβάδα, ἥν θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰππαλκέας καὶ σκάφες εἰς τὸ πλουσιότερον ἐποίησε φέρεσθαι (Scholia in II. 20, 74). This spring was Scamander, and the λιβάς Ἰππαλκέας may be set by the side of Pfolesbrunno as well as Pfolesonwa, λιβάδιον being both meal and ca; and does not the Grecian demigod’s pyre kindled on Oeta suggest that of Balder?

² So I explain the proper name Polz from Folbreht, Folrät, Folmar, and the like; it therefore stands apart from Phol. [The Suppl. qualifies the sweeping assertion in the text; it also takes notice of several other solutions, as Apollo, Pollux, foil, &c.]
to the ordinary F which corresponds to the Saxon F, but rather to be an aspirate which, answering to the Saxon tenuis P, represents an Old-Aryan media B. But we know that a Saxon initial P＝OHG. Ph is found almost exclusively in foreign words1 (porta, phorta; putti, phuzu; pêda, pheit); it follows that for Phol, in case the Sax. form Pol is really made out, we must either look for such a foreign P, or as a rare exception, in which the law of consonant-change does assert itself, an Old-Aryan B. I incline to this last hypothesis, and connect Phol and Pol (whose o may very well have sprung from a) with the Celtic Beal, Beul, Bel, Belenus, a divinity of light or fire, the Slav. Bêlbôgh, Bélbôgh (white-god), the adj. bîl, bêl (albus), Lith. baltas, which last with its extension T makes it probable that Báldæg and Baldr are of the same root, but have not undergone consonant-change. Phol and Paltar therefore are in their beginning one, but reveal to us two divergent historical developments of the same word, and a not unimportant difference in the mythology of the several Teutonic races.2

So far as we can see, the god was worshipped under the name of Phol chiefly by the Thuringians and Bavarians, i.e. according to ancient nomenclature the Hermundari and Marcomanni, yet they seem to have also known his other name Paltar or Balder, while

1 That is, really borrowed words, as port, paternal, palace, in which the Low Germ. makes no change (like that in birth, father), and therefore the High Germ. stands only one stage instead of two in advance of Latin: Pforte, Pfalz, &c. Such words stand outside the rule of consonant-change.—Trans.

2 I have thus far gone on the assumption that Phol and Balder in the Merseberg spell designate one and the same divine being, which is strongly supported by the analogy I have pointed out between Pholesouwa and Baldrshagi, Pholesbruno and Baldrsbrunnr; and his cultus must have been very familiar to the people, for the poem to be able to name him by different names in succession, without fear of being misunderstood. Else one might suppose by the names, that Phol and Balder were two different gods, and there would be plenty of room left for the question, who can possibly be meant by Phol? If PH could here represent V＝W, which is contrary to all analogy, and is almost put out of court by the persistent PH, PF in all those names of places; then we might try the ON. Ullr, Ollerus in Saxo, p. 45, which (like ull, OHG. wolla, wool) would be in OHG. Wol, so that ‘Wol endi Wolan (Ullr ek Oinn)’ made a perfect alliteration. And Ullr was connected with Baldr, who in Sem. 93a is called ‘Ullar seli,’ sib to U., Ulli cognatus (see Suppl.). But the gen. would have to be Wolles, and that is contradicted by the invariably single L in Pholes. The same reason is conclusive against Wackernagel’s proposal to take Fol for the god of fulness and plenty, by the side of the goddess Follâ; I think the weak form Follo would be demanded for it by an OHG. Pilnitis; v. Haupts zeitschr. 2, 190. Still more does the internal consistency of the song itself require the identity of Phol and Balder; it would be odd for Phol to be named at the beginning, and no further notice to be taken of him.
Balday, Balday prevailed among the Saxons and Westphalians, and the AS. bealdor had passed into a common noun. Now as the Bavarian Eor stood opposed to the Alamannic Zio, we ought to find out whether Phol was in like manner unknown to the Alamanns and the races most akin to them.\(^1\)

Lastly, from eastern Germany we are transported to the north-west by a name appertaining closely to the Balder cultus, and again linking itself with the Edda. The Edda cites among the Ases a son of Baldr and Nanna, Forseti, who like his father dwelt in a shining hall Glitnir (glit, nitor, splendor, OHG. kliz) built of gold and silver, and who (as Baldr himself had been called the wisest, most eloquent and mildest god, whose verdicts are final, Sn. 27) passed among gods and men for the wisest of judges; he settled all disputed matters (Sem. 42\(^a\). Sn. 31. 103), and we are told no more about him (see Suppl.).

This Forseti is well entitled to be compared with the Frisian god Fosite, concerning whom some biographies composed in the ninth century gives us valuable information. The vita sancti Wilibrordi († 739), written by the famous Alcuin († 804), relates as follows, cap. 10: Cum ergo pius verbi Dei praedicator iter agebat, pervenit in continuo Fresonum et Danorum ad quandam insulam, quae a quodam deo suo Fosite ab accolis terrae Fositesland appellatur, quia in ea ejusdem dei fana fuere constructa. qui locus a paganis in tanta veneratione habebatur, ut nil in ea, vel animalium ibi pascentium, vel aliarum quarumlibet renum, gentilium quisquam tangere audebat, nec etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam haurire nisi tacens praesumebat. Quo cum vir Dei tempestate jactatus est, mansit ibidem aliquot dies, quonque sepesis tempestatibus opportunum navigandi tempus adveniret. sed parvipendens stultam

\(^1\) The inquiry, how far these names reach back into antiquity, is far from exhausted yet. I have called attention to the Pjolgraben (-ditch), the Pjolhecke (-hedge, -fence), for which devil's dyke is elsewhere used; then the raising of the whirlwind is ascribed in some parts to the devil, in others to Herodias [meaning H.'s daughter the dancer], in others again to Pfol. Eastern Hesse on the Werra has a 'very queer' name for the whirlwind, beginning with Bull- or Boil-; and in the neighbouring Eichsfeld Pulloinecke is pronounced with shyness and reluctance (Münchner gel. anz. 1812, p. 762). A Niddawitz ordination of the same district (3, 327) contains the family name Boylsperg (Polesber transforms. The spelling Bull, Boil, would agree with the conjecture hazarded above, but I do not connect with this the idol Biel in the Harz, for Bielstein leads back to bilstein, i.e. beilstein. Schmid's westerw. id. 145 has pollecker, bollecker for spectre, bugbear (see Suppl.).
loci illius religionem, vel ferocissimum regis animum, qui violatores sacrorum illius atrocissima morte damnare solebat; tres homines in eo fonte cum invocatione sanctae Trinitatis baptizavit. sed et animalia in ea terra pascentia in cibaria suis mactare praecepit. Quod pagani intuentes, arbitrabantur eos vel in furorem verti, vel etiam veloci morte perire; quos cum nil mali cernebant pati, stupore perterriti, regi tamen Radbodo quod viderant factum retulerunt. Qui nimio furore succensus in sacerdotem Dei vivi siiorum injurias ulcisci cogitabat, et per tres dies semper tribus vicibus sortes suo more mittebat, et nunquam damnatorum sors, Deo vero defendente suos, super servum Dei aut aliquem ex suis cadere potuit; nec nisi unus tantum ex sociis sorte monstratus martyrio coronatus est.—Eadbod feared king Pippin the Frank, and let the evangelist go unhurt.1 What Willibrord had left unfinished, was accomplished some time after by another priest, as the vita sancti Liudgeri, composed by Altfrid († 849), tells of the year 785: Ipsa vero (Liudgerus) . . . . studuit fana destruere, et omnes erroris pristini abluere sordes. curavit quoque ulterius doctrinae derivare flumina, et consilio ab imperatore accepto, transfretavit in confinio Fresonum atque Danorum ad quandam insulam, quae a nomine deis sui falsi Fossetis fana, quae illic fuerat constructa, et pro eis Christi fabricaverunt ecclesias, cumque habitatores terrae illius fide Christi imbueret, baptizavit eos cum invocatione sanctae Trinitatis in fonte, qui ibi ebulliebat, in quo sanctus Willibrordus prius homines tres baptizaverat, a quo etiam fonte nemo prius haurire aquam nisi tacens praesumebat (Pertz 2, 410).—Altfrid evidently had the work of Alcuin by him. From that time the island took the name of helgeland, Helgoland, which it bears to this day; here also the evangelists were careful to conserve, in the interest of christianity, the sense of sacredness already attaching to the site. Adam of Bremen, in his treatise De situ Daniae (Pertz 9, 369), describe the island thus: Ordinavit (archiepiscopus episcopum) in Finna (Fühnen) Eilbertum, quem tradunt conversum (l. captum) a piratis Farriam insulam, quae in ostio fluminis Albiae longo secessu latet in oceano, primum reperisse constructoque monasterio in ea fecisse habitabilem. haec insula contra Hadeloam sita est. cujus longi-

1 Acta sanctor. Bened., sec. 3, pars 1, p. 609.
tudo vix VIII milliaria panditur, latitudo quatuor; homines stramine fragmentisque navium pro igne utuntur. Sermo est piratas, si quando praeedium inde vel minimam tulirint, aut max perisse naufragio, aut oceos ab aliquo, nullum redisse indepnnem; quapropter solent heremitis ibi virentibus decimas praedarum offerre cum magna devotione. est enim feracissima frugum, ditissima volucrum et pecudum nutrix, collum habet unicum, arborem nullam, scopulis includitur asperrimis, nullo aditu nisi uno, ubi et aqua dulcis (the spring whence they drew water in silence), locus venerabilis omnibus navibus, praecipue vero piratis, unde nomen acceptit ut Heiligeland dicatur. hanc in vita sancti Willebrordi Fosetland appellari dicimus, quae sita est in confinio Danorum et Fresonum. sunt et aliae insulae contra Fresiam et Daniam, sed nulla earum tam memorabilis.—The name Farria, appearing here for the first time, either arose from confounding the isle of Föhr with Helgoland, or we must emend the passage, and read 'a piratis Farrianis.' By the customs of these mariners and vikings even of christian times, we may assure ourselves how holy the place was accounted in the heathen time (see Suppl.).

In an island lying between Denmark, Friesland and Saxony, we might expect to find a heathen god who was common to all three. It would be strange if the Frisian Fosite were unknown to the Norsemen; and stranger still if the Eddic Forseti were a totally different god. It is true, one would have expected a mention of this deity in particular from Saxo Gram., who is quite silent about it; but then he omits many others, and in his day Fosite's name may have died out amongst the Frisians.

There is some discrepancy between the two names, as was natural in the case of two nations: ON. Forseti gen. Forsta, Fris. Fosite gen. Fosites. The simplest supposition is, that from Forsite arose by assimilation Fossite, Fosite, or that the R dropt out, as in OHG. mosa for morsar, Low Germ. mösar; so in the Frisian Angeln, according to Hagerup p. 20, föst, foste = förste, primus. Besides, there is hardly any other way of explaining Fosite. In ON. forseti is praeses, princeps, apparently translatable into OHG. forasizo, a fitting name for the god who presides over judgment, and arranges all disputes. The Gothic faúragaggja bears almost the same sense, which I also find, even in much later writings, attached to our word vorgänger (now = predecessor). More complete AS.
genealogies would perhaps name a Forseta or Forsete as Bældæg's son.¹

Forseti, Fosite are a proof of the extent of Balder's worship. If we may infer from Pholesouwa and Baldrshagi that the god loved isles and 'eas,' Helgoland is a case in point, where the flocks of his son grazed; and so is perhaps the worship of the Hercules-pillars, which, following Tacitus, we might fix on some other island near it.²

¹ Later writers have turned Fosete into a goddess Foseta, Phoseta, Fosta, to approximate her to the Roman Vesta; maps of Helgoland, in which are found marked a 'templum Fostae vel Phosetae' of the year 768, and a 'templum Vestae' of 692, were made up in Major's Cimbrien (Plön, 1692), conf. Wiebel's programm über Helgoland, Hamb. 1842. The god Foste and Fosteland could easily find their way into the spurious Vita Suiberti cap. 7.

² Another thought has struck my mind about Fosete. In the appendix to the Heldenbuch, Ecke, Vasat, Abentrot are styled brothers. The form Fasat instead of the usual Fasolt need not be a mistake; there are several OHG. men's names in -at, and OS. in -ad, -id, so that Fasat and Fasolt can hold their ground side by side. Now Fasolt (conf. ch. XX. Storm) and Ecke were known as god-giants of wind and water, Abentrot as a daemon of light. As Ecke-Oegir was worshipped on the Eider and in Lässöe, so might Fosite be in Helgoland. The connexion with Forseti must not be let go, but its meaning as For-seti, Fora-sizo becomes dubious, and I feel inclined to explain it as Fors-eti from fors [a whirling stream, 'force' in Cumbld], Dan. fos, and to assume a daemon of the whirlpool, a Fossegrim (conf. ch. XVII. Nichus), with which Fosite's sacred spring would tally. Again, the Heldenbuch gives those three brothers a father Nentiger (for so we must read for Mentiger) = OHG. Nandgêr; and does not he suggest Forseti's mother Nanna = Nandâ?
CHAPTER XII.

OTHER GODS.

In addition to the gods treated of thus far, who could with perfect distinctness be pointed out in all or most of the Teutonic races, the Norse mythology enumerates a series of others, whose track will be harder to pursue, if it does not die out altogether. To a great extent they are those of whom the North itself has little or nothing to tell in later times.

1. (Heimdall)

Heimdallr, or in the later spelling Heimdallr, though no longer mentioned in Saxo, is, like Baldr, a bright and gracious god: hvitastr ãsa (whitest of ãses, Sæm. 72\textsuperscript{a}),\textsuperscript{1} sverðás hvita, Sæm. 90\textsuperscript{a}, hviti ãs, Sn. 104; he guards the heavenly bridge (the rainbow), and dwells in Himinbiörg (the heavenly hills). The heim in the first part of his name agrees in sound with himin; allr seems akin to jöll, gen. jallar (pinus), Swed. tall, Swiss däle, Engl. deal (Stald. 1, 259, conf. Schm. 2, 603-4 on mantala), but jöll also means a river, Sn. 43, and Freyja bears the by-name of Mardöll, gen. Mardallar, Sn. 37. 154. All this remains dark to us. No proper name in the other Teutonic tongues answers to Heimdallr; but with Himinbiörg (Sæm. 41\textsuperscript{b} 92\textsuperscript{b}) or the common noun himinfiöll (Sæm. 148\textsuperscript{a} Yngl. saga cap. 39), we can connect the names of other hills: a Himulinberg (mons coelius) haunted by spirits, in the vita S. Galli, Pertz 2, 10; Himelberc in Lichtenstein's frauend. 199, 10; a Himilesberg in the Fulda country, Schunnat Buchon. vet. 336; several in

\textsuperscript{1} When this passage says further, 'vissi hann vel fram, sem Vanir aðrir,' liter. 'he foreknew well, like other Vanir,' his wisdom is merely likened to that of the Vanir (Gramm. 4, 456 on ander), it is not meant that he was one of them, a thing never asserted anywhere [so in Homer, 'Greeks and other Trojans' means 'and Trojans as well']. The Fornald. sög. 1, 373 calls him, I know not why, 'heimskastr allra ãsa,' heimskr usually signifying ignorant, a greenhorn, what the MHG. poets mean by tump.
Hesse (Kuchenb. anal. 11, 137) near Iba and Waldkappel (Niederh. woehenbl. 1834 pp. 106, 2183); a Himmelsberg in Westgötländ, and one, alleged to be Heimdall’s, in Halland. At the same time, Himmenvångar, Sæm. 150a, the OS. hebanwang, hebeneswang, a paradise (v. ch. XXV), the AS. Heofenfeld coelestis campus, Beda p. 158, and the like names, some individual, some general, deserve to be studied, but yield as yet no safe conclusion about the god.

Other points about him savour almost of the fairy-tale: he is made out to be the son of nine mothers, giantesses, Sæm. 118a,b. Sn. 106. Laxd. p. 392; he wants less sleep than a bird, sees a hundred miles off by night or day, and hears the grass grow on the ground and the wool on the sheep’s back (Sn. 30).¹ His horse is Gulltoppr, gold-tuft, and he himself has golden teeth,² hence the by-names Gullintanni and Hallinskíði, ‘tennur Hallinskíða,’ Formm. sög. 1, 52. It is worthy of remark, that Hallinskíði and Heimdali are quoted among the names for the ram, Sn. 221.

As watchman and warden of the gods (vöðr goða, Sæm. 41), Heimdall winds a powerful horn, Giallarhorn, which is kept under a sacred tree, Sæm. 5b 8a. Sn. 72-3. What the Völuspá imparts, must be of a high antiquity (see Suppl.).

Now at the very outset of that poem, all created beings great and small are called megir Heimðallr, sons or children of the god; he appears therefore to have had a hand in the creation of the world, and of men, and to have played a more exalted part than is assigned to him afterwards. As, in addition to Wuotan, Zio presided over war, and Fró over fruitfulness, so the creative faculty seems to have been divided between Óðinn and Heimðallr.

A song of suggestive design in the Edda makes the first arrangement of mankind in classes proceed from the same Heimðallr, who traverses the world under the name of Rígr (see Suppl.). There is a much later German tradition, very prevalent in the last few centuries, which I have ventured to trace to this heathen one, its origin being difficult to explain otherwise.³ As for the name Rígr, it seems to me to have sprung, like dis from idis, by apharesis from an older form, which I cannot precisely determine, but would connect with the MHG. Irine, as in ON. an n before g or k often

¹ Conf. KM. 3, 125.  
² Li diente d’ oro, Pentam. 3, 1. Of a certain Haraldr: tennr voru miklor ok gulls litr á, Fornald. sög. 1, 366.  
³ Zeitschrift f. d. alt. 2, 257—267. Conf. ch. XIX.
drops out (conf. stinga stack, þacka þanki), and, as will be shown later, Iringes strâza, Iringes wec answers to a Swedish Eriksgata.¹

The shining galaxy would suit extremely well the god who descends from heaven to earth, and whose habitation borders on Bifröst.

Norwegian names of places bear witness to his cultus: Heimdallsvattn, a lake in Guldbrandsdalen (Gûdbrandsdah), and Heimdallshøv, a hill in Nummedalen (Naumudah); neither is mentioned in the ON. sagas.

2. (Bragi, Brego.)

Above any other god, one would like to see a more general veneration of the ON. Bragi revived, in whom was vested the gift of poetry and eloquence. He is called the best of all skalds, Sæm. 46a. Sn. 45, frumsmiðr bragar (auctor poeseos), and poetry itself is bragr.² In honour of him the Bragafull or bragarfull was given (p. 60); the form appears to waver between brag gen. braga, and bragr gen. bragar, at all events the latter stands in the phrase ‘bragr karla’ = vir facundus, praestans, in ‘ása bragr’ deorum princeps = Thôrr (Sæm. 85b. Sn. 211a, but Bragi 211b), and even ‘bragr qvenna’ femina praestantissima (Sæm. 218a).³

Then a poet and king of old renown, distinct from the god, himself bore the name of Bragi hinn gamli, and his descendants were styled Bragnningar. A minstrel was pictured to the mind as old and long-bearded, síðskeggi and skeggbragi, Sn. 105, which recalls Oðinn with his long beard, the inventor of poetry (p. 146); and Bragi is even said to be Oðin’s son, Sn. 105 (see Suppl.).

In the AS. poems there occurs, always in the nom. sing., the term brego or breogo, in the sense of rex or princeps: bregostól in Beow. 4387 and Andr. 209 is thronus regius; bregowead in Cædm. 140, 26. 166, 13 is princeps.⁴ Now, as gen. plurals are attached to

¹ Der gammel Erik, gammel Eike (old E.), has now come to mean old Nick in Swedish; conf. supra p. 124, on Erichtag.
² Sæm. 113b, of Oðinn; gefr hann brag skáldom (dat carmen poetis).
³ Does not the Engl. brag, Germ. prählen (gloriari) explain everything? Showy high-flown speech would apply equally to boasting and to poetry. Then, for the other meaning, ‘the boast, glory, master-piece (of men, gods, women, angels, bears),’ we can either go back to the more primitive sense (gloria) in prangen, prunk, pracht, bright, or still keep to brag. ‘Beauty is nature’s brag, and must be shewn,’ says Comms.—Trans.
⁴ In Beda 4, 23 (Stevens, p. 304) a woman’s name Bregosnið, Bregoswið; in Kemble 5, 48 (anno 749) Bregesvûðestân, and 1, 133-4 (anno 762), 5, 46 (anno 747), 5, 59 (anno 798) a man’s name Bregowine. In Beow. 38-47 bregorôf is clarissimus.
it: brego engla, Caedm. 12, 7. 60, 4. 62, 3; brego Dena, Beow. 848; haeleða brego, Beow. 3995; gumena brego, Andr. 61; beorna brego, Andr. 305 (conf. brego moncynnes, Cod. exon. 457, 3); there grows up an instructive analogy to the above-mentioned 'bragr karla,' and to the genitives similarly connected with the divine names Týr, Freá and Bealdor (pp. 196, 211, 220). The AS. brego equally seems to point to a veiled divinity, though the forms and vowel-relations do not exactly harmonize.¹

Their disagreement rather provokes one to hunt up the root under which they could be reconciled: a verb briga brag would suit the purpose. The Saxon and Frisian languages, but not the Scandinavian or High German, possess an unexplained term for cerebrum: AS. brēgen (like rēgen pluvia, therefore better written so than brægen), Engl. brain, Fris. brein, Low Sax. bregen; I think it answers to the notions 'understanding, cleverness, eloquence, imitation,' and is connected with φρίν, φρενός, -φρων, -φρονος. Now the ON. bragr, beside poesis, means also mos, gestus, and 'braga efir einum' referre aliquem gestu, imitari. OHG. has nothing like it, nor any such proper name as Prako, Brago, Brêgo.

But, as we detected among the Saxons a faint trace of the god or god's son, we may lay some stress on the fact that in an OS. document of 1006 Burnacker occurs as the name of a place, v. Lünzel's Hildesheim, p. 124, conf. pref. v. (see Suppl.). Now Bragi and his wife Íðunn dwelt in Brunnaker, Sn. 121a, and she is called 'Brunnakrs beckjar gerðr,' Brunnakerinae sedis ornatrix, as Sk. Thorlacius interprets it (Spec. 6, pp. 65-6). A well or spring, for more than one reason, suits a god of poetry; at the same time a name like 'springfield' is so natural that it might arise without any reference to gods.

Bragi appears to have stood in some pretty close relation to Oegir, and if an analogy between them could be established, which however is unsupported hitherto on other grounds, then by the side of 'briga brag' the root 'braga bròg' would present itself, and the AS. bróga (terror), OHG. pruoko, bruogo, be akin to it. The connexion of Bragi with Oegir may be seen by Bragi appearing prominently in the poem Oegisdrecka, and by his sitting next to Oegir in Sn. 80, so that in intimate converse with him he brings out stories of the gods, which are thence called Bragaræður.

¹ The Irish breithemn, brethemb (judex) is said to be pronounced almost as 'brehon,' Trans. of Irish acad. 14, 167.
speeches of Bragi. It is with great propriety, no doubt, that these narratives, during which Óégir often interrupts him with questions (Sn. 93), as Ganglëri does Íðr when holding forth in the first part of the Edda, were put in the mouth of the patron of poetry.

3. AKI, UOKI (ÓEGIR, HlÉR). FÍFEL, GEOFON.

This Óégir, an older god of the giant kind, not ranked among the Ases, but holding peaceable intercourse with them, bears the name of the terrible, the awful. The root 'aga óg' had given birth to plenty of derivatives in our ancient speech: Goth. āgis, ṣgod fóbés, ṣog fóbésomau, OHG. egisa, egisau, AS. egesa horror, OHG. akì, ekì, AS. ege (ége? awe) terror, ON. oéga terror, esse, which can only be spelt with æ, not æ. To the proper name Óégir would correspond a Goth. Ógis, AS. Óge, OHG. Uogi, instead of which I can only lay my hand on the weak form Óago, Óago. But Óégir also signifies the sea itself: sòl gengr i Òeginn, the sun goes into the sea, sets; Òegi-síor pelagus is like the Goth. mari-sáus; the AS. eagor and égor (mare) is related to ége, as sigor to sige. I attach weight to the agreement of the Greek Ωικενων, 'Ωκεανός and 'Ωγίς, whence the Lat. oceanus, Oceanus was borrowed, but aqueor (mare placidum) seems not cognate, being related to acquis, not to aqua and Goth. alva (see Suppl.).

The boisterous element awakened awe, and the sense of a god's immediate presence. As Wóden was also called Wóma (p. 144), and Oðinn Omi and Ygrgr, so the AS. poets use the terms wóma, swég, bróga and egesa almost synonymously for ghostly and divine phenomena (Andr. and El. pp. xxx—xxxii). Óégir was therefore a highly appropriate name, and is in keeping with the notions of fear and horror developed on p. 207-8.

This interpretation is strikingly confirmed by other mythical conceptions. The Edda tells us of a fear-inspiring helmet, whose name is Oegishialmr: er öll qyvikvendi bróðast at síá, Sn. 137; such a one did Hreiðmar wear, and then Fafnir when he lay on the gold and seemed the more terrible to all that looked upon him, Sém. 188; vera (to be) undir Oegishialmi, ber a Oegishialm yfir

1 Óégir is also called Gymir, Sém. 59. Gámir, Sn. 125. 183 possibly equator? but I know no other meaning of the ON. gaunar than cura, attentio, though the OHG. gauma, OS. goma means both cura and epulæ, the AS. gýning both cura and nuptiae.
einum, means to inspire with fear or reverence, Laxd. saga, p. 130. Islend. sög. 2, 155; ek bar Oegishialm yfir alla folki, Fornald. sög. 1, 162; hafa Oegishialm í augum, ibid. 1, 406, denotes that terrible piercing look of the eyes, which others cannot stand, and the famous basilisk-glance, ornir í auga, was something similar. Now I find a clear trace of this Norse helmet in the OHG. man's name Egihelm (Trad. fuld. 1, 97; in Schannat no. 126, p. 286 Eeggihelm), i.e. Agihelm, identical with the strengthened-vowel form Óegihelm, which I am unable to produce. But in the Eckenlied itself Ecke's costly magic helmet, and elsewhere even Ortnit's and Dietrich's, are called Hildegrim, Hildegrin; and the ON. gríma mask or helmet (in Sæm. 51 a name for night) has now turned up in a Fulda gloss, Dronke p. 15: 'scenici = erímíni' presupposes a sing. krínda larva, persona, galea; so we can now understand Krímkell (Gramm. 1, 188) the name of a Walkurie armed with the helmet of terror, and also why 'daemon' in another gloss is rendered by egisgrímolt. The AS. egesgríme is equally a mask, and in El. 260 the helmet that frightens by its figure of a boar is called a grím-helm. I venture to guess, that the wolf in our ancient apologue was imagined wearing such a helmet of dread, and hence his name of Isangrim, iron-mask, Reinh. cxliii (see Suppl.). Nor have we yet come to the end of fancies variously playing into one another: as the god's or hero's helmet awakened terror, so must his shield and sword; and it looks significant, that a terrific sword fashioned by dwarfs should likewise be named in the two forms, viz. in the Vilkinasaga Eicksax, in Veldek's Eneit Uokesahs (not a letter may we alter), in the Eckenlied Ecken sahs, as Hildegrin was Eckenhelm, Eckes helm. In the Greek aígy I do not look for any verbal affinity, but this shield of Zeús aígyóchos (Il. 15, 310. 17, 593), wielded at times by Athena (2, 447. 5, 738) and Apollo (15, 229. 318. 361. 24, 20), spreads dismay around, like Oegishialmr, Hildegrim and Eckisahs; Pluto's helmet too, which rendered invisible, may be called to mind.—That ancient god of sea, Oceanus and Oegir (see Suppl.), whose hall glittered with gold, Sæm. 59,
would of all others wear the glittering helmet which takes its name from him. From all we can find, his name in OHG. must have been *Aki* or *Uoki*; and it requires no great boldness to suppose that in the *Ecke* of our heroic legend, a giant all over, we see a precipitate of the heathen god. *Ecke’s* mythical nature is confirmed by that of his brothers Fasolt and Abentröt, of whom more hereafter. As the Greek Okeanos has rivers given him for sons and daughters, the Norse Oegir has by Rān nine daughters, whose names the Edda applies to waters and waves. We might expect to find that similar relations to the seagod were of old ascribed to our own rivers also, most of which were conceived of as female [and still bear feminine names].

And there is one such local name in which he may be clearly recognised. The *Eider*, a river which divides the Saxons from the Northmen, is called by the Frankish annalists in the eighth and ninth centuries *Egidora, Agadora, Aegidera* (Pertz 1, 355-70-86. 2, 620-31); Helmod 1, 12. 50 spells *Egydera*. The O.N. writers more plainly write *Oegisdyr* (Formm. sog. 11, 28. 31, conf. Geogr. of a Northman, ed. by Werlauff p. 15), *i.e.*, ocean’s door, sea-outlet, ostium, perhaps even here with a collateral sense of the awful. Again, a place called *Oegisdyr* is mentioned in Iceland, Landn. 5, 2, where we also find 3, 1 an *Oegissida*, latus oceani. Further, it comes out that by the AS. name *Fifeldor* in Cod. exon. 321, 8 and by the *Wiegelstor* in Dietmar of Merseb. ad. ann. 975, p. 760 is meant the Eider again, still the aforesaid Oegisdyr; while a various reading in Dietmar agrees with the annalist Saxo ad ann. 975 in giving *Heggedor* = Egyder, Egidor. Now, seeing that elsewhere the AS. poems use Fifelströam, Fifelwæg (Boeth. 26, 51. El. 237) for the ocean, and Fifelcynnes earl (Beow. 208) for the land of the ocean-sprites, we may suppose *Fifel* and its corruption *Wiegel* to be another and an obsolete name of Oegir.

The same may hold good of the AS. *Geoфон*, OS. *Geðan*, a being whose godhead is sufficiently manifest from the ON. *Gefjun*, who is reckoned among the Asynior, though she bore sons to a giant. The Saxon *Geðan* however was a god; the Heliand shows only the compound Gebenesström 90, 7. 131, 22, but the AS. poets, in addition to Geofenes began, Beow. 721, Geofenes stað, Cædtn. 215, 8, and the less personal geofonhús (navig), Cædtn. 79, 34, geofonflód, Cod. exon. 193, 21, have also a *Geoфон* standing independently in
the nom., Cædm. 206, 6, and gifen geotende, Beow. 3378. An OHG. Kēpen is nowhere found, even in proper names, though Stählin 1, 508 gives a Gedeneswilare. I know not whether to take for the root the verb giban to give, in which case Gibika (p. 137) and Wuotan's relation to Neptune (pp. 122, 148) would come in here; or to look away to the Greek χιών fem. [χιʔόν, hib-ernus] and the notion of snow and ice giants.

And the North itself furnishes some names which are synonymous with Oegir. In the Fundinn Noregr (Sn. 369. Fornald. sög. 2, 17) we read: Forniotr átti 3 syni, hét einn Hlér, er ver köllum Oegi (one hight Hler, whom we call Oegir), annarr Logi, pridji Kari (Rask, afh. 1, 95: Kāri). Hlér, gen. Hlēs, appears from this to have been the older name, in use among the giants, by which Oegir is spoken of in Sn. 79, and after which his dwelling-place was named Hlēs-ey (Sem. 78b 159b 243b), now Lässöe in the Cattegat.

4. (Forniotr).

Of this Hlér I have nothing more to tell (see Suppl.), but his father Forniotr has left a notable trace of himself behind; he belongs even less than Oegir to the circle of Ases, being one of the older demonic giants, and proving that even these demigods or personified powers of nature must also have borne sway among the Teutonic races outside of Scandinavia. Forniotr is to be explained, not as for-niotr primus occupans, but rather as forn-iotr, the ancient Iotr (Rask, afhand. 1, 78), a particularly apt expression for those giants, and closely connected with iōtumn itself, AS. eotn, as will be shown further on. Now in the AS. Liber medicinalis, from which Wanley, pp. 176—80 gives insufficient extracts, there is according to Lye's dictionary a plant of healing virtue spoken of (twice apparently, from the various spelling) by the name of Forneotes folme, Forneces folme (i.e. Forneoti manus). As none of the ON. writings allude to this herb, its name must be a remnant of the Saxon people's own mythology. In OHG. the giant may have been called Firnež, and the plant Firnēzes folma. We remember how, in Beow. 1662, Grendel has torn off the hand of a water-sprite, and presents it as tācen of his victory, just as Tristan chops off the giant Urgan's hand, and takes it with him to certify the deed, 16055-65-83. The amputation of the huge giant-hand seems therefore part of an ancient myth, and to have been fitly
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retained in the name of a broad-leaved vegetable; there is also a plant called devil's-hand, and in more than one legend the Evil one leaves the print of his hand on rocks and walls.

If these last allusions have led us away from the beneficent deities rather to hurtful demons and malignant spirits, we have here an easy transit to the only god whom the teaching of the Edda represents as wicked and malevolent, though it still reckons him among the Ases.

5. (LOKI, GRENDHEL), SATURN.

Logi, as we have seen, was a second son of Forniotr, and the three brothers Hlér, Logi, Kari on the whole seem to represent water, fire and air as elements. Now a striking narrative (Sn. 54, 60) places Logi by the side of Loki, a being from the giant province beside a kinsman and companion of the gods. This is no mere play upon words, the two really signify the same thing from different points of view, Logi the natural force of fire, and Loki, with a shifting of the sound, a shifting of the sense: of the burly giant has been made a sly seducing villain. The two may be compared to the Prometheus and the Hephaestus (Vulcan) of the Greeks; Okeanos was a friend and kinsman of the former. But the two get mixed up. In Loki, så er flestu illu ræðr (Sn. 46), who devises the most of ill, we see also the giant demon who, like Hephaestus, sets the gods a-laughing; his limping reminds us of Hephaestus and the lame fire (N. Cap. 76), his chaining of Prometheus's, for Loki is put in chains like his son Fenrir. As Hephaestus forges the net for Ares and Aphrodite, Loki too prepares a net (Sn. 69), in which he is caught himself. Most salient of all is the analogy between Hephaestus being hurled down from Olympus by Zeus (II. 1, 591-3) and the devil being cast out of heaven into hell by God (ch. XXXIII, Devil), though the Edda neither relates such a fall of Loki, nor sets him forth as a cunning smith and master of dwarfs; probably the stories of Loki and Logi were much fuller once. Loki's former fellowship with Oðinn is clearly seen, both from Sæm. 61⁰, and from the juxtaposition of three creative deities on their travels, Oðinn, Hænir, Loðr, Sæm. 3⁰, instead of which we have also Oðinn, Hænir, Loki, Sæm. 180, or in a different order Oðinn, Loki, Hænir, Sn. 80. 135 (conf. supra, p. 162). This trilogy I do not venture to identify with that of Hlér, Logi, Kari above, strikingly as Oðinn corresponds to the ἵς ἀνέμοιο; and though from the creating Oðinn
proceed breath and spirit (önd), as from Loðr (blaze, glow) come blood and colour (lā ok littir), the connexion of Hœnir, who imparts sense (ðð), with water is not so clear: this Hœnir is one of the most unmanageable phenomena of the Norse mythology, and with us in Germany he has vanished without leaving a trace. But the fire-god too, who according to that gradation of sounds ought either to be in Goth. Lauða and OHG. Loho, or in Goth. Luka and OHG. Locho, seems with the loss of his name to have come up again purely in the character of the later devil. He lasted longer in Scandinavia, and myths everywhere show how nearly Loki the as approaches Logi the giant. Thorlacius (spec. 7, 43) has proved that in the phrase ‘Loki fer yfir akra’ (passes over the fields), and in the Danish ‘Locke dricker vand’ (drinks water), fire and the burning sun are meant, just as we say the sun is drawing water, when he shines through in bright streaks between two clouds. Loka daun (Lokii odor) is Icelandic for the ignis fatus exhaling brimstone (ibid. 44); Lokabrenna (Lokii incendium) for Sirins; Loka spœnir are chips for firing. In the north of Jutland, a weed very noxious to cattle (polytrichium comm.) is called Løkkens havre, and there is a proverb ‘Nu saaer Lokken sin havre,’ now Locke sows his oats, i.e., the devil his tares; the Danish lexicon translates Lokeshavre avena fatua, others make it the rhinanthus cristá galli. When the fire crackles, they say ‘Lokje smacks his children,’ Faye p. 6. Molbeech’s Dial. lex. p. 330 says, the Jutland phrase ‘Lokke saaer havre idag (to-day),’ or what is equivalent ‘Lokke driver idag med sine geder (drives out his goats),’ is spoken of vapours that hang about the ground in the heat of the sun. When birds drop their feathers in moulting time, people say they ‘gaae i Lokkis arri (pass under L.’s harrow?)’; ‘at høre paa Lockens eventyr (adventures)’ means to listen to lies or idle tales (P. Syv’s gamle danske ordsprog 2, 72). According to Sjöborg’s Nomenklatur, there is in Vestergötland a giant’s grave named Lokeshall. All of them conceptions well deserving notice, which linger to this day among the common people, and in which Loki is by turns taken for a beneficent and for a hurtful being, for sun, fire, giant or devil. Exactly the same sort of harm is in Germany ascribed to the devil, and the kindly god of light is thought of as a devastating flame (see Suppl.).

On this identity between Logi and Loki rests another vestige
of the Norse daemon, which is found among the other Teutonic races. If Logi comes from liuhan (lucere), Loki will apparently fall to the root liukan (claudere, conf. claudus lame); the ON. loki means finis, consummatio, and loka repagulum, because a bolt or bar closes. In Beowulf we come upon an odious devilish spirit, a thyrs (Beow. 846) named Grendel, and his mother, Grendeles mōder (4232-74), a veritable devil's mother and giant's mother. An AS. document of 931 in Kemble 2, 172 mentions a place called Grendales mère (Grendel's palus). Now the AS. grindel, OHG. krintil, MHG. grintel is precisely repagulum, pessulus; so the name Grendel seems related to grindel (obex) in the same way as Loki to loka; the ON. grind is a grating, which shuts one in like bolt and bar. Gervase of Tilbury (in Leibn. 1, 980) tells of an English fire-demon named Grant. It is very remarkable, that we Germans have still in use a third synonymous expression for a diabolic being, its meaning heightened no doubt by composition with 'hell'; höllriegel vectis infernalis, hell-bar, a hell-brand, devil or the devil's own; a shrewish old hag is styled höllriegel or the devil's grandmother; and Hugo von Langenstein (Martina 4) already used this hellerigel as a term of abuse. Now hell was imagined as being tightly bolted and barred; when Christ, says Fundgr. 1, 178, went down to Hades in the strength of a lion, he made 'die grintel brechen'. Lastly, we may even connect the OHG. dremil (pessulus, Graff 5, 531) with the ON. trami or tremil, which mean both cacodaemon and also, it seems, clathri, cancelli: 'tramar gneypa þik skulo!' Scm. 85a; and in the Swedish song of Torkar, trolltram is an epithet of the devil who stole the hammer. As this is the Thrymr of the Edda, one might guess that trami stands for prami, with which our dremil would more exactly accord. Thus from several sides we see the mythical notions that prevailed on this subject joining hands, and the merging of Logi into Loki must be of high antiquity. Foersom (on Jutl. superst. p. 32) alleges, that the devil is conceived of in the form of a läsettvi, i.e., the pole with which a load is tied down.

Beside Loki the Æs, Snorri sets another before us in the Edda, Utgarðaloki, as a king whose arts and power deceive even godlike Thorr; it was one of his household that outdid the other Loki himself, Sn. 54 seq.1 Saxo, who in the whole of his work

1 'Thorlacius's theory, of an older nature-worship supplanted by the Æses, rests mainly on the antithesis of an Okupör to Asapör, of Logi to Loki, and probably of Hlér to Oegir, each pair respectively standing for thunder, fire,
never once names the Eddie Loki, tells wonderful things of this 'Ugarthilocus,' pp. 163-6: he paints him as a gigantic semi-divine monster, who dwells in a distant land, is invoked in a storm like other gods, and grants his aid. A valiant hero, named Thorkill, brooks the adventurous journey to Ugarthilocus: all this is but legendary variation of the visit which, in Snorri, Thôrr pays to Utgarðaloki. Still it is worth noticing, that Thorkill plucks out one of Ugarthilocus's huge spear-like hairs, and takes it home with him (Saxo 165-6). The utgarðar were the uttermost borders of the habitable world, where antiquity fixed the abode of giants and monsters, i.e., hell; and here also may have been present that notion of the bar, closing up as it were the entrance to that inaccessible region of ghosts and demons.

Whether in very early times there was also a Saxon Loko and an Alamannic Lohho, or only a Grendil and Krentil; what is of capital importance is the agreement in the myths themselves. To what was cited above, I will here add something more. Our nursery-tales have made us familiar with the incident of the hair plucked off the devil as he lay asleep in his grandmother's lap (Kinderm. 29). The corresponding Norwegian tale makes three feathers be pulled out of the dragon's tail, not while he sleeps, but after he is dead.

Loki, in punishment of his misdeeds, is put in chains, like Prometheus who brought fire to men; but he is to be released again at the end of the world. One of his children, Fenrir, i.e., himself in a second birth, pursues the moon in the shape of a wolf, and threatens to swallow her. According to Sn. 12. 13, an old giantess in the forest gave birth to these giants in wolfskin girdles, the mightiest of them being Mánagarmr (lunae canis) who is to devour the moon; but in another place, while Sköll chases the sun, Hati, Hvóðfriznis sonr (Sæm. 45a) dogs the moon. Probably there were fuller legends about them all, which were never written down; an old Scotch story is still remembered about 'the tail of water. To the elder series must be added Sif = earth, and the miðgarðsormr (world-snake). But what nature-god can Oðinn have taken the place of? None? And was his being not one of the primeval ones? &c. [Quoted from Suppl., vol. iii.]

1 Goth. Fanareis? OHG. Fanari, Fenir? can it be our famemträger, pannifer? But the early Norse does not seem to have the word answering to the Goth. fana, OHG. fano (flag). [Has the fox holding up his tail as a standard, in the unrighteous war of beasts against birds, anything to do with this?]
the wolfe and the warldis end' (see Suppl.). But the popular belief seems to have extended generally, and that from the earliest times, all over Germany, and beyond it. We still say, when baneful and perilous disturbances arise, 'the devil is broke loose,' as in the North they used to say 'Loki er or bündum' (ch. XXIII). In the Life of Göz von Berlichingen, p. 201: 'the devil was everywhere at large'; in Detmar's chronik 1, 298: 'do was de dulcet los geworden,' i.e., disorder and violence prevailed. Of any one who threatened from a safe distance, the folk in Burgundy used the ironical phrase: 'Dieu garde la lune des loups!' 1 meaning, such threats would not be fulfilled till the end of the world; in the same way the French popular song on Henry IV. expresses the far end of the future as the time when the wolf's teeth shall get at the moon: jusqu'à ce que l'on prenne la lune avec les dents. 2 Fischart in several places speaks of this 'wolf des mons,' and most fully in his Aller practik grossmutter: 'derhalben dörfilt ihr nicht mehr für ihn betten, dass ihn Gott vor den wölfen wölle schützen, denn sie werden ihn disser jahr nicht erhaschen' (need not pray for the moon, they won't get her this year). 3 In several places there circulate among the people rhymes about the twelve hours, the last two being thus distinguished: 'um elfe kommen die wölfe, um zwölfe bricht das gewölbe;' at 11 come the wolves, at 12 bursts the vault, i.e., death out of the vault. Can there be an echo in this of the old belief in the appearing of the wolf or wolves at the destruction of the world and the bursting of heaven's vault? In a lighted candle, if a piece of the wick gets half detached and makes it burn away too fast, they say 'a wolf (as well as thief) is in the candle;' this too is like the wolf devouring the sun or moon. Eclipses of sun or moon have been a terror to many heathen nations; the incipient and increasing obscuration of the luminous orb marks for them the moment when the gaping jaws of the wolf threaten to devour it, and they think by loud cries to bring it succour (ch. XXII, Eclipses). The breaking loose of the wolf and the ultimate enlargement of Loki from his chains, who at the time of the Ragnarökr will war against and overcome the gods, is in striking accord with the release of the chained Prometheus, by whom Zeus is then to be overthrown.

1 Lamonnaye, glossaire to the noei bourgnignon, Dijon 1776, p. 242.
2 Conf. Ps. 72, 7: donec auferetur luna.
3 May we in this connexion think of the fable of the wolf who goes down the well to eat up the moon, which he takes for a cheese?
The formula, 'unz Loki verdr lauss' (= unz riuafaz regin, till the gods be destroyed), answers exactly to the Greek πρὶν ἄν ἐκ δεσμῶν χαλάσθη Προμηθεύς (Aesch. Prom. 176. 770. 991); the writhings of the fettered Loki make the earth to quake (Scm. 69. Sn. 70), just as χθῶν σπάλενται in the case of Prometheus (Aesch. 1081). Only the Greek Titan excites our noblest sympathy, while the Edda presents Loki as a hateful monster.

Loki was fair in form, evil in disposition; his father, a giant, was named Farbauti (boatman?), his mother Laufey (leaf-ca) and Ndil (needle; thin and insinuating, miô ok auðrprehit, 355), all of them words easy to translate into OHG. as Farpôzo (remex), Loupouwa, Nâdala, though such names are nowhere found. He is never called Farbauta sonr, but always after his mother, Loki Laufeyjar sonr (Scm. 67a 72b 73ª), which had its origin in alliteration, but held its ground even in prose (Sn. 64) and in the Locke Lôje, Loke Lovmand, Loke Lejemand of the later folk-songs. This Laufey (Swed. Löfö) is first of all the name of a place, which was personified, and here again there is doubtless reference to an element. By his wife Sigyn Loki had a son Nari or Narvi, and by a giantess Angrboða three children, the aforesaid Fenrir, the serpent Íormungandr and a daughter Hel. It is worthy of notice, that he himself is also called Loptr (aërius), and one of his brothers Hel-blindi, which is likewise a name of Oðinn. I just throw out these names, mostly foreign to our German mythology, in the hope of enlisting for them future inquiry.

Once again we must turn our attention to a name already brought forward among the gods of the week (pp. 125-6), for which a rare concurrence of isolated facts seems almost to secure a place in our native antiquities. The High German week leaves two days, one in the middle and one at the end, not named after gods. But sambaztag for Saturday, as well as mittwoch for Wuotanstag, was a sheer innovation, which the church had achieved or gladly accepted for those two days at all events. The first six days were called after the sun, the moon, Zio, Wuotan, Donar and Fria; what god was entitled to have the naming of the seventh day? Four German deities were available for Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, but how was Saturn to be put into German? The Mid. Ages went on explaining the seventh day by the Roman god: our Kaiserchronik,
which even for the third, fourth, fifth and sixth days names no German gods, but only Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, expresses itself thus clumsily:

An dem sameztage sà
cinez heizet rotundâ,  
daz was ein héréz betehûs,  
der got hiez Saturnâs,
darnâch was iz aller tiuvel ère.

Then on the Saturday
Is a thing named rotunda
That was a lofty temple,
The god was named Saturnus,
Thereafter was it to all devils' honour.

Here the worship of Saturn is connected with the pantheon built in honour of all the gods or devils, which Boniface converted into a church of St. Mary. The Anglo-Saxons, English, Frisians, Dutch and Low Saxons have left to the 'dies Saturni' the god's very name: Sætzeresday or Sæternesdæg, Saturday, Sæterdei, Sæterdach, Sætersdag, and even the Irish have adopted dia Sætunr or Saturn; whereas the French samedi, Span. sabado, Ital. sabato, agrees with our High Germ. samstag. Here is identity, not only of idea, as in the case of the other gods, but of name, and the absence of consonant-change seems to betray downright borrowing: or may the resemblance have been accidental, and a genuine German name have been modified in imitation of the foreign one? In OHG neither a Såtarnese- nor a Såzarnestac can be found; but in AS, sætere means insidiator (OHG. sózari, conf. sóza, MHG. sâze insidia, a sitting in wait, as làga, lâge is lying in wait); and what is still more remarkable, a document of Edward the Confessor (chart. antiq. rot. M. no. 1. Kemble 4, 157) supplies us with the name of a place Sætzeresyri, quite on a par with Wôdnesbyrig; further, the plant gallicrus, our lahnen fuss, Engl. crowfoot, was in AS. sàtolrâðe Saturni taedius as it were (-loathing, ON. leîði, OHG. leidi).¹ I call to mind, that even the ancient Franks spoke of Saturnus (p. 88) as a heathen god, and of Saturni dolium, though that may have referred to the mere planetary god (see Suppl.).

The last name for the 'sabbath' brings us to the ON. laugar-

¹ In the AS. are preserved various dialogues between Saturn and Solomon, similar to those between Solomon and Marcell in continental Germany, but more antique and, apart from their christian setting or dressing up, not unlike the questions and discourses carried on in the Edda between Oðinn and Vafþrúðnir, between Vingþór and Alviss, between Hår and Gângleri. Here also the name Saturn seems to make for my point, and to designate a god of Teutonic paganism.
dagr, Swed. lägerdag, Dan. løverdag, by which in later times no doubt washing or bathing day was meant, as the equivalent þvottdagr shows; but originally Logadagr, Lokudagr may have been in use, and Logi, Loki might answer to the Latin Saturnus, as the idea of devil which lay in Loki was popularly transferred to the Jewish Satan and [what seemed to be the same thing] the heathen Saturn, and Locki in O.N. is likewise seducer, tempter, trapper. We might even take into consideration a by-name of Oðinn in Saem. 46, Saôr or perhaps Sôr, though I prefer to take the first form as equivalent to Saunnr (true) and Sammetall.

But that AS. Sæteresbyrig from the middle of the 11th century irresistibly recalls the ‘burg’ on the Harz mts, built (according to our hitherto despised accounts of the 15th century in Bothe’s Sachsenchronik) to the idol Saturn, which Saturn, it is added, the common people called Krado; to this we may add the name touched upon in p. 206 (Hredé, Hrœdemônað), for which an older Hruodo, Chrôdo was conjectured. We are told of an image of this Saturn or Krado, which represented the idol as a man standing on a great fish, holding a pot of flowers in his right hand, and a wheel erect in his left; the Roman Saturn was furnished with the sickle, not a wheel (see Suppl.).

Here some Slav conceptions appear to overlap. Widukind (Pertz 5, 463) mentions a brazen simulacrum Saturni among the Slavs of the tenth century, without at all describing it; but Old Bohemian glosses in Hanka 14 and 17 carry us farther. In the first, Mercurius is called ‘Radihost vnuk Kirtov’ (Radigast grandson of Kirt), in the second, Picus Saturni filius is glossed ‘ztracec

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2 I suppose the author had in his mind Homer’s constant epithet, Krônos ἄγκυλομήτης wily, crooked-counseled Kronos.—Trans.
3 To Hrûdo might now be referred those names Roydel (later spelling Reusel) and Roydach in Gramaye, who understands them of Mars; ancient documents must first place it beyond doubt, which day of the week is meant. There is an actual Hrudótuac, a man’s name in OHG. (Graff 5, 362), and an OS. Hrudoddag is found in Trad. corb. § 424, ed. Wigand; these may be related to Hrudó, Hródo as Baldag to Balder, and the contraction Roydag, Rodag would be like Roswith for Hroôsmith. If Roydag should turn out to be the seventh day of the week, it would be a strong testimony to the worship of Chrôdo; if it remain the third, we have to add, that the third month also was sacred to Mars, and was called Hrœdemonað by the Anglo-Saxons.
4 ‘The Kaiserchr. 3750 says, to Saturn we offer quicksilver; whereas now Saturn’s symbol signifies lead. In Megenberg, Saturn is called Sadær. The Saxon Saturn is supported by Hengest’s reference to that god.’ (Extracted from Suppl., vol. iii.)
Sitivratov zin’ (woodpecker, Sitivrat’s son); and in a third 20a, Saturn is again called Sitivrat. Who does not see that Sitivrat is the Slavic name for Saturn, which leads us at the first glance to sit = satur? Radigast = Mercury (p. 130n.) is the son of Stračec = Picus; and in fact Greek myths treat Picus (Πίκος) as Zeus, making him give up the kingdom to his son Hermes. Picus is Jupiter, son of Saturn; who does not see that Sitivrat is the Slavic name for Saturn, which leads us at the first glance to sit = satur? Eadigast = Mercury (p. 130n.) is the son of Stracec =ricus; and in fact Greek myths treat Picus (Πίκος) as Zeus, making him give up the kingdom to his son Hermes. Picus is Jupiter, son of Saturn; but beside Sitivrat we have learnt another name for Saturn, namely Kirt, which certainly seems to be our Krodo and Hruodo. Sitivrat and Kirt confirm Saturn and Krodo; I do not know whether the Slavic word is to be connected with the Boh. krt, Pol. kret, Russ. krot, i.e., the mole. I should prefer to put into the other name Sitivrat the subordinate meaning of sito-vrat, sieve-turner, so that it would be almost the same as kolo-vrat, wheel-turner, and afford a solution of that wheel in Krodo’s hand; both wheel (kolo) and sieve (sito) move round, and an ancient spell rested on sieve-turning. Slav mythologists have identified Sitivrat with the Hindu Satyāvrat, who in a great deluge is saved by Vishnu in the form of a fish. Krodo stands on a fish; and Vishnu is represented wearing wreaths of flowers about his neck, and holding a wheel (chakra) in his fourth hand. All these coincidences are still meagre and insecure; but they suffice to establish the high antiquity of a Slavo-Teutonic myth, which starts up thus from more than one quarter.

1 Hardly with Crete, where Kronos ruled and Zeus was born.
2 Edw. Moore’s Hindu Pantheon, Lond. 1810, tab. 13 and 23.—‘Sitivrat, who corresponds to Saturn, is the Indian Satyāvrat, i.e., according to Kuhn, he that hath veracious (fulfilled) vows; so Dhritavrata, he that hath kept-vows = Varunas, Ouranos.’ (Quoted from Suppl., vol. iii.)
CHAPTER XIII.

GODDESSES.

In treating of gods, the course of our inquiry could aim at separating the several personalities; the goddesses it seems advisable to take by themselves and all at one view, because there is a common idea underlying them, which will come out more clearly by that method. They are thought of chiefly as divine mothers who travel round and visit houses, from whom the human race learns the occupations and arts of housekeeping and husbandry: spinning, weaving, tending the hearth, sowing and reaping. These labours bring with them peace and quiet in the land, and the memory of them abides in charming traditions even more lastingly than that of wars and battles, from which most goddesses as well as women hold themselves aloof.

But as some goddesses also take kindly to war, so do gods on the other hand favour peace and agriculture; and there arises an interchange of names or offices between the sexes.

1. Erda, Nirdu, Gaue, Firgunia, Hluodana.

In almost all languages the Earth is regarded as female, and (in contrast to the father sky encircling her) as the breeding, teeming fruit-bearing mother: Goth. aîrba, OHG. ērada, ērda, AS. córđe, ON. iórđ, Gr. ἐμα (inferred from ἐμαζης); Lat. terra, tellus, humus = Slav. zemê, ziemia, zemlia, Lith. zieme, Gr. χαμμη (whence χαμμης), aîa, γαία, γη: the 'mother' subjoined in Δημήτηρ, Zemmate, indicates the goddess. The form aîrba, ērda (also herda) is itself a derivative; the simpler OHG. ero (in the Wessobr. prayer: ero noh úshimil, earth nor heaven) and hero (in a gloss, for solum,

1 OHG. in Notker has only the strong form gutin gen. gutinno, MHG. gotinë, Trist. 4807. 15812. Barl. 246-7. seldom gütinë, MS. 2, 65b; AS. gydene pl. gydena, but also weak gydena pl. gydenan, Mones gl. 4185 Proserpina = to gidenan (l. tógydenan, additional goddess); ON. gyðja (which might be dea or sacerdos fem.), better ðægynja (see Suppl.)
graff 4, 999) might be masc. (like herd = solum, graff 4, 1026) or fem. still. the goth. mulda, ohg. molta, as. molde, on. mold, contain only the material sense of soil, dust; equally impersonal is the os. folda, as. folde, on. fold, conf. field, field, finn. peldo (campus), hung. föld (terra). But the on. Jörd appears in the flesh, at once wife and daughter of ödinn, and mother of thôrr (sn. 11. 39. 123), who is often called iarðar burre. Distinct from her was rindr, another wife of öðinn, and mother of vali (sem. 91. 95N 97B), called riinda in saxo, and more coarsely painted; her name is the ohg. rinta, as. rind = cortex, hence crusta soli vel terrae, and to crusta the as. hruse (terra) is closely related. As this literal sense is not found in the north, neither is the mythical meaning in Germany (see suppl.).

But neither in Jörd nor in rindr has the edda brought out in clear relief her specially maternal character; nowhere is this more purely and simply expressed than in the very oldest account we possess of the goddess. It is not to all the Germans that tacitus imputes the worship of nertus, only to the langobardi (?), reudigni, aviones, angli, varini, endoses, suardones and vuiithones (germ. 40): nec quicquam notabile in siugulis, nisi quod in commune nertum, id est terram matrem colunt, camque intervenire rebus hominum, invehii populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula oceani eastum nemus, dicitumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrati deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaeque ad adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata: donec idem sacerdos satiatus conversatione mortuam deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, nomen ipsum secreto laeu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit.1

1 The two forms ero and hero remind one of the name Eor, cheru, attributed to Mars (supra, pp. 203-4).
2 The MSS. collated have this reading, one has nebertum (Massmann in Anfsses and mones anzeiger, 1834, p. 216); I should prefer Nertus to Nertus, because no other German words in tacitus have TH, except Gothini and Vuithones. As for the conjectural Herthus, though the aspirate in herda might seem to plead for it, the termination -us is against it, the Gothic having aitpa, not ärpus. Besides, Aventin already (Frankf. 1580, p. 19) spells Nerth.
3 The lake swallows the slaves who had assisted at the secret bathing. More than once this incident turns up, of putting to death the servants employed in any secret work; as those who dug the river out of its bed for
Goddesses.

terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident (see Suppl.).

This beautiful description agrees with what we find in other notices of the worship of a godhead to whom peace and fruitfulness were attributed. In Sweden it was Freyr, son of Niðr, whose curtained car went round the country in spring, with the people all praying and holding feasts (p. 213); but Freyr is altogether like his father, and he again like his namesake the goddess Nerthus. The spring-truces, harvest-truces, plough-truces, fixed for certain seasons and implements of husbandry, have struck deep roots in our German law and land-usages. Wuotan and Donar also make their appearance in their wains, and are invoked for increase to the crops and kindly rain; on p. 107, anent the car of a Gothic god whose name Sozomen withholds, I have hinted at Nerthus.

The interchange of male and female deities is, luckily for us here, set in a clear light, by the prayers and rhymes to Wuotan as god of harvest, which we have quoted above (p. 155 seq.), being in other Low German districts handed over straight to a goddess. When the cottagers, we are told, are mowing rye, they let some of the stalks stand, tie flowers among them, and when they have finished work, assemble round the champ left standing, take hold of the ears of rye, and shout three times over:

Fru Gau, haltet ju fauer, Lady Gau, keep you some fodder,
diit jar up den wagen, This year on the waggon,
dat ander jar up der kare! 2 Next year on the wheelbarrow.

Whereas Wode had better fodder promised him for the next year, Dame Gau seems to receive notice of a falling off in the quantity of the gift presented. In both cases I see the shyness of the christians at retaining a heathen sacrifice: as far as words go, the old gods are to think no great things of themselves in future.

In the district about Hameln, it was the custom, when a reaper in binding sheaves passed one over, or left anything standing in the

Alaric’s funeral (Jornand. cap. 29), or those who have hidden a treasure, Landn. 5, 12 (see Suppl.).

1 Speaking of Nerthus, we ought to notice Ptolemy’s Nerterians, though he places them in a very different locality from that occupied by the races who revere Nerthus in Tacitus.

2 Braunschw. anz. 1751, p. 900. Hannov. gel. anz. 1751, p. 662 [is not ‘haltet’ a mistake for ‘hal’ and something else?] In the Altenburg country they call this harvest-custom building a barn. Arch. des henneb. vereins 2, 91.
field, to jeer at him by calling out: 'scholl düt dei Gauke frue (or, de fru Gauen) hebben (is that for dame G.) ?'¹

In the Prignitz they say fru Gode, and call the bunch of ears left standing in each field vergodendeelsstrüss, i.e., dame Gode’s portion bunch.² Ver is a common contraction for frau [as in jungfer]; but a dialect which says fauer instead of foer, foder, will equally have Gaue for Gode, Guode. This Guode can be no other than Gwode, Wode; and, explaining fru by the older fro, fro Wodcn or fro Gane (conf. Gaundag for Wonsdag, p. 125) will denote a lord and god, not a goddess, so that the form of prayer completely coincides with those addressed to Wotan, and the fruh Wod subjoined in the note on p. 156 (see Suppl.). If one prefer the notion of a female divinity, which, later at all events, was undoubtedly attached to the term fru, we might perhaps bring in the ON. Góí (Sn. 358. Fornald. sog. 2, 17), a mythic maiden, after whom February was named. The Greek Ταία or Τη is, I consider, out of the question here.

In an AS. formulary for restoring fertility to fields that have been bewitched, there occur two remarkable addresses; the first is 'erec, erec, erec, corpam módor!' by which not the earth herself, but her mother seems to be meant; however, the expression is still enigmatical. Can there lie disguised in erec a proper name Erec gen. Erkan, connected with the OHG. adj. ürchan, simplex, genuinus? it would surely be more correct to write Eorec? ought it to suggest the lady Érche, Hervja, Herche, Helche renowned in our heroic legend? The distinct traces in Low Saxon districts of a divine dame, Herke or Harke by name, are significant. In Jessen, a little town on the Elster, not far from Wittenberg, they relate of frau Herke what in other places, as will be shown, holds good of Freke, Berhta and Holda. In the Mark she is called frau Harke, and is said to fly through the country between Christmas and Twelfth-day, dispensing earthly goods in abundance; by Epiphany the maids have to finish spinning their flax, else frau Harke gives

¹ Hannov. gel. anz. 1751, p. 726. More pleasing to the ear is the short prayer of the heathen Lithuanians, to their earth-goddess, when in drinking they spilt some of the ale on the ground: Zemenylo ziedekle, pakylek musni ranku darbus! blooming Earth, bless the work of our hands.


them a good scratching or soils their distaff (see Suppl.).

In earlier times a simpler form of the name was current; we find in Gobelinus Persona (Meibom 1, 235) the following account, which therefore reaches back beyond 1418: Quod autem Hera colebatur a Saxonibus, videtur ex eo quod quidam vulgares recitant se audivisse ab antiquis, prout et ego audivi, quod inter festum nativitatis Christi ad festum epiphaniae Domini domina Hera volat per aëra, quoniam apud gentes Junoni æcr deputatur. Et quod Juno quandoque Hera appellabatur et depingebatur cum tintinnabulis et alis, dicebant vulgares praedicto tempore: vovec Hera seu corrupto nomine vro Herce de clughet, et credebant illam sibi conferre rerum temporalium abundantiam. Have we here still extant the old Ero, "Epa, Hero meaning earth? and does "Hpa belong to it? If the AS: Eec also contains the same, then even the diminutive form Herke must be of high antiquity.

The second address in the same AS. ritual is a call to the earth: 'hâl wes thu folde, fira mòdor!' hale (whole) be thou earth, mother of men; which agrees with the expression terra mater in Tacitus.

The widely extended worship of the teeming nourishing earth would no doubt give rise to a variety of names among our fore-fathers, just as the service of Gaia and her daughter Rhea mixed itself up with that of Ops mater, Ceres and Cybele. To me the resemblance between the cultus of Nerthus and that of the Phrygian mother of gods appears well worthy of notice. Lucretius 2, 597—641 describes the peregrination of the magna déum mater in her lion-drawn ear through the lands of the earth:

Quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras
horrifice furtur divinae matris imago

Ergo quom primum magnas invecta per urbeis
munificat tacita mortaleis muta salute,
aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,
largifica stipe ditantes, ninguntque rosarum
floribus, umbrantes matrem comitumque catervam.

The Romans called the VI. kal. Apr. lavatio matris déum, and kept it as a feast, Ovid. fast. 4, 337:

1 Adalb. Kuhn in the Märkische forschungen 1, 123-4, and Märk. sagen pp. 571-2; conf. Singularia magdeburg. 1740. 12, 768.

2 Ops mater = terra mater; Ceres = Geres, quod gerit fruges, antiquis enim C quod nunc G; Varro de ling. lat., ed. O. Müller p. 25. Her Greek appellation Δημήτηρ seems also to lead to γῇ μήτηρ (see Suppl.).
Est locus, in Tiberinqua lubricus influxit Almo, et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor; illie purpurea canum cum veste sacerdos Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis. 


Nudare plantas ante carpentum scio proceres toga tos matris Idaeae sacris.

Lapis nigellus evechendus essedo muliebris oris clausus argento sedet, quem dum ad lavaeum praeceundo ducitis pedes remotis atterentes calceis Almonis usque pervenitis rivulum.

Exactly in the same way Nerthus, after she has travelled round the country, is bathed in the sacred lake in her waggon; and I find it noted, that the Indian Bhavani, wife of Shiva, is likewise driven round on her feast-day, and bathed in a secret lake by the Brahms (see Suppl.).

Nerthus’s ‘island in the ocean’ has been supposed to mean Rügen, in the middle of which there is actually a lake, called the Schwarze see, or Burgsee. What is told as a legend, that there in ancient times the devil was adored, that a maiden was maintained in his service, and that when he was weary of her, she was drowned

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1 Gregor. Turon. de glor. conf. cap. 77 compares or confounds with the Phrygian Cybele some Gallic goddess, whose worship he describes as follows:—‘Ferunt etiam in hac urbe (Augustomuno) simulachrumuisse Berecynthiae, sancti sancti martyris Symphorini passionis declarat historia. Hanccum in carpento, pro salvatione agrorum et vinearum suarum, misero gentilitatis more deferrent, adiuat supradictus Simplicius episcopus, haud procu adspiciens cautantes atque psallentes ante hoc simulachrum, geminumque pro stultitia plebis ad Deum emittemus at: illumina queso, Domine, oculos hujus populi, ut cognoscat, quia simulachrum Berecynthiae nihil est! et facto signo crucis contra protinus simulachrum in terram ruit. Ac deixa solo animalia, quae planum hoc quo vehbatur trahebant, moveri non poterant. Stupet vulgus innúmerum, et deam laeunm omnis caterva conclamat; immolantur victimae, animalia verberantur, sed moveri non possunt. Tune quadringenti de illa stulta multitudine viri conjuncti simul ajunt ad invicem: si virtus est uta deitatis, erigatur sponte, jubetaque boves, qui telluris sunt stabiliti, procedere; certe si moveri nequitt, nihil est deitatis in ea. Tune accedentes, et immolantes unum de pecoribus, cum videre deam suum nullatenus posse moveri, relieto gentilitatis errore, inquisitoque antistite loci, converti ad unitatem ecclesiae, cognoscentes veri Dei magnitudinem, sancto sunt baptismate consecrati.’ Compare the Legenda aurea cap. 117, where a festum Veneris is mentioned.
in the black lake,1 must have arisen, gross as the perversion may be, out of the account in Tacitus, who makes the goddess, when satiated with the converse of men, disappear in the lake with her attendants. But there are no other local features to turn the scale in its favour;2 and the Danish islands in the Baltic have at least as good a claim to have been erewhile the sacred seat of the goddess.

We have yet more names for the earth-goddess, that demand investigation: partly Old Norse, partly to be gathered from the Romans. In the Skâldskaparmâl, p. 178, she is named both Fiorgyn and Hlôðyn.

Of Fiorgyn I have treated already, p. 172; if by the side of this goddess there could stand a god Fiorgynn and a neuter common noun fairgyni, if the idea of Thôr's mother at the same time passes into that of the thundergod, it exactly parallels and confirms a female Nertlus (Goth. Naîrþus, gen. Naîrþáus) by the side of the masculine Ñiörôr (Nerthus), just as Freyja goes with Freyr. If it was not wrong to infer from Perkunas a mountain-god Fairgunecis, Lithuanian mythology has equally a goddess Perkunatele.

Hlôðyn is derived in the same way as Fiorgyn, so that we may safely infer a Goth. Hlôþunja and OHG. Hluodunia. In Völuspâ 56 Thôr is called 'mögr Hlôðynjar,' which is son of earth again; and Fornald. sóg. 1, 469 says: é Hlôðynjar skaut. In the ON. language hlôð is a hearth,3 the goddess's name therefore means protectress of the fireplace; and our OHG. hërd (p. 251), beside solum or terra, also denotes precisely focus, arula, fornacula, the hearth being to us the very basis of a human habitation, a paternal Lar, so to speak, corresponding to the mother earth. The Romans also worshipped a goddess of earth and of fire under the common name of Fornax, dea fornacalis.4 But what is still more important to us, there was discovered on Low Rhenish ground a stone, first kept at Cleve and afterwards at Xanten, with the remarkable inscription:

1 Deutsche sagen, num. 132.
2 Of Hertha a proverb is said to be current in Pomerania: 'de Hertha gift gras, und füllt schöun und fass (barn and vessel),' Hall. allg. lit. z. 1823, p. 375. But the un-Saxon rhyme of gras with fass (for fat) sufficiently betrays the workmanship. It is clumsily made up after the well-known rule of the farmer: 'Mai kithl und moss füllt scheuwen und fass' (see Suppl.).
3 Jâter. stnbes, ara, from hlaðan hlôð, struere, Gramm. 2, 10, num. 83.
4 Ovid. fast. 2, 513.
DEAE HLUDANAE SACRVM C. TIBERIVS VERVS. Hludana is neither a Roman nor a Celtic goddess, but her name answers perfectly to that of the Norse divinity, and Sk. Thorlacius has the merit of having recognised and learnedly proved the identity of the two. In this inscription I see striking evidence of the oneness of Norse and German mythology. Thorlacius, not without reason, compares the name with Αντώ and Latona. Might not Hlórridi, an epithet of Thórr the son of Hlóðyn, be explained as Hlóðríði?


Another goddess stands wrapt in thicker darkness, whom Tacitus calls Tanfana, and a stone inscription Tamfana (TAMFANAE SACRUM, p. 80). We are sure of her name, and the termination -ana is the same as in Hludana and other fem. proper names, Bertana, Rapana, Madana. The sense of the word, and with it any sure insight into the significance of her being, are locked up from us.

We must also allude briefly to the Belgian or Frisian dea Nehalennia, about whose name several inscriptions of like import\(^2\) remove all doubt; but the word has also given rise to forced and unsatisfying interpretations. In other inscriptions found on the lower part of the Rhine there occur compounds, whose termination (-nehis, -nehabus, dat. plurals fem.) seems to contain the same word that forms the first half of Nehalennia; their plural number appears to indicate nymphs rather than a goddess, yet there also hangs about them the notion of a mother (see ch. XVI, the Walachurian).

3. (Isis).

The account in Tacitus of the goddess Isis carries us much farther, because it can be linked with living traditions of a cultus that still lingered in the Mid. Ages. Immediately after mentioning the worship of Mercureius, Hercules, and Mars, he adds (cap. 9): Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino

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\(^1\) Antiq. bor. spec. 3, Hafn. 1782. Conf. Fiedler, gesch. und alt. des untern Germaniciens, 1, 226. Steiner's cod. inscr. Rheni no. 632. Gotfr. Schütze, in his essay De dea Hludana, Lips. 1748, perceived the value of the stone, but could not discern the bearings of the matter.

sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnae figuratum, docet advectam religionem. The importation from abroad can hardly consist in the name Isis, seeing that Mercury, Mars, Hercules, names that must have sounded equally un-German, raised no difficulty; what looked foreign was the symbol, the figure of a ship, reminding the writer of the Roman navigium Isidis.

When spring had set in, and the sea, untraversed during winter, was once more navigable, the Greeks and Romans used to hold a solemn procession, and present a ship to Isis. This was done on the fifth of March (III non. Mart.), and the day is marked in the kalendarium rusticum as Isidis navigium. The principal evidence is found in Apuleius and Lactantius, two writers who are later than Tacitus, but the custom must have reached back to a much older date. On Alexandrian coins Isis appears walking by the side of Pharus, unfurling a sail.

Say that from Egypt the worship of Isis had penetrated to Greece, to Rome, how are we to imagine, that in the first century, or before, it had got itself conveyed to one particular race inhabiting the heart of Germany? It must have been a similar cultus, not the same, and perhaps long established amongst other Germans as well.

I will here draw attention to a strange custom of a much later time, which appears to me to be connected with this. About the year 1133, in a forest near Inda (in Ripuaria), a ship was built, set upon wheels, and drawn about the country by men who were yoked to it, first to Aachen (Aix), then to Maestricht, where mast and sail were added, and up the river to Tongres, Looz and so on, everywhere with crowds of people assembling and escorting it. Wherever it halted, there were joyful shouts, songs of triumph and dancing.

1 Gesner, script. rei rust., ed. Lips. 1773. 1, 886; so also in the Calend. vallense, and in the Cal. lambr. (Graevii thes. 8, 98).
2 Apuleii met. lib. 11 (Ruhnken p. 764-5): Diem, qui dies ex ista noce nascetur, aeterna uihi nuncupavit religio; quo sedatis hibernis tempesstatibus et lenitus maris procellosis flucitibus, navigabilis jam pelago ruedem dedicantes carinam primitias commentus libant mei sacerdotes. Id sacrum sollicita nec profana mente deebis operiri; nam meo monitu sacerdos in ipso procinctu pompae roseam manu dextra sistro (Egyptian timbrel) cohaerentem gestabit coronam. Incontanter ergo dimotis turbulis alacer continuare pompam meam, volentia fretus; et de proximo dementer velut manum sacerdotis deseculabundus rosis decertps, pessimae mihiqve detestabilis dudum bellueae istius corio te promitus exue. Lactantius, instit. 1, 27: Certus dies habetur in fastis, quo Isidis navigium celebratur, quae res docet illam non tranasse, sed navigasse.
round the ship kept up till far into the night. The approach of the ship was notified to the towns, which opened their gates and went out to meet it.

We have a detailed, yet not complete, report of it in Rodulfi chronicon abbatiae S. Trudonis, lib. xi., which on account of its importance I will here insert, from Pertz 12, 309 seq.:

Est genus mercenariorum, quorum officium est ex lino et lana texere telas, hoc procax et superbum super alios mercenarios vulgo reputatur, ad quorum precacitatem et superbiam humiliandam et propriam injuriam de eis ulciscendam pauper quidam rusticus ex villa nomine Inda hanc diabolicam excitavit technam. Accepta a judicibus fiducia et a levibus hominibus auxilio, qui gaudent jocis et novitatus, in proxima Silva navem composuit, et eam rotis suppositis affigens vehibilem super terram effecit, obtinuit quoque a potestatibus, ut injectis fanibus textorum humeris ex Inda Aquisgranum traheretur. 2 Aquis suscepta cum utriusque sexus grandi hominum processione nihilominus a textoris Trajectum [Maestricht] est provecta, ibi emendata, malo veloque insignita Tungris [Tongres] est inducta, de Tungris Los [Looz]. Audiens Abbas (sancti Trudonis) 3 Rodulfus navim illum infausto omine compactam malaque solutam alite cum ha|s modi gentilitatis studio nostro oppido adventare, praesago spiritu hominibus praedicabant, ut eis suspensione abstinerent, quia maligni spiritus sub hae ludificatione in ea traherentur, in proximoque seditio per eam moveretur, unde caedes, incendia rapinaeque fierent, et humanus sanguis multus funderetur. Quem ista declamantem omnibus diebus, quibus malignorum spirituum illud simulacrum loci morabatur, oppidani nostri audire noluerunt, sed eo studio et gaudio excipientes, quo perituri Trojani fatalem equum in medio fori sui dedicaverunt, statimque proscriptionis sententiam accipiant villae textores, qui ad profanae ha|s simulacri exercibus venirent tardiores. Pape! Quis vidit unquam tantam (ut ita liceat latinisare) in rationalibus animalibus brutitatem? Quis tantam in renatis in Christo gentili-

1 Inden in the Julich country. afterwards Cornelimünster, not far from Aix ; conf. Pertz 1, 394. 498, 514. 592. 2, 299. 489.
2 This of ships being built in a wood and carried on men’s shoulders reminds one of Saxo Gram. p. 93, and of the ‘Argo humeris travecta Alpes’ (Pliny N. H. 3, 18; their being set on wheels, of Nestor’s story about Oleg ; conf, the ship of Fró above. [An inadvertence on the author’s part: the ship is not ‘carried,’ but ‘drawn by ropes thrown over the weavers’ shoulders.’]
3 St. Tron between Liége and Louvain.
Cogebant sententia proscriptionis textores, nocte et die navim stipare omni armaturae genere, solicitasque ei excubias nocte et die continuare. Mirumque fuit, quod non cogebant eos ante navim Neptuno hostias immolare, de cujus naves esse solent regione, sed Neptunus eas Marti reservabat, quod postea multipliciter factum est.

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decim diebus supradicto ritu celebratis, conferebant simul oppidani quid agerent amodo de deducenda a se navi.

Qui sanioris erant consilii, et qui eam susceptam fuisse dolabant, timentes Deum pro his quae facta viderant et audierunt, et sibi pro his futura conjeciebant, hortabantur ut comburatur (combureretur) aut isto vel illo modo de medio tolleretur; sed stulta quorumadam coecitas huic salubri consilio contumeliose nimitebatur. Nam maligni spiritus, qui in illu ferebant, disseminaverant in populo, quod locus ille et inhabitantes probroso nomine amplius notarentur, apud quos remansisse inveniretur. Deducendam igitur eam ad villam, quae juxta nos est, Leugues decreverunt. Interea Lovaniensis dominus audiens de daemonioso navis illius ridiculo, instructusque a religiosis viris terrae suae vitando et terrae suae arcendo monstr, gratiam suam et amicitiam mandat oppidanis nostris, commonefaciens eos humiliter, ut pacem illam quae inter illos et se erat reformata et sacramentis confirmata non intringerent, et inde præcipue illud diaboli ludibrium viciniae suae inferrent; quod si ludum esse dicerent, quaererent alium cum quo inde luderent. Quod si ultra hoc mandatum committerent, pacem praedictam in eum intringerent et ipse vindictam in eo ferro et igne exsequeretur. Id ipsum mandaverat Durachiensis dominis, qui et homines ejus fuerant manuam, et interpositis sacramentis et obsidibus datis sibi confederati. Hoc cum jam tertio fecisset, spretus est tam ab oppidanis nostris quam Durachiensis dominis. Nam propter pecata inhabitantium volabant Dominus mittere super locus nostrum ignem et arma Lovaniensium. Ad hanc igitur plebeiam fatuitatem adjunxit se dominus Gislebertus (advocatus abbatiæ S. Trudonis) contra generis sui nobilitatem, trahendamque decrevit navem illam terream usque Leugues ultra Durachiensem villam, quod et fecit malo nostro omne cum omni oppidanorum nostrorum multitudine et ingenti decebantium vociferatione. Leugnenses, oppidanis nostris prudentiores et Lovaniensis domini mandatis obsequentes, portas suas cluserunt et infanstl ominis monstrum intrare non permiserunt.

Lovaniensis antem dominus precum suarum et mandatarum contemptum noles esse inultum, diem constituut comitibus tanquam suis hominibus, qui neque ad primum, neque ad secundum, sed nec ad tertium venire voluerunt. Eduxit ergo contra eos et contra
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nos multorum multituniis exercitum armatorum tam pedium quam militum. Nostro igitur oppido seposito, tanquam firmius munito et bellicosorum hominum pleno, primum impetum in Dura-chienses fecit, quibus viriliter resistentibus castellum, nescio quare, cum possent non obsedit, sed inter Leugues et Durachium pernoctavit. Cumque sequenti die exercitum applicare disponent et ex quattuor partibus assultum faceret, habebat enim ingentem multitudinem, supervenit Adelbero Metensium primicerius filiorum Lova-niensis dominii avunculus, cujus interventu, quia comitissa Durachiensis erat soror ejus, et Duracliiense erat castellum sancti Lamberti, Lova-niensis dominus ab impugnatione cessavit et ab obsidione se amovit, promisso ei quod Durachienses paulo post ei ad justitiam suam educerentur. Et cum ista et alia de dominis et inter dominos tractarentur, pedites et milites per omnia nostra circumjacentia se diffuderunt, villas nostras, ecclesias, molendina et quaecumque occurrebant combustioni et perditioni tradentes, recedentes vero quae longe a nobis fuerant prout cuique adjacebant inter se diviserunt.

Obviously, throughout the narrative everything is put in an odious light; but the proceeding derives its full significance from this very fact, that it was so utterly repugnant to the clergy, and that they tried in every way to suppress it as a sinful and heathenish piece of work. On the other hand, the secular power had authorized the procession, and was protecting it; it rested with the several townships, whether to grant admission to the approaching ship, and the popular feeling seems to have ruled that it would be shabby not to forward it on its way.

Mere dancing and singing, common as they must have been on all sorts of occasions with the people of that time, could not have so exasperated the clergy. They call the ship 'malignorum spirituum simulacrum' and 'diaboli ludibrium,' take for granted it was knocked together 'infausto omine' and 'gentilitatis studio,' that 'maligni spiritus' travel inside it, nay, that it may well be called a ship of Neptune or Mars, of Bacchus or Venus; they must burn it, or make away with it somehow.

Probably among the common people of that region there still survived some recollections of an ancient heathen worship, which, though checked and circumscribed for centuries, had never yet been entirely uprooted. I consider this ship, travelling about the
country, welcomed by streaming multitudes, and honoured with festive song and dance, to be the car of the god, or rather of that goddess whom Tacitus identifies with Isis, and who (like Nerthus) brought peace and fertility to mortals. As the car was covered up, so entrance to the interior of the ship seems to have been denied to men; there need not have been an image of the divinity inside. Her name the people had long ago forgotten, it was only the learned monks that still fancied something about Neptune or Mars, Bacchus or Venus: but to the externals of the old festivity the people’s appetite kept returning from time to time. How should that ‘pauper rusticus’ in the wood at Inden have lighted on the thought of building a ship, had there not been floating in his mind recollections of former processions, perhaps of some in neighbouring districts?

It is worthy of note, that the weavers, a numerous and arrogant craft in the Netherlands, but hateful to the common herd, were compelled to draw the ship by ropes tied to their shoulders, and to guard it; in return, they could keep the rest of the people from coming too near it, and fine or take pledges from those who did so.¹

Rodulf does not say what became at last of the ‘terrea navis,’ after it had made that circuit; it is enough for him to relate, how, on a reception being demanded for it and refused, heats and quarrels arose, which could only be cooled in open war. This proves the warm interest taken by contemporaries, fanned as it was to a flame for or against the festival by the secular and the clerical party.

There are traces to be found of similar ship-processions at the beginning of spring in other parts of Germany, especially in Swabia, which had then become the seat of those very Suevi of Tacitus (see Suppl.). A minute of the town-council of Ulm, dated St. Nicholas’ eve, 1530, contains this prohibition: ‘Item, there shall none, by day nor night, trick or disguise him, nor put on any carnival raiment, moreover shall keep him from the going about of the plough and with ships on pain of 1 gulden.’² The custom of drawing the plough about seems to have been the more widely spread, having

¹ Does the author imply that the favour of the peasantry, as opposed to artizans, makes it likely that this was a relic of the worship of Earth? Supposing even that the procession was that of the German Isis; Tacitus nowhere tells us what the functions of this Isis were, or that she ‘brought peace and fertility’.—Trans.

² Carl Jäger, Schwäb. stadtewesen des MA. (Mid. Ages), 1, 525.
originally no doubt been performed in honour of the divinity from whom a fruitful year and the thriving of crops was looked for. Like the ship-procession, it was accompanied by dances and bonfires. Seb. Frank, p. 51\textsuperscript{a} of his Weltbuch: ‘On the Rhine, Franconia and divers other places, the young men do gather all the dance-maidens and put them in a plough, and draw their piper, who sitteth on the plough piping, into the water; in other parts they draw a fiery plough kindled with a fire very artificial made thereon, until it fall to wrack.’ Enoch Wiedemann’s chronik von Hof tells how ‘On Shrove-Tuesday evil-minded lads drove a plough about, yoking to it such damsels as did not pay ransom; others went behind them sprinkling chopped straw and sawdust.’ (Sächs. provinz. bl. 8, 347.) Pfeiffer, chron. lips. lib. 2, § 53: ‘Mos erat antiquitus Lipsiae, ut liberalibus (feast of Liber or Bacchus, i.e., carnival) personati juvenes per vicos oppidi arctrum circum ducerent, puellas obvias per lasciviam ad illius jugum accedere etiam repugnantes cogerent, hoc veluti ludico poenam expetentes ab iis quae innuptae ad eum usque diem mansissent’.\textsuperscript{1} On these and similar processions, more details will be given hereafter; I only wish at present to shew that the driving of the plough and that of the ship over the country seem both to rest on the same old-heathen idea, which after the dislodgement of the gods by christianity could only maintain itself in unintelligible customs of the people, and so by degrees evaporate: namely, on the visible manifestation of a beneficent benign divinity among men, who everywhere approached it with demonstrations of joy, when in springtime the soil was loose again and the rivers released from ice, so that agriculture and navigation could begin anew.\textsuperscript{2} In this way the

\textsuperscript{1} Scheffer’s Haltaus, 202. Hans Sachs also relates I. 5, 508\textsuperscript{b}, how the maids who had not taken men, were forced into the plough (see Suppl.).

\textsuperscript{2} To this day, in the churches of some villages of Holstein, largely inhabited by seamen, there hang little ships, which in springtime, when navigation re-opens, are decorated with ribbons and flowers: quite the Roman custom in the case of Isis (p. 258). We also find at times silver ships hung up in churches, which voyagers in stress of weather have vowed in case of a safe arrival home; an old instance of this I will borrow from the Vita Godehardi Hildesiensis: Fuit tunc temporis in Trajectensi episcopatu vir quidam arti mercatoria dedi-itus, qui frequenter mare transiret; hic quodam tempore maxima tempestate in medio mari comprehenditur, ab omnibus conclamatur, et nil nisi ultimus vitae terminus timetur. Tandem finito aliquanto tempore auxilium beati Godehardi implorabunt, et argenteam navin delatauros, si evaderent, devoverunt. Hos in ecclesia nostra navin argenteam deferentes postea vidimus (in King Lothair’s time). In a storm at sea, sailors take vows: E chi dice, una nave vo fur fare, e poi portarla in Vienna al gran barone; Buovo d’Antona 5, 32. The Lapps at
Sueves of Tacitus’s time must have done honour to their goddess by carrying her ship about. The forcing of unmarried young women to take part in the festival is like the constraint put upon the weavers in Ripuaria, and seems to indicate that the divine mother in her progress at once looked kindly on the bond of love and wedlock, and punished the backward; in this sense she might fairly stand for Dame Venus, Holda and Frecke.

The Greeks dedicated a ship not only to Isis, but to Athene. At the Panathenæa her sacred peplos was conveyed by ship to the Acropolis: the ship, to whose mast it was suspended as a sail, was built on the Kerameikos, and moved on dry land by an underground mechanism, first to the temple of Demeter and all round it, past the Pelasgian to the Pythian, and lastly to the citadel. The people followed in solemnly ordered procession. 1

We must not omit to mention, that Aventin, after transforming the Tacitean Isis into a frau Eisen, and making iron (eisen) take its name from her, expands the account of her worship, and in addition to the little ship, states further, that on the death of her father (Hercules) she travelled through all countries, came to the German king Schwab, and staid for a time with him; that she taught him the forging of iron, the sowing of seed, reaping, grinding, kneading and baking, the cultivation of flax and hemp, spinning, weaving and needle work, and that the people esteemed her a holy woman. 2 We shall in due time investigate a goddess Zisa, and her claims to a connexion with Isis.


Can the name under which the Suevi worshipped that goddess yule-tide offer to their jaouloherra small ships smeared with reindeer’s blood, and hang them on trees? Högström, efterretninger om Lapland, p. 511. These votive gifts to saints fill the place of older ones of the heathen time to gods, as the voyagers to Helgoland continued long to respect Fosete’s sanctuary (p. 231). Now, as silver ploughs too were placed in churches, and later in the Mid. Ages were even demanded as dues, these ships and ploughs together lend a welcome support to the ancient worship of a maternal deity (see Suppl.).

2 So Jean le Maire de Belges in his Illustrations de Gaulle, Paris, 1548, bk. 3, p. xxviii: ‘Au temps duquel (Hercules Allemannus) la deesse Isis, royne d’Egypte, veint en Allemagne et montra au rude peuple l’usaige de moudre la farine et faire du pain.’ J. le Maire finished his work in 1512, Aventin not till 1522; did they both borrow from the spurious Berosus that came out in the 15th century? Hunibald makes a queen Cambra, who may be compared with the Langobardic Gambara, introduce the arts of building, sowing and weaving (see Suppl.).
whom the Romans identified with Isis—may not at least one of her secondary names—have been Holda? The name has a purely Teutonic meaning, and is firmly grounded in the living traditions of our people to this day.

Holda is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius), Goth. hulps (Luke 18, 13; root, hilpan halp hulpun, to bend, bow), ON. holldr; the Gothic form of it would be Hulpō. For the opposite notion of a malignant diabolic being, Ulphilas employs both the fem. unhulpō and the masc. unhulpē, from which I infer a hulpō by the side of hulpō: one more confirmation of the double sex running through the idea of these divinities. It is true, such a by-name could be shared by several gods or spirits. Notker in the Capella 81 renders verus genius by 'min ware holdo'. And in MHG. parlance, holde (fem. and masc.) must have been known and commonly used for ghostly beings. Albrecht of Halberstadt, in translating Ovid's Metamorphoses, uses wazzerholde (gen. -en) for nymph; rhyme has protected the exact words from corruption in Wikram's poetic paraphrase. In the largely expanded Low German version of the Ship of Fools (Narragonia, Rostock 1519; 96a) we find the following passage which is wanting in the HG. text: 'Mannich narre lövet (believeth) an vogelgeschrei, und der guden holten (bonorum geniorum) gunst'. Of more frequent occurrence is the MHG. unholde (fem.), our modern unhold (masc.), in the sense of a dark, malign, yet mighty being.

The earliest example of the more restricted use of the name Holda is furnished by Burchard, bp. of Worms, p. 194a:2 Credidisti

1 Frankf. 1631; 4, 171a von einer wazzerholden, rh. solden; 176a wazzerholde, rh. solde.
2 If, in the inscriptions 'deaæ Huldanae' quoted p. 257, we might by a slight transposition substitute Huldamae, this would be even more welcome than the analogy to ON. Hulðyn, it would be the most ancient evidence for Holda, supported as she already is by the Goth. unhulpō and the OHG. female name Holda, a rare one, yet forthcoming in Schannat, trad. fuld. no. 415; also Holdasind in Graff 4, 915. Schütze's treatise De dea Huldana first appeared Lips. 1741; and when Wolf (in Wodana, p. 50) mentions a Dutch one De dea Hulde, Trajecti 1746, if that be really the title, this can be no other than a very tempting conjecture by Cannegieter founded on our 'Hulda' which occurs in Eecard. A Latin dative Huldamae would mean our weak form, OHG. Holdtun, AS. Holdan, just as Berta, Hildegarda are in Latin docs. inflected Bertanae, Hildegardanae; though there may also have sprung up a nom. Bertana, Huldana. So the dat. Tanfanae too would lead us to at all events a German nom. Tanfa, and cut short all the attempts to make out of -fana a Celtic word or the Latin fanum. Tanfa suggests an ON. man's name Damp, or the OHG,
ut aliqua femina sit, quae hoc facere possit, quod quaedam a diabolo deceptae se affirmant necessario et ex praecepto facere debere, id est cum daemonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformata, quam vulgaris stultitia "Holdam" (al. unholdam) vocat, certis noctibus equitare debere super quasdam bestias, et in corum se consortio annumeratam esse. The remarkable varia lectio ' unholla' is taken from the Cod. vindob. univ. 633. Burchard has here put the German word in the place of the more usual 'Diana paganorum dea,' who in other passages is named in a like sense and in the same connexion. [A still earlier notice of Holda is found in Walafrid Strabo, see Suppl.]

In popular legends and nursery-tales, "frau Holda" (Hulda, Holle,1 Hulle, frau Holl) appears as a superior being, who manifests a kind and helpful disposition towards men, and is never cross except when she notices disorder in household affairs. None of the German races appear to have cherished these oral traditions so extensively as the Hessians and Thuringians (that Worms bishop was a native of Hesse). At the same time, dame Holle is found as far as the Voigtland,2 past the Rhön mts in northern Franconia,3 in the Wetterau up to the Westerwald,4 and from Thuringia she crosses the frontier of Lower Saxony, Swabia, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, North Saxony and Friesland do not know her by that name.

From what tradition has still preserved for us,5 we gather the following characteristics. "Frau Holle" is represented as a being of the sky, begirdling the earth: when it snows, she is making her root dampf; granted a change of F into CH or TH [f has become ch in sachte, niehte, achter, ruchbar or ruchbar, &c.], there would arise yet further possibilities, e.g. a female name Tancha (grata) would correspond to the OHG. masc. Dancho (gratus) Graff 5, 169; conf. Dankrat = Gibicho, Haupt's zeitschr. 1, 573—I am not convinced of Huldana, and confess that Huldana may also maintain itself, and be explained as Húda (elara, praeclera); the weight of other arguments must turn the scale. Among these however, the use of gute holden and holler vattir (Sem. 240b) for spirits, and of holl regin (Sem. 60f) for gods, is especially worthy of notice. In ON. the adj. hollr had undergone assimilation (Goth. hullps, OHG. hold), while the proper name Huldr retained the old form; for to me the explanation huldr = occultus, celatus, looks very dubious.

1 Holle from Hulda, as Folle from Fulda.
4 Schmidt's Westerwald. idiot. 73. 341.
5 Kinderm. no. 24. Deutsche sagen, nos. 4—8. Falkenstein's Thur. chronica 1, 165-6 (see Suppl.).
bed, and the feathers of it fly. She stirs up snow, as Donar does rain: the Greeks ascribed the production of snow and rain to their Zeus: διὸς ὁμβρος, II. 5, 91. 11, 493 as well as μφάδες Διὸς, II. 19, 357; so that Holda comes before us as a goddess of no mean rank. The comparison of snowflakes to feathers is very old; the Scythians pronounced the regions north of them inaccessible, because they were filled with feathers (Herod. 4, 7. conf. 31). Holda then must be able to move through the air, like dame Herke.

She loves to haunt the lake and fountain; at the hour of noon she may be seen, a fair white lady, bathing in the flood and disappearing; a trait in which she resembles Nerthus. Mortals, to reach her dwelling, pass through the well; conf. the name wazzerholde.

Another point of resemblance is, that she drives about in a waggon. She had a linchpin put in it by a peasant whom she met; when he picked up the chips, they were gold. Her annual progress, which, like those of Herke and Berha, is made to fall between Christmas and Twelfth-day, when the supernatural has sway, and wild beasts like the wolf are not mentioned by their names, brings fertility to the land. Not otherwise does ‘Derk with the boar,’ that Freyr of the Netherlands (p. 214), appear to go his rounds and look after the ploughs. At the same time Holda, like Wuotau, can also ride on the winds, clothed in terror, and she, like the god, belongs to the ‘wütende heer’. From this arose the fancy, that witches ride in Holla’s company (ch. XXXIV, snow-

1 Dame Holle shakes her bed, Modejourn. 1816, p. 283. They say in Scotland, when the first flakes fall: The men o’ the East are pyking their geese, and sending their feathers here awa’ there awa’. In Prussian Samland, when it snows: The angels shake their little bed; the flakes are the down-feathers, but many drop past, and get down to our earth.

2 As other attributes of Holda have passed to Mary, we may here also bring into comparison the Maria ad nives, notre dame aux neiges, whose feast was held on Aug. 5; on that day the lace-makers of Brussels pray to her, that their work may keep as white as snow. In a folk-song of Bretagne: Notre dame Marie, sur votre trône de neige! (Barzas breiz 1, 27). May not the otherwise unintelligible Hildesheim legend of Hillesnee (DS. no. 456) have arisen out of a Holde sné?

3 If the name brunnenhold in the Märchenbuch of Alb. Ludw. Grimm 1, 221 is a genuine piece of tradition, it signifies a fountain-sprite. [Newborn babes are fetched by the nurse out of dame Holle’s pond; Suppl.]

4 A similar legend in Jul. Schmidt’s Reichenfels p. 152.

5 This must be a purely heathen view. I suppose the christian sentiment was that expressed by Marcellus in Hamlet i. 1: ‘no spirit dares stir abroad, the nights are wholesome, &c.’—Trans.
HOLDA, HOLLE.

wives); it was already known to Burchard, and now in Upper Hesse and the Westerwald, Holle-riding, to ride with Holle, is equivalent to a witches’ ride. Into the same ‘furious host,’ according to a wide-spread popular belief, were adopted the souls of infinitis dying unbaptized; not having been christian’d, they remained heathen, and fell to heathen gods, to Wuotan or to Hulda.

The next step is, that Hulda, instead of her divine shape, assumes the appearance of an ugly old woman, long-nosed, big-toothed, with bristling and thick-matted hair. ‘He’s had a jaunt with Holle,’ they say of a man whose hair sticks up in tangled disorder; so children are frightened with her or her equally hideous train: ‘hush, there’s Hulle-betz (bruin), Hulle-pöpel (bogie) coming.’ Holle-peter, as well as Hersche, Harsche, Hescheklas, Ruprecht, Rupper (ch. XVII, house-sprites), is among the names given to the muffled servitor who goes about in Holle’s train at the time of the winter solstice. In a nursery-tale (Märchen no. 24) she is depicted as an old witch with long teeth; according to the difference of story, her kind and gracious aspect is exchanged for a dark and dreadful one.

Again, Holle is set before us as a spinning-wife; the cultivation of flax is assigned to her. Industrious maids she presents with spindles, and spins their reels full for them over night; a slothful spinner’s distaff she sets on fire, or soils it. The girl whose spindle dropt into her fountain, she rewarded bountifully. When she

1 Estor’s oberh. idiot., sub v.
2 Erasm. Alberus, fable 16: ‘Es kamen auch zu diesem heer Viel weib er die sich forchten sehr (were sore afraid). Und trugen sicheln in der hand, Frau Hulda hat sie ansgesandt.’ Luther’s Expos. of the Epistles, Basel 1522 fol. 69v: ‘Here cometh up dame Hulde with the snout (potmanse, botch-nose), to wit, nature, and goeth about to gainsay her God and give him the lie, hangeth her old ragfair about her, the straw-harness (stroharness); then falls to work, and scrapes it feantly on her fiddle.’ He compares nature rebelling against God to the heathenish Hulda with the frightful nose (Oberlin, sub v., potzmannchen), as she enters, muffled up in straw and frippery, to the fiddle’s playing.
3 Brückner, Contrib. to the Henneberg idioticon, p. 9, mentions a popular belief in that part of Franconia: ‘On the high day comes the Holz-frau (Hollefra, Hullefra), and throws in reels; whoever does not spin them full, she breaks their necks,’ (conf. infra Bertha and Berhtolt and the Derel). ‘On the high day she is burnt,’ which reminds one of ‘Carrying Death out’ in Teutonic and Slav countries, and ‘Sawing the old woman’ in Italy and Spain. By the addition of -frau after the name (conf. gane fru, p. 253) we perceive its originally adjective character. Cod. pal. 355b: ‘ich wen, kain schusel in kain rocken wart nie als hessich als du bist,’ I ween no scaracrow on a distaff was ever as ugly as thou.
 enters the land at Christmas, all the distaff are well stocked, and left standing for her; by Carnival, when she turns homeward, all spinning must be finished off, and the staffs are now kept out of her sight (Superst. 683); if she finds everything as it should be, she pronounces her blessing, and contrariwise her curse; the formulas ‘so many hairs, so many good years!’ and ‘so many hairs, so many bad years!’ have an oldworld sound. Apparently two things have been run into one, when we are also told, that during the ‘twelve-nights’ no flax must be left in the diesse, or dame Holla will come.\(^1\) The concealment of the implements shows at the same time the sacredness of her holiday, which ought to be a time of rest.\(^2\) In the Rhön mts, they do no farm-work on Hulla’s Saturday, neither hoe, nor manure, nor ‘drive the team afield’. In the North too, from Yule-day to New-year’s day, neither wheel nor windlass must go round (see Superst., Danish, 134; Suppl.).

This superintendence of agriculture and of strict order in the household marks exactly the office of a motherly deity, such as we got acquainted with in Nerthus and Isis. Then her special care of flax and spinning (the main business of German housewives, who are named after spindle and distaff,\(^3\) as men are after sword and spear), leads us directly to the ON. Frigg, Odin’s wife, whose being melts into the notion of an earth-goddess, and after whom a constellation in the sky, Orion’s belt, is called Friggjar rockr, Friggæ colus. Though Icelandic writings do not contain this name, it has remained in use among the Swedish country-folk (Ihre, sub v. Friggerock). The constellation is however called Mariærrock, Dan. Marirock (Magnusen, gloss. 361. 376), the christians having passed the same old idea on to Mary the heavenly mother. The Greeks put spindle and distaff in the hands of several goddesses, especially Artemis (χρυσηλάκατος, Il. 20, 70) and her mother Leto, but also Athene, Amphitrite and the Nereids. All this fits in with Holda, who is a goddess of the chase (the wild host), and of water-springs.

\(^1\) Braunschw. anz. 1760, no. 86; the diesse is the bundle of flax on the dis-staff.

\(^2\) This makes one think of Gertrude. The peasants’ almanacks in Carniola represent that saint by two little mice nibbling at the thread on a spindle (vreteno), as a sign that there ought to be no spinning on her day. The same holds good of the Russian piatnitsa, Friday (Kopitars rec. von Strahls gel. Russland).

\(^3\) RA. 163-8. 470. Women are called in AS. friðowebban, peace-weavers.
One might be tempted to derive dame Holda from a character in the Old Testament. In 2 Kings 22, 14 and 2 Chron. 34, 22 we read of a prophetess Ḥuleddah, Huldah, for which Luther puts Hulda; the Septuagint has Ὄλδα, the Vulgate Olda, but the Lat. Bible Viteb. 1529 (and probably others since) Hulda, following Luther, who, with the German Holda in his mind, thus domesticated the Jewish prophetess among his countrymen. Several times in his writings he brings up the old heathen life; we had an instance a page or two back.¹ I do not know if any one before him had put the two names together; but certainly the whole conception of a dame Holda was not first drawn from the ‘Olda’ of the Vulgate, which stands there without any special significance; this is proved by the deep-rootedness of the name in our language, by its general application [as adj. and com. noun] to several kinds of spirits, and by the very ancient negative unholda.

Were it only for the kinship of the Norse traditions with our own, we should bid adieu to such a notion as that. True, the Eddie mythology has not a Holla answering to our Holda; but Snorri (Yngl. saga c. 16. 17) speaks of a wise woman (völva, seiðkona) named Huldr, and a later Icelandic saga composed in the 14th century gives a circumstantial account of the enchantress Holda, beloved of Óðinn, and mother of the well-known half-goddesses Thorgerðr and Irpa.² Of still more weight perhaps are some Norwegian and Danish folk-tales about a wood or mountain wife Hulla, Huldra, Huldr, whom they set forth, now as young and lovely, then again as old and gloomy. In a blue garment and white veil she visits the pasture-grounds of herdsmen, and mingles in the dances of men; but her shape is disfigured by a tail, which she takes great pains to conceal. Some accounts make her beautiful in front and ugly behind. She loves music and song, her lay has a doleful melody and is called huldreslaat. In the forests you see Huldra as an old woman clothed in gray, marching at the head of her flock, milkpail in hand. She is said to carry off people’s unchristened infants from them. Often she appears, not alone, but as mistress or queen of the mountain-sprites, who are

¹ I believe Luther followed the Hebrew, merely dropping the final h, as he does in Jehova, Juda, &c.—Trans.
called *huldrerfolk*:\(^1\) In Iceland too they know of this *Huldufolk*, of the *Huldumenn*; and here we find another point of agreement with the popular faith of Germany, namely, that by the side of our dame Holde there are also *holden*, *i.e.*, friendly spirits, a silent subterranean people, of whom dame Holde, so to speak, is the princess (see Suppl.). For this reason, if no other, it must be more correct to explain the Norse name *Hulla, Huldra* from the ON. hollr (*fidus, fidelis, propitius*) which is huld in Dan. and Swed., and not from the ON. hulda (obscuritas) as referring to the subterranean abode of the mountain-sprites. In Swedish folk-songs I find ‘huldmoder, hulda moder’ said of one’s real mother in the same sense as kära (dear) moder (*Sv. vis. 1, 2, 9*); so that huld must have quite the meaning of our German word. It is likely that the term huldufölk was imported into the Icelandic tongue from the Danish or Norwegian. It is harder to explain the R inserted in the forms *Huldre, Huldrè*; did it spring out of the plural form hulder (boni genii, hollar vättir) ? or result from composition?

The German *Holde* presides over spinning and agriculture, the Norse *Hulde* over cattle-grazing and milking.

5. **Perahta, Berchte.**

A being similar to Holde, or the same under another name, makes her appearance precisely in those Upper German regions where Holde leaves off, in Swabia, in Alsace, in Switzerland, in Bavaria and Austria.\(^2\) She is called *frau Berchte, i.e., in OHG. Perahta*, the bright,\(^3\) luminous, glorious (as Holde produces the glittering snow): by the very meaning of the word a benign and gladdening influence, yet she is now rarely represented as such; as a rule, the awe-inspiring side is brought into prominence, and she

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\(^2\) A portion of Franconia and Thuringia knows both *Bercht* and *Holde*, there at all events is the boundary between the two. Matthesius, in his Exposition of the gospels for feastdays, p. 22, names dame Hulda and old *Berchte* side by side.

\(^3\) Among the celebrated maidens of Menglöd is a *Biört* (*Sem. 111*), Menglöd herself is called ‘sū in sólbiarta’ (*111*), and the father of her betrothed *Sviplagr Sólbart* (sun-bright, *112*). A Menglöd in a later story appears to some one in a dream (*Formn. sóg. 3, 222-3*), and leaves him a marvellous pair of gloves.
appears as a grim bugbear to frighten children with. In the stories of dame Berchta the bad meaning predominates, as the good one does in those of dame Holda; that is to say, the popular christian view had degraded Berchta lower than Holda. But she too is evidently one with Herke, Freke and some others (see Suppl.).

Where their identity comes out most plainly is in the fact that they all go their rounds at the same time, in the so-called ‘twelfths’ between Christmas and New-year. Berchta however has a particular day assigned her at the end of that period, which I never find named after Holda. And no less similar are their functions.

Berchta, like Holda, has the oversight of spinners; whatever spinning she finds unfinished the last day of the year, she spoils (Superst. 512). Her festival has to be kept with a certain traditional food, gruel and fish. Thôrr says he has had stildr ok hafr (herrings and oats) for supper, Sasvm. 75*; our white lady has prescribed the country folk a dish of fish and oat-grits for evermore, and is angry whenever it is omitted (Deutsche sagen, no. 267). The Thuringians in the Saalfeld country wind up the last day of the year with dumplings and herrings. Fish and farinaceous food were considered by christians the proper thing for a fast.1

The revenge taken by the wrathful Berchta, when she misses the fish and dumplings, has a quaint and primitive sound: whoever has partaken of other food on her day, she cuts his belly open, fills it with chopped straw, and sews up the gash with a ploughshare for a needle and an iron chain by way of thread (Superst. 525).2

1 The Braunsch. anz. 1760, p. 1392, says no leguminous plants are to be eaten when dame Holla is going round in the ‘twelve-nights’. Either a mistake, or to be understood of particular kinds of pulse.

2 Almost the same is told in the Voigtl and of the Werre or dame Holle. The Werre, on the holy eve of the high New-year, holds a strict inquiry whether all the distaffs are spun off; if they are not, she defiles the flax. And on that evening you must eat pulse, a thick padd of flour and water prepared in a peculiar way; if any one omits it, she rips his body open, Jul. Schmidt, Reichenfels, p. 132. The name Werre (from her ‘gewirrt,’ tangled shaggy hair?) is found in Thom. Reinesius, Lect. var., Altenbg 1640, p. 573 (in the critical notes on Rhyakinus’s, i.e. Audr. Rivinus or Bachmann’s Liber Kirandum Kirini, Lips. 1638): Nostrates hodieque petulantioribus et refractaris manducam aliquem cum ore hiante fremdentem dentibus, aut faribundam silvescente coma, facie lurida, et cetero habitu terribilum cum comitatu maenandum Werram internimantur. Reinesius (1587-1667) came from Gotha, but lived at Hof in the Voigtl and. A werre is also a noisome chirping insect of the cricket kind (Popowitsch 620). In MHG.: ‘sejet diu Werre (Discordia) ir sâm en dar,’ sows her seed, Ms. 2, 251b, conf. Troj. 385 (see Suppl.); and in
And the same threat is held out in other districts also (see Suppl.).

Börner’s Folk-tales of the Orlagau (between the Saale and the Orle) furnish abundant details. At p. 153: The night before Twelfthday, Perchtha always examines the spinning-rooms of the whole neighbourhood, she brings the spinners empty reels, with directions to spin them full within a very brief time, and if all she demands cannot be delivered, she punishes them by tangling and befouling the flax. On the same occasion she cuts open any one’s body, that has not eaten zemmede 1 that day, takes out any other food he has had, and fills the empty space with hay or straw wisps and bricks, and at last sews his body up again, using a ploughshare for a needle, and for thread a röhm chain.—P. 159: At Oppurg, the same night of the year, Perchtha found the spinning-room full of merrymaking guests, and in a towering rage she handed in through the window twelve empty reels, which were to be spun full to the rim within an hour, when she would come back; one quarter of an hour had passed after another in fearful expectation, when a saucy girl ran up to the garret, reached down a roll of tow, and wrapped it round the empty reels, then they spun two or three thicknesses of thread over the tow, so that the reels looked full. Perchtha came, they handed over to her their finished work, and she walked off with it, shaking her head. (Conf. the similar story of the white manikin in Bader, p. 369).—P. 167: At Langendembach lived an old spinning-wife, who swiftly wound the thread all the winter through, and did not so much as leave off on Twelfthday-eve, though son and daughter-in-law warned her: ‘If Perchtha comes, it will go hard with you.’ ‘Heyday!’ was her answer, ‘Perchtha brings me no shirts, I must spin them myself.’ After a while the window is pushed open, Perchtha looks into the room, and throws some empty

Selphartes regel (Waekernagel’s lb. 903), there is exhibited, together with bruoder Zornli and bruoder Ergerli, a bruoder Werre, ‘der sin herze mit weltlichen dingen also beworren hat (has so entangled his heart with worldly things), daz da niht më in mag’. And that notion of tangled thread and hair, which prevails about Bertha and Holda, may after all be akin to this. On L. Zurich she is called de Chlungrere, because she puts chlungel (knots, lumps) in the unfinished yarn of slothful maidens, Alb. Schott, Deutsche colonien in Piedmont, p. 282. ‘In Bavaria and German Bohemia, Bertha is often represented by St. Lucia, though her day comes on Dec. 13. Frau Lutz cuts the belly open, Schmeller 2, 532. Jos. Rank, Böhmerwald, p. 137. Conf. the Lusse in Sweden, Wieselgren. 386-7.

1 Made of flour and milk or water, and baked in a pan: fasting fare, evidently.
spools to her, which she must have back, spun full, in an hour's time. The spinner took heart of grace, spun a few rounds on each spool for dear life, and threw them, one and all, into the brook that ran past the house (and by that, Perchtha seems to have been appeased).—P. 173: As a miner was returning from Bucha to Könitz on Perchtha's night, she came up to him at the cross-roads, and demanded with threats, that he should put a wedge in her waggon. He took his knife, cut the wedge as well as he could, and fitted it into Perchtha's waggon, who made him a present of the fallen chips. He picked them up, and at home he drew gold out of every pocket in which he had put Perchtha's gifts.—P. 182: Two peasants of Jüdewein, after stopping at the alehouse in Köstriz till late on Perchtha's eve, had gone but a little way, when Perchtha came driving in a waggon, and called to them to put a peg in the pole of her waggon. One of the men had a knife, and Perchtha supplied him with wood, the peg was let in, and the handy man carried home several pieces of money in his shoe as a reward.—P. 113: Between Bucha and Wilhelmsdorf in the fruitful vale of the Saale, Perchtha queen of the heimchen had her dwelling of old; at her command the heimchen had to water the fields of men, while she worked underground with her plough. At last the people fell out with her, and she determined to quit the country; on Perchtha's eve the ferryman at Altar village received notice to be ready late in the night, and when he came to the Saale bank, his eyes beheld a tall stately dame surrounded by weeping children, and demanding to be ferried over. She stept into the craft, the little ones dragged a plough and a number of other tools in, loudly lamenting that they had to leave that lovely region. Arrived at the other side, Perchtha bade the boatman cross once more and fetch the heimchen that had been left behind, which under compulsion he did. She in the meantime had been mending the plough, she pointed to the chips, and said to the ferryman, 'There, take that to reward thy trouble.' Grumbling, he pocketed three of the chips, and at home flung them on the window-shelf, and himself, ill at ease, into bed. In the morning, three gold-pieces lay where he had thrown the chips. The memory of Perchtha's passage is also preserved at Kaulsdorf on the Saale, and at Köstriz on the Elster, not far from Gera.—P. 126: Late one night, the master wheelwright at Colba was coming home from Oppurg, where he had
been to work; it was the eve of the Three-kings (Twelfthday), and on the bank of the rivulet Orla he came upon Perchtha, her broken plough surrounded by weeping heimchen. 'Hast thou a hatchet with thee, so help me mend!' she cried to the terrified traveller. He gave what help he could, but the fallen chips offered him for wages he would not touch: 'I have plenty of them at home,' says he. When he got home, he told what had happened to him, and while his people shook their heads incredulously, he pulled off one of his shoes, which something had got into, that hurt his foot, and out rolled a bright new gold-piece. A twelvemonth passed, and one of his men, who had heard him tell the tale, set out on Perchtha's night, and waited by the Orla, just where his master had met Perchtha; in a little while, on she came with her infant train: 'What seekest thou here at this hour?' she cried in anger, and when he stammered out an answer, she continued: 'I am better provided with tools this time, so take thou thy due!' and with those words she dug her hatchet into the fellow's shoulder. The same story is repeated near Kaulsdorf at a part of the brook which is called the water over the way, at Presswitz near the Saal-house, and on the sandhill between Possneck and the forester's lodge of Reichenbach. Below the Gleitsch, a curiously shaped rock near Tischdorf, the story varies in so far, that there Perchtha along with the heimchen was driving a waggon, and had just broken the axle, when she fell in with a countryman, who helped her out with a makeshift axle, and was paid in chips, which however he disdained, and only carried a piece home in his shoe.—P. 133: A spinning-girl walked over from the Neidenberg during that night, she had done every bit of her spinning, and was in high spirits, when Perchtha came marching up the hill towards her, with a great troop of the heimchen-folk, all children of one sort and size, one set of them toiling to push a heavy plough, another party loaded with farming-tools; they loudly complained that they had no longer a home. At this singular procession the spinner began to laugh out loud, Perchtha enraged stepped up to the giddy thing, blew upon her, and struck her blind on the spot. The poor girl had a trouble to find her way into the village, she led a wretched life, could no longer work, but sat mournful by the wayside begging. When the year was past and Perchtha visited Altar again, the blind one, not knowing one from another, asked an alms of the high dame as she
swept by; Perchtha spoke graciously: ‘Here last year I blew a pair of lights out, this year I will blow them in again’. With these words she blew into the maid’s eyes, which immediately began to see again. The same legend is found in the so-called Sorge, near Neustadt on the Orla. Touching stories of the weeping children, who tramp along in Perchtha’s great troop, will be given when we come to treat minutely of the ‘wütende heer’. (See Suppl.).

To these significant traditions of Thuringia, others can be added from Bavaria and Austria. In the mountain district about Traunstein (Up. Bavaria, opposite Salzburg) they tell the children on the eve of Epiphany, that if they are naughty, Berche will come and cut their bellies open. Greasy cakes are baked that day, and the workmen say you must grease your stomach well with them, so that dame Berche’s knife may glance off (Schm. 1, 194). Is that the reason why she is called wild Bertha, iron Bertha? Crusius, Ann. Suev. p. 2, lib. 8, cap. 7, p. 266, relates, as his explanation of the origin of the name, that Henry IV. bestowed privileges on the city of Padua: Inde, in signa libertatis, armato carrocio uti coeperunt in bello, Bertha nominato. Hinc dictum ortum puto, quo terrentur inquieti pueri, ‘Schweig, oder die eiserne Bertha kommt!’ 1 In other places, Franconian and Swabian, she is named Hildaberta (apparently a combination of the two names Holda and Berta), and Bildaberta; with hair all shaggy she walks round the houses at night, and tears the bad boys to pieces (see Suppl.). 2

Dame Precht with the long nose is what Vintler calls her: and even a MHG. poem, which in one MS. is entitled ‘daz mære von der Stempen,’ has in another the heading ‘von Berchten mit der langen nas’ (Haupt’s Altd. bl. 1, 105). It is only from the former (with corrected spelling) that I am able to extract what has a bearing on our subject:

nu merket reht-waz (ich) in sage: Now mark aright what I you tell:
nach whemnaht am zwelsten tage, after Christmas the twelfth day,
nach dem heilgen ebenwihe 3 after the holy New-year’s day
(gotgeb, daz er uns gedih), (God grant we prosper in it),
dó man ezzen solt ze nahte, when they should eat supper

1 Conf. Crusius p. 1, lib. 12, cap. 6, p. 329, where Bertha the mother of Charles is meant. The Lombards called a carrocinum Berta and Berteaciola (Ducange sub v.), perhaps the carriage of the travelling goddess or queen?


3 Even-holy, equally-holy day, Scheffer’s Haltaus, p. 68.
und man ze tische brâhte
allez daz man ezzen solde,
swaz der wirt geben wolde
dô sprach er zem gesinde
und zuo sin selbes kinde:
‘ezzet hînte fast durch min bete,
daz ich die Stempe niht entrete.’
daz kintlin dô von forhten az,
er sprach: ‘veterlin, waz ist daz,
daz du die Stempen nennest?
sag mir, ob dus erkennest.’
der vater sprach: ‘dazâr ich dir,
du solt ez wol gelouben mir,
ez ist so grûwelich getân,
daz ich dirz niht gesagen kan:
wan swer des vergizzet,
daz er niht fast izzet,
âf den krumt ez und trit in.’

Here also children and servants are warned by the master of the house to eat up clean all that is brought on the table, and are threatened with a trampling from Stempe. This cognomen of Berchte must have come from stamping (step, tap, thump, &c.), and perhaps it ought to be spelt Stempfe (German stampfen, to stamp); but in Bavaria there is a proper name Stempo (MB. 2, 280, anno 1130), not Stempfo, and both stampen and stampfen seem to be correct for trampling and squeezing, Ital. stampare: she is the night hag, similar to alp and schrat [old scratch?]. Add to this, that in the Nordgau of Franconia, dame Holda is called the Trempe (Döderlein, Antiq. nordg. 41), i.e., the trampling racketing one; Stalter defines trâmpeln as walking with short, measured steps (tripping), and the Drut (night-goblin) approaches with soft footfall; at the same time, trampel, trampelthier, is a heavy clumsy woman. Now, as S is occasionally added before an initial T, it is surely not going too far, to connect Stempe with the more ancient Tamfana, Tanfana, p. 257 (see Suppl.).

Martin of Amberg ¹ calls her Percht mit der eisnen nasen (with

¹ His Gewissensspiegel (mid. of 14th cent.) is in two MSS. at Vienna (Hoffm. pp. 333-6); conf. Schm. 4, 188. 216, and the Jahrb. der Berliner gesellsch. für deutsche spr. 2, 63—65.
iron nose), and says that people leave meat and drink standing for her; which means a downright sacrifice.

In the mountains of Salzburg there is kept up to this day, in honour of the terrible Perchtl, a so called Perchta-running, Perchtlauping at the time of the ranchnächte [incense-nights?]¹ In the Pinzgau, from 100 to 300 young fellows (styled the Berchtl) will roam about in broad daylight in the oddest disguises, carrying cows' bells, and cracking whips.² In the Gastein valley the procession, headed by from 50 or 100 to 300 stout fellows, goes hopping and skipping from village to village, from house to house, all through the valley (Muchar, Gastein pp. 145-7). In the north of Switzerland, where in addition to Berchtli the softened form Bechtli or Bechtli is in use, Bechtli's day is the 2nd (or, if New-year's day falls on a Saturday, the 3rd) of January, and is honoured by the young people in general with social merrymakings; they call the practice berchteln, bechteln. In the 16th century it was still the custom at Zürich, for men to intercept and press one another to take wine; this was called 'conducting to Berchtold' (Stald. 1, 150-6). There was thus a masculine Bercht or Berchtolt, related to Wuotan, as Berhta was to Freke; and from this again there arose in Swabia a new feminine, Brechtölterin, Prechtölterin (Schmid, Schwäb. wtb. 93). In Alsace the bechtlen was performed by prentices and journeymen running from one house or room to another, and keeping up a racket (see passages in Oberlin, sub. v. Bechten). Cunrat of Daukrrozheim says in his Namenbuch, composed 1435:³
darnauch so komet die milde Behde,
die noch hat ein gar gross geslehte (great kindred).

He describes her as the mild, gracious to men, not as the terrible. Berchtolt however is in Swabian legend the white mannikin, who brings spools to be filled with spinning (Mone's anz. 8, 179), exactly like Berhta, p. 274 (see Suppl.).

And as a kind benevolent being she appears in many other descriptions, which undoubtedly reach far back into the Mid. Ages. The white lady, by her very name, has altogether the same meaning,

¹ This Perchtespringen is like the hexentusch in the Böhmerwald, which, Jos. Rank p. 76-7 says, is performed at Whitsuntide, when young men and boys provide themselves with loud cracking whips, and chase all the witches out of houses, stables and barns.
² Journey through Upper Germany, p. 243. Schm. 1, 195.
for peraht, berht or brecht, signifies bright, light, white. This white lady usually attaches herself to particular families, but even then she keeps the name of *Berta*, e.g., Berta of Rosenberg. In snow-white garments she shows herself by night in princely houses, she rocks or dandies the babies, while their nurses sleep: she acts the old *grandmother* or *ancestress* of the family (see Suppl.).

There is a good deal in the fact, that several women of that name, who are famed in our national traditions, stand connected with the ghostly *Berhta*; they have been adopted out of the divine legend into the heroic legend. In Italy and France, a far distant past is expressed by the phrase: ‘nel tempo ove *Berta filava,*’ when B. span (Pentamerone. Liebrecht 2, 259), ‘au tems que la reine *Berthe filait:’ the same idea still, of the spinning matron.  

*Berta,* the daughter of King Flower and of Whiteflower, afterwards the wife of King Pippin and mother of the great hero Charles, she who in the MLG. poem of Flos is called both *Vredeling* and *Brehte* (1555. 7825), does not belie her mytic origin.  

She is called *Berhte mit dem fuzze* (foot), Flore 309; in French, *Berthe au grand pied;* and acc. to the Reali di Franza 6, 1: ‘*Berta del gran pie,* perchè ella aveva un pie un poco maggior dell’altro, e quello era il pie destro,’ had the right foot larger. The French poet Adenez tries apparently to extemate the deformity by making both her feet large, he calls her ‘*Berte as grans pies*’ (Paris ed. LII. 78. 104); so the Mid. Dutch, ‘*Baerte met ten breden voeten,*’ Floris 3966. But the one big foot is more genuine, as may be seen by the far

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2 How firmly she is rooted, may be seen by her being the link that joins the Carolingian legend to the Langobardic: she is mother of Carl, wife of Pippin the son of Rother (4789), and daughter of Flore and Blancheilor, whose name again contains the notion of whiteness.
more ancient tradition of a 'reine Pédanque, regina pede aureae,' whose figure stands carved in stone on old churches.\(^1\) It is apparently a swan-maiden's foot, which as a mark of her higher nature she cannot lay aside (any more than Huldra her tail, or the devil his horse hoof); and at the same time the spinning-woman's splay-foot that worked the treadle, and that of the treading dame Stempe or Trempe. If we had older and minuter descriptions of 'frau Berhta' in Germany, perhaps this foot would also be mentioned in them (see Suppl.).

It still remains for us to explain her precise connexion with a particular day of the year. It is either on Dec. 25 (dies natalis), or twelve days after Christmas, on Jan. 6, when the star appeared to the Three Kings (magi), that the christian church celebrates the feast of the manifestation of Christ under the name of epiphania (v. Ducange, sub v.), bethphania or theophania (O. Fr. tiephaine, tiphagne). In an OHG. gloss (Emm. 394), theophania is rendered giperahtha naht, the bright night of the heavenly vision that appeared to the shepherds in the field.\(^2\) Documents of the Mid. Ages give dates in the dative case: 'perchtentag, perhtennahlt' (for OHG. zi demo perahtin taga, zi deru Perahtun naht); again, 'an der berechtnaht,' M. Belam (Mone, anz. 4, 451); 'ze perh-nahnten,' MB. 8, 540 (an. 1302); 'unze an den ahtodin tac nâh der Perhtage,' till the eighth day after the Perht's (fem.) day, Fundgr. 110, 22; 'von dem nehsten Berhtag,' MB. 9, 138 (an. 1317); 'an dem Prehentag,' MB. 7, 256 (an. 1349);—these and other contracted forms are cited with references in Scheffer's Haltaus p. 75, and Schm. 1, 194.\(^3\) Now from this there might very easily grow up a personification, Perchentac, Perchentennahlt, the bright day becoming Bright's, i.e., dame Bright's, day. (Conrad of Dankrotsheim, p. 123, puts his milde Behne down a week earlier, on Dec. 30.)\(^4\)

Two hypotheses present themselves. Either the entire fabulous existence of a Perhta first arose accidentally and by misunderstanding, out of such personification; or the analogy of the 'bright' day was tacked on to a previously existing Perhta. Now it is true we

\(^1\) Altd. w. 3, 47-8; Paris too connects this Pédanque with Berte, iii. iv. 198; reine l'Élanque, Michelet hist. de France 1, 496-8. 2, 152.


\(^3\) The OHG. 'pherintae = parasceve (Graff 5, 360) is Good Friday, and distinct from Prehentag, Perchentag.

\(^4\) Dec. 28 is Innocents', 29 St. Thomas's, 31 St. Silvester's.
cannot point out a dame Perhta before the 15th or 14th century, or at earliest the 13th; but the first supposition need not break down, even if we did manage to hunt up her personal name in older authorities: even in the 9th century the expression 'perahtün naht' might have developed into 'Perahtün naht'. Still the characteristics we have specified of a mythical Berta, and above all, her identity with Holda, seem to me to decide the matter the other way. If, independently of the christian calendar, there was a Holda, then neither can Perahta be purely a product of it; on the contrary, both of these adjective names lead up to a heathen deity, who made her peregrination at that very season of yule, and whom therefore the christians readily connected with the sacredness of Christmas and New-year.

I will here group together the features which unmistakably make Holda and Bertha appear in this light. They drive about in wagons, like mother Earth, and promote agriculture and navigation among men; a plough, from which there fall chips of gold, is their sacred implement. This too is like the gods, that they appear suddenly, and Bertha especially hands her gifts in at the window. Both have spinning and weaving at heart, they insist on diligence and the keeping of festivals holy, on the transgressor grim penalties are executed. The souls of infant children are found in their host, as they likewise rule over elves and dwarfs, but night-hags and enchantresses also follow in their train;—all this savours of heathenism.

It is very remarkable, that the Italians too have a mis-shapen fairy Befana, a terror to children, who has sprung out of epiphania (befania): on that day the women and children set a doll made of old rags in the window; she is black and ugly, and brings presents. Some say, she is Herod's daughter; Ranke's hist. zeitschr. 1, 717. 'La Befania' (Pulci's Morg. 5, 42). Berni says: 'il di di Befania vo porla per Befana alla fenestra, perch'è qualcun le dia d' una ballestra.' It would be astonishing, if twice over, in two different nations, a name in the calendar had caused the invention of a supernatural being; it is more likely that, both in Italy, and among us, older traditions of the people have sought to blend themselves with the christian name of the day.

1 Franc. Berni, rime 105. Crusea sub v. befana.

Herodias, of whom we have just been reminded by Besana, will illustrate this even better. The story of Herod’s daughter, whose dancing brought about the beheading of John the Baptist, must have produced a peculiarly deep impression in the early part of the Mid. Ages, and in more than one way got mixed up with fables. Religious poets treat the subject in full, and with relish (Hel. 83-5); Otfried seems to leave it out designedly. It was imagined, that on account of her thoughtless rather than malicious act (for the proposal came from her revengeful mother), Herodias (the daughter) was condemned to roam about in company with evil and devilish spirits. She is placed at the head of the ‘furious host’ or of witches’ nightly expeditions, together with Diana, with Holda and Perahta, or in their stead. In Burcard of Worms 10, 1 we read: Illud etiam non omittendum, quod quaedam sceleratae mulieres retro post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus etphantasmatibus seductae, credunt se et profintentur nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa terrarum spatia intempestae noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut dominae obedire, et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari.—Joh. Salisberiensis († 1182) in Polycr. 2, 17: Quale est, quod noctilucam quandam, vel Herodiadem vel praesidem noctis dominam, concilia et conventus de nocte asserunt convocare, varia celebrari convivia, &c.—Angerius, episcopus Conseranus (an. 1280): Nulla mulier de nocturnis equitare cum Diana dea paganorum vel cum Herodiade seu Bensozia et innumera mulierum multitudine profiteatur.—Similar statements have passed into later writings, such as those of Martin von Amberg, and Vintler. It is worth noticing, that to the worship of this Herodias, one third of the whole world is ceded, and so a most respectable diffusion allowed. Ratherius (bishop of Verona, but a Frank, b. at Lobi near Cambray, d. 974) in his Praeloquia (Martene and Durand 9, 798. opp. edit. Ballerini pp. 20. 21): Quis enim eorum, qui hodie in talibus usque ad perditionem animae in tantum decipiantur, ut etiam eis, quas (Ball.

1 Ducange sub v. Diana spells Benzoria, but has the true meaning under Bensozia itself; it seems to mean bona socia, friendly propitious being. Bona dea, Dio Cass. 37, 35. 45. Conf. ch. XXVIII, dobra sretia, bona Fortuna; ch. XVI, good wife, under Wood-women.
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de quibus) ait Gen.\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Herodiad} illam baptistae Christi interfectricem, quasi \textit{reginam} imo \textit{deam} proponant; asserentes, \textit{tertiam totius mundi partem} illi traditam: quasi haec merces fuerit prophetae occisi, cum potius sint daemones, talibus praestigiis infelices mulieculas, hisque multum vituperabiliores viros, quia perditissimos, decipientes.—A full and remarkable account of the medieval tradition, that was tacked on to \textit{Herodias}, is contained in the Reinardus 1, 1139—1164:

Præcipue \textit{sidus} celebrant, ope cujus, ubi omnes
defuerant testes, est data Roma Petro,
traditaque injusto \textit{Pharaidis} virgo labori;
sec sanctifaciunt quaecunque volunt.

Hac famous erat felixque fuisset \textit{Herodes}
prole, sed infelix hanc quoque laesit amor:
haec virgo, thalamos \textit{Baptistae} solius ardens,
voverat hoc demto nullius esse viri.
Offensus genitor, comperto prolis amore,
insontem sanctum decapitavit atrox.
Postulat afferrir virgo sibi tristis, et affert
regius in disco tempora trunca cliens.

Mollibus allatum stringens caput illa lacertis
perfundit lacrimis, osculaque addere avet;
oscula captantem \textit{caput} \textit{ansigut} atque \textit{resulat},
illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit.
Ex illo nimium memor ira \textit{Johannis} eandem
\textit{per vacuam coeli} flabilis urget iter:
mortuus infestat miseram, nec vivus amarat,
non tamen hanc penitus fata perisse sinunt.

Lenit honor luctum, minuit reverentia poenam,
\textit{pars hominum moestac tertia servit herae}.

\textit{Querculus et corylis} a noctis parte seunda
\textit{usque nigri ad galli carmina prima sedet}.

Nunc ea nomen habet \textit{Pharaidis, Herodias} ante
saltria, nec subiens nec subeunda pari.

Conf. Aelfrici homiliae 1, 486. Here we have \textit{Herodias} described
as \textit{moesta hera} cui \textit{pars tertia hominum} servit, the reverential
homage she receives assuages her bitter lot; only from midnight

\textsuperscript{1} Ballerini cannot understand this Gen.; is it Gennadius (Massiliensis), a writer at the end of the fifth century?
till first cockcrow she sits on oaks and hazel-trees, the rest of her
time she floats through the empty air. She was inflamed by love
for John, which he did not return; when his head is brought in on
a charger, she would fain have covered it with tears and kisses, but
it draws back, and begins to blow hard at her; the hapless maid is
whirled into empty space, and there she hangs for ever.¹ Why she
was afterwards (in the twelfth century) called Pharaíldis, is not
explained by the life of a saint of that name in Flanders (Acta
sanct. 4 Jan.); nor does anything that the church tells of John the
Baptist and Herodias (Acta sanct. 24 Jun.) at all resemble the
contents of the above story: Herodias is Herod's wife, and the
daughter is named Salome. Pharaíldis on the contrary, M. Dutch
Verelede,² leads us to ver Elde = frau Hilde or frau Hulde, as in a
doc. of 1213 (Bodmanns Rheing. alterth. p. 94) there occurs a
'miles dictus Verhildeburg; and in a Frisian doc. of the 14th
century a Ferhildema, evidently referring to the mythic Hildburg.
Still more remarkable seems a M. Dutch name for the milky way,
Vroneldenstræct = frauen Hilde or Hulde strasse (street, highway).
So that the poet of the Reinardus is entirely in the right, when
Herodias sets him thinking of Pharaíldis, and she again of the
milky way, the sidus in his first line.

There is no doubt whatever, that quite early in the Mid. Ages
the christian mythus of Herodias got mixed up with our native
heathen fables: those notions about dame Holda and the 'furious
host' and the nightly jaunts of sorceresses were grafted on it, the
Jewish king's daughter had the part of a heathen goddess assigned
her (Ratherius says expressly: imo dea), and her worship found
numerous adherents. In the same circle moves Diana, the lunar
deity of night, the wild huntress; Diana, Herodias and Holda

¹ This reference to the turbo (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical
and of high antiquity. Not only did Zío or Zio, once a deity, become with the
christians a name for the whirlwind, p. 203 (and Pulloineken too may have to
do with Phol, p. 229); but to this day such a wind is accounted for in Lower
Saxony (about Celle) by the dancing Herodius whirling about in the air. Elsewhere
the raising of it is ascribed to the devil, and offensive epithets are hurled at him, as in the Saalfeld country: 'Schweinezahl fahret,' there goes
swine-tail (Practoricus, Rübezalz 3, 120), and on the Rhön mts.: 'Sauzagal,'
sow-tail (Schm. 4, 110), to shew contempt for the demon, and abate his fury
(see Suppl.). I shall bring in some other stories, when treating of the wind-
sprites.

² Canneart, strafrecht 153-5. B/lg. mus. 6, 319. Conf. Vergote for frau
Gaude.
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stand for one another, or side by side. Diana is denounced by Eligius (Superst. A); the passage in the decrees of councils (Superst. C) has found its way into many later writings (Superst. D, G): like Herodias, she appears as *domina* and *hera*. The life of St. Caesarius Arelatensis mentions a ‘daemonium, quod rustici Dianam vocant,’ so that the name was familiar to the common people; that statue of Diana in Greg. Tur. 8, 15 I have spoken of on p. 110. But the strongest testimony to the wide diffusion of Diana’s cultus seems to be a passage in the life of St. Kilian, the apostle of the East Franks (*†* 689): Gozbertus dux Franciae . . . volens crebra apud se tractare inquisitione, utrum Ejus quem (Kilianus) praedicabat, vel Dianae potius cultus praefendus esset. Diana namque apud ilium in summa veneratione habebatur (Surius 4, 133; Acta sanct. Bolland. 8 Jul. (p. 616). As it is principally in Thuringia, Franconia and Hesse that *frau* Holda survives, it is not incredible that by Diana in the neighbourhood of Würzburg, so far back as the 7th century, was meant no other than she.

Lastly, the retrospective connexion of this Herodias or Diana with personages in the native paganism, whether of Celtic or Teutonic nations, receives a welcome confirmation from the legend of a *domina* Abundia or *dame* Habonde, supplied by French authorities of the Mid. Ages. A bishop of Paris, Guilielmus Alvermus (Guillaume d’ Auvergne), who died 1248, speaks thus of nymphs and lamiae (opera, Par. 1674, fol. I. 1036): ‘Sic et daemon, qui praetextu mulieris, cum alii de nocte domos et cellaria dicitur frequentare, et vacant eam Satiam a satietate, et dominam Abundiam pro abundantia,’1 quam cam praestare dicunt domibus, quas frequentaverit: hnjusmodi etiam daemones, quas *dominas* vocant vetulae, penes quas error iste remansit, et a quibus solis creditur et somniatur. Dicunt has *dominas* edere et bibere de escis et potibus, quos in domibus inveniunt, nec tamen consumptionem aut imminutionem eam facere escarum et potuum, maxime si vasa escarum sint discooperta et vasa poculorum non obstructa eis in nocte relinquantur. Si vero operta vel clausa inveniunt seu obstructa, inde nec comedunt nec bibunt, propter quod infaustas et infortunatas relinquunt, nec *satietatem* nec *abun-

1 The Romans also personified Abundantia as a superior being, but she only appears on coins, she had neither temples nor altars.
dantiam eis praestantes.' The like is repeated on p. 1068, but on p. 1066 we read: 'Sunt et aliae ludificationes malignorum spirituum, quas faciunt interdum in nemoribus et locis amoenis et frondosis arboribus, ubi apparent in similitudine puellarum aut matronarum ornatu muliebri et candido, interdum etiam in stabulis, cum luminaribus cereis, ex quibus apparent distillationes in comis et collis equorum, et comae ipsorum diligenter tricatae, et audies eos, qui talia se vidisse fatentur, dicentes veram ceram esse, quae de luminaribus hujusmodi stillaverat. De illis vero substantiis, quae apparent in domibus, quas dominas nocturnas, et principem earum vocant dominam Abundiam, pro eo quod domibus, quas frequentant, abundantiam bonorum temporalium praestare putantur, non aliter tibi sentiendum est, neque aliter quam quemadmodum de illis audivisti. Quapropter eo usque invaluit stultitia hominum et insania vetuarum, ut vasa vini et receptacula ciborum discocpta relinquant, et omnino nec obstruant neque claudant eis noctibus, quibus ad domos suas eas credunt adventuras, ea de causa videlicet, ut cibos et potus quasi paratos inveniant et eos absque difficultate apparitionis pro beneplacito sumant.

The Roman de la rose (Méon 18622 seq.) informs us:

qui les cinc sens ainsine deçoit
par les fantasmes, quil reçoit,
dont maintes gens par lor folie
cuident estre par nuit estries
errans aucques dame Habonde,
d et dient, que par tout le monde
li tiers enfant de nacion
sunt de ceste condition.
qu'il vont trois fois en la semaine,
si cum destince les maine,
et par tous ces ostex se boutent,
ne cles ne barres ne redoutent,
ains sen entrent par les fendaces,
par chatieres et par crevaces,
et se partent des cors les ames
et vont avec les bonnes dames
par leus forains et par maisons,
et le pruevent par tiex raisons:

1 Conf. Deutsche sagen, no. 122.
que les diversités vues
e sont pas en lor liz vennes,
ains sunt lor ames qui laborent
et par le monde ainsinc sen corent, &c.

18686. Dautre part, que li tiers du monde
aillé ainsinc avec dame Habonde,
si cum voles vieles le pruevent
par les visions que truevent,
dont convient il sans nule faille
que trestous li mondes i aillé.

As Ratherius and the Reinardus represent a third part of the world
as given up to the service of Herodias, the same statement is here
applied to dame Habonde; Herodias and Abundia are therefore
one. A connexion between Abundia and our native Folla, Fulla
(fulness) will presently be made apparent. The term enfans may
refer either to the unchristenèd babes above, or to the great
multitude of heathen, who remained shut out of the christian
community. It had long been the custom to divide the known
world into three parts. The domina clothed in white reminds one
of Perahta the bright, the bona domina or bona socia of Holda the
gracious, and Herodias haunting the oaks by night of the Old
German tree-worship. They are originally benignant beings all,
whose presence brings prosperity and plenty to mankind; hence to
them, as to friendly spirits or gods, meat and drink are set for a
sacrifice in the night season. Holda, Berhta and Werra seem to
love a particular kind of food, and look for it on their feast-day.

7. Hruoda (Hrede). Ostara (Eastre).

Thus far we have got acquainted with the names and worship
of several goddesses, who were honoured under different names by
particular tribes of Teutondom (Nerdu, Hludana, Tanfana, Holda,
Berhita), and others resembling them have only become known to
us under foreign appellations (Isis, Diana, Herodias, Abundia): of
all these (so long as I consider still doubtful the connexion of

1 Agitur pars teritia mundi. Ovid. met. 5, 372; tertia pars mundi humans
perit Africa flammis, Coripp. 1, 47: tertia pars orbis Europa vocatur, Wal-
thar. 1.

2 Is the name socia connected with the Satia in Guillelmus Alvernus?
'Erce' with our Herke) not one is to be found among the Anglo-Saxons.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon historian tells us the names of two beings, whom he expressly calls ancient goddesses of his people, but of whose existence not a trace is left amongst other Germans. A clear proof, that here as well as there, heathenism was crowded with divinities of various shape and varying name, but who in their characteristics and cultus corresponded to one another. Why this multiplicity of form should prevail more in the case of the female deities than of the male, can be fairly explained, I think, by the greater respect paid to the chief masculine divinities: they were too famous and too highly thought of, for their principal names not to have penetrated all branches of the nation.

The two goddesses, whom Beda (De temporum ratione cap. 13) cites very briefly, without any description, merely to explain the months named after them, are Hrede and Eāstre, March taking its Saxon name from the first, and April from the second: 'Rhedmonath a dea illorum Rheda, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur.'—'Antiqui Anglorum populi, gens mea . . . apud eos Aprilis Esturmonath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum, quae Eostra vocabatur et cui in illo festa celebrantur (?), nomen habuit; a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiques observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solennitatis vocantes.'

It would be uncritical to saddle this father of the church, who everywhere keeps heathenism at a distance, and tells us less of it than he knows, with the invention of these goddesses. There is nothing improbable in them, nay the first of them is justified by clear traces in the vocabularies of other German tribes. March is in OHG. lenzinmänōt, named after the season lenzo, lengizo [lengthening of days]; but it may have borne other names as well. Oberlin quotes, from Chorion's Ehrenkranz der teutschen sprach, Strassb. 1644, p. 91, Retmonat for March; and a doc. of 1404

1 One MS. (Kolmesen opusc. p. 287; this ref. given in Rathlefs Hoya and Diepholz 3, 16) reads: Veteres Anglicani populi vocant Estormonath paschalem mensem, idque a dea quadam cui Teutonicë populi in paganismo sacrificia fecerunt tempore mensis Aprilis, quae Eostra est appellata.

(Weissth. 1, 175) has Redimonet, it is not clear for what month. When we find in the Appenzeller reimchronik p. 174:

In dem Redimonet
die puren kamen donet,
do der merzenmonat gieng herzu
an ainem morgen fru
do zundentz Rorschach an;

here Redimonet seems, by the displacement so common in the names of months, to be the month before March, as Chorion uses his Retmonat for February as well. Von Arx explains the word quite differently, and I think untenantably, by a mountain. Apart from the Swiss term altogether, I believe the AS. name was really Ḥrēḏ or Ḥrēḏe = OHG. Hruad or Hruodâ, and derived, as I said on p. 206, from hruod gloria, fama; so that we get the meaning of a shining and renownful goddess. The Trad. fuld. 2, 196, furnish a female name Hruadâ, gen. Hruadûn, and in 1, 42. 2, 26, another nom. Hruadûn, this last apparently formed like ON. Fiørgyn and Hlødyn. The AS. adj. hrēḏ or hrēḏe means crudelis (Cedmn. 136, 21. 198, 2), perhaps victoriosus? I am in doubt about hrēḏ, sigehrēḏ, guðhrēḏ, Beow. 5146. 974. 1631; they waver between an adj. and a subst. sense, and in the last passage, ‘Beowulfse weard guðhrēḏ gifēḏe,’ victoria is evidently meant. When the AS. Menologue, line 70, translates Martius by reḏe, this may stand for hrēḏe.

We Germans to this day call April ostermonat, and õstarmânoth is found as early as Eginhart (temp. Car. Mag.). The great christian festival, which usually falls in April or the end of March, bears in the oldest of OHG. remains the name õstard gen. -ûn, ¹ it is mostly found in the plural, because two days (õstartagû, aostartagû, Diut. 1, 266) were kept at Easter. This Œstard, like the AS. Eûstre, must in the heathen religion have denoted a higher being, whose worship was so firmly rooted, that the christian teachers tolerated the name, and applied it to one of their own grandest anniversaries.² All the nations bordering on us have retained the Biblical ‘pascha’; even Ulphilas writes paska, not

¹ T. 157, 1. 3. 5. O. i. 22, 8. iii. 6, 16. iv. 9, 8. Hymn. 21, 4. Fragm. theol. xiv. 17.
² Conf. Ideler’s chronologie 1, 516.
austro, though he must have known the word;¹ the Norse tongue also has imported its pâskir, Swed. pâsk, Dan. paaske. The OHG. adv. östar expresses movement toward the rising sun (Gramm. 3, 205), likewise the ON. austr, and probably an AS. eãstor and Goth. aust. In Latin the identical auster has been pushed round to the noonday quarter, the South. In the Edda a male being, a spirit of light, bears the name of Austrri, so a female one might have been called Austra; the High German and Saxon tribes seem on the contrary to have formed only an Ostara, Æástre (fem.), not Ostaro, Æôstra (mas.);² And that may be the reason why the Norsemen said pâskir and not austur: they had never worshipped a goddess Austra, or her cultus was already extinct.

Ostara, Æôstrô seems therefore to have been the divinity of the radiant dawn, of upspringing light, a spectacle that brings joy and blessing,³ whose meaning could be easily adapted to the resurrection-day of the christian’s God. Bonfires were lighted at Easter, and according to a popular belief of long standing, the moment the sun rises on Easter Sunday morning, he gives three joyful leaps, he dances for joy (Superst. 813). Water drawn on the Easter morning is, like that at Christmas, holy and healing (Superst. 775. 804); here also heathen notions seems to have grafted themselves on great christian festivals. Maidens clothed in white, who at Easter, at the season of returning spring, show themselves in clefts of the rock and on mountains, are suggestive of the ancient goddess (see Suppl.).

S. Zisa.

Beda’s account of Hrede and Æôstrô⁴ shall be followed now by a statement reaching back to the 11th century, and deserving attention if only for its great age, concerning a goddess Zisa worshipped at Augsburg in the heathen time.

¹ For oriens he chooses urruns, for occidens sagis, i.e., rising and sinking of the sun, not that he did not know vistr (versus occidentem), root vis (repose, stillness, evening).
² Composite proper names: Ostroberht, Austroberta, Austregisil, Ostrogotha (like Visgotha, Vistrimund, Westeralap, Sundarolt, Nordberahlt, &c. &c.)
³ In the Basque language ostara means May, the budding leafing time, from ostoa, leaf, foliage: a mere accidental resemblance.
⁴ I might introduce into the text an AS. R’en, if I knew any more about her than what Lye’s glossary quotes from Cod. Cot. 65, 87: Rècenn Diana. It is formed like jîinen (aucilla), wylpen (bellona), &c.
The Cod. Monach. Lat. 2 (of 1135), and the Cod. Emmeran. F. IX. fol. 4⁸ (of 12-13th cent.) contain identical 'Excerpta ex Gallica historia'.

'Dum hec circa renun geruntur, in noricorum (interlined bavariorum, Cod. Vind. CII. pauwariorum) finibus grave vulnus romanus populus acceptit. quippe germanorum gentes (interlined suevi), que retias occupaverant, non longe ab alpibus tractu pari patensibus campis, ubi duo rapidissimi amnes [interlined lieus et verthaha (CII vuerdaha)] inter se confluent, in ipsis noricis finibus (interlined terminis bavariorum et suevorum) civitatem non quidem muro sed vallo fossaque cinxerant, quam appellabant zizarim (CII. cizarim) ex nomine deec eize, quam religiosissime colemant. cujus templum quoque ex lignis barbarico ritu constrictum, postquam eo colonia romanae deducta est, iniviolatum permansit, ac vetustate collapsum nomen colli servavit. hanc urbem titus annius pretor ad arcendas barbarorum excursiones kal. sextilibus (interlined exacta jam estate) exercitu circumvenit. ad meridianam oppidi partem, que sola a continentii (interlined littoribus) erat, pretor ipse cum legione martia castra operosissime communivit. ad occidentem vero, qua barbarorum adventus erat, ávar, bógudis regis filius, cum equitatu omni et auxiliariibus macedonum copis inter flumen et vallum loco castris parum amplo infelici temeritate extra flumen (interlined verthaha) consedit. pulchra indoles, non minus romanis quam grecis disciplinis instructa. igitur quinquagesimo nono die, qua eo ventum est, cum is dies deec eize (CII. deq eize) apud barbaros celeberrimus, ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentaret, inmanis barbarorum (interlined suevorum, CII. svivorum) multitudo, ex proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improviso castra irrupit, equitatum omnem, et quod miserius erat, auxilia sociorum delevit. avar, cum in hostium potestatem regio habitu vivus venisset, [sed

1 I owe their communication to Schmeller's kindness. The same piece is found at Vienna in two forms: in the Cod. Lat. CII (olim hist. prof. 652) sec. xi, ineuntis fol. 79, 80; and in the Cod. CCXXVI (olim univ. 237) sec. xii. In both it stands between Jorn, De reb. get. and De regn. succ. CII has interlinear glosses and marginal notes (exactly like the Munich MSS.) by a scarcely later hand, which also writes the heading 'Excerptum ex Gallica historia'. CCXXVI adopts the interlinearis into the text, but otherwise agrees.

2 On margin: 'Quem male polluerat cultura nefaria dudum
galbus monticulum lune tibi eize tulit?'

3 On margin: 'Post conditam urbem augustum a romanis'.

4 Marg. note: 'Ut usque hodie ab incolis eizumbere nominetur'.

5 Marg. note: 'Ex cjuus vocabulo, quia ibi maclatus et tumulatus est
crilesaveron (CII chrekasaver) nomen acceptit. grecus enim erat'.

GODDESSES.
que apud barbaros reverentia?] more pcedidis ibidem mactatur. oppidanici vero non minori fortuna sed maiori virtute pretorem in auxilium socis properantem adoriuntur. romani haud sequiter resistunt. duo principes oppidanorum habino\(^2\) et caccus\(^3\) in primis pugnantes cadunt. et inclinata jam res oppidanorum esset, ni maturassent auxilium ferre socii in altera ripa jam victoria potiti. denique coadunatis viribus castra irrumpunt, pretorem, qui paulo altiorem tumulum (interlined perleith) frustra ceperat, romana vi resistentem obturant. legionem\(^4\) divinam (interlined martiam), ut ne nunciul cladis superesset, funditus delent. Verres solus tribunus militum amne transmisso in proximis paludibus occultans\(^5\) honestam mortem subterfugit. nec multo post sicilie proconsul inmani avaricia turpem mortem promeruit. nam cum se magistratu abdicaret, judicio civium damnatus est.'

The same fragment, only without the interlined words and without marginal additions, stands in Goldast's Rerum suev. script. aliquot veteres, Ulm 1727 fol. p. 3 under the rubric: 'Velleii Galli fragmentum de victoria Suevorum contra Romanos' (conf. Haupts zeitschr. 10, 291). It has the readings 'dea Cisa' and 'Cisara,' and for Caccus 'Caeus,' but agrees in the other names. Further, for loco parum amno, I find the better reading apto. The parenthesis 'sed—reverentia' is wanting, so is the concluding sentence 'nam—damnatus est.'. I should believe that Goldast had borrowed it all from Wolfg. Lazius's Reip. Rom. libri xii. Francof. 1591 p. 52, if this copy had not some variations too; the heading runs: 'Velleii excerpta ex Gallica historia'; it has Cisara, but Cize, also 'Habbinx, Caccus, amno,' and concludes with promeruit. Lazius

1 On margin:

'Hoc nomen terris begudis dat regia proles grecavar (CII grecus auar), pecudis de suevis more litatus.'

2 On margin:

'Prefectus habeno se victum hicque sepultum perpetuo montis nomine notificat. qui juxta montem occisus et sepultus nomen monti habenonorberch dedit, quem rustici havenenberch (CII havenonperch) dicunt.'

3 CII: 'a cuquis nomine putamiti ickingen nominari.'

4 On margin: 'de hac ibi perdita legione adhuc perleith nominatur.' Then in smaller but contemporaneous writing:

'Indicat hic collis romanam nomine cladem marta qua legio tota simul periit. subcidit hunc rome presup victoria petro, hoc sibimet templum qui modo constituit.'

5 On margin: 'hic quia in paludibus adjacentibus latuit, lacui uerisse huc usque nomen dedit.'
sages: ‘quam nos historiam in pervetusto codice membran. literis antiquissimis scriptam reperimus’; that would be the sixth MS. known hitherto, and copies must have been pretty numerous in the 11-12th centuries. The one that Goldast had before him may probably have been the oldest.

Either one or the other of them, both Otto von Freisingen and the author (or continuator) of the Auersberg chronicle seem to have had before them. The former tries to connect the story with Quintilius Varus (instead of Verres), and after relating his overthrow, adds (chron. 3, 4): ‘Tradunt Augustenses hanc caedem ibi factam, ostenduntque in argumentum collem ex ossibus mortuorum compactum, quem in vulgari perlleich (Mone, anz. 1, 256), eo quod legio ibi perierit, usque hodie vocant, vicumque ex nomine Vari appellatum monstrant’. The Auersberg chronicler’s account, though he almost verbally adopts the older fragment, I hold it needful to insert here, because the marginal glosses are curiously interwoven with the text, and referred to ‘discovered inscriptions on stone’.

De Augusta Vindelicorum vel Rhetiae. sicut ex scriptis veterum colligitur haec civitas tria nomina accepit. Germanorum quippe gentes primum considerantes in partibus Rhetiae, quae nunc est pars Sueviae, non longe ab alpibus in planitie, loco tamen munito propter concursum duorum rapidorum fluminum, hanc urbe construxerunt, et non muris sed fossatis eam firmaverunt, et ex nomine deae Zizae, quam religiosissime colebant, Zizerim eam nominabant. hujus quoque deae templum ex lignis barbarico ritu constructum, etiam postquam Romani eam incolere coeperunt, inviolatum permansit. at vetustate collapsum nomen colli servavit, in quo postmodum in lapide exseculpti hi versus sunt reperti:

quam male polluerat cultura nefaria dudum
gallus monticulum hunc tibi Ziza tulit.

unde usque in praesens ab incolis idem monticulus Zizenberg nominatur. apud hanc urbem Romani deleti sunt magna caede. nam Titus Annius praetor ad arcendas barbarorum excursiones cum exercitu in kal. Augusti eam circundavit, ipseque ad meridianam oppidi partem, quae sola patebat, castra sua cum legione Martia operosissime communivit. ad occidentem vero ultra fluvium, ubi Suevis aut barbaris aditus patebat, Avar Bogudis regis

filius cum omni equitatu et auxilio macedonico consedit.igitur quinquagesimo nono die, quam eo ventum est, cum is dies deae Ziz apud barbaros celeberrimus esset, ludum et lasciviam quam formidinem eivies ostentarunt. tunc etiam inmanis barbarorum multitudo, quae de partibus Sueviae illuc convenerat, de proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improviso castra irrupit et Avaris exercitum delevit. ipsum quoque Avar regio habitu indutum vivum comprehendentes crudeliter in modum pecoris mactaverunt. a quo in loco, ubi mactatus est, vicus usque hodie appellatus est Cricchesavcron, in quo hi versus reperti sunt:

his nonen terris Bogudis dat regia proles

Graccus Avar, pecudis de Suevis more litatus.

oppidani vero non minori fortuna sed majori virtute praetorem in auxilium sociis properentem invadunt, quibus Romani haud segniter resistunt. in quo conflictu duo principes oppidanorum Habino et Caccus in primis pugnantes cadunt, et inclinata jam res esset oppidanorum, ni maturassent auxilium ferre Suevi in altera ripa victoria jam potiti. de nominibus autem illorum principum interfectorum exstant adhuc loca denominata, nam rustici de Habinone vocant monticulum Habinoberg, in quo hi versus reperti sunt:

praefectus Habino se victum atque sepultum perpetuo montis nomine notificat.

a Cacco vero dicunt Geggimen denominari. denique coadunatis Suevis et oppidanis castra irrupunt, et praetorem, qui paulo altiorum tumulum frustra ceperat, romana vi resistentem obturcant, legionemque divinam, ut nec nuncius cladis superesset, funditus delent. de hac perdita legione adhuc perlaich, quasi perdita legio, nominatur, ubi postmodum hi versus sunt reperti:

indicat hic collis romanam nomine cladem,
martia quo legio tota simul periit.

solus Verres tribunus militum anae transmisso in proximis paludibus se occultans honestam mortem subterfugit, lacui Vernse lucusque nomen dedit. versus:

das nomen lacui Verres quo tu latuisti.
hic tamen non multo post Siciliae proconsul effectus turpem mortem promeruit. nam cum se magistratu abdicaret judicio civium damnatus est. propter hunc Verrem tradunt Augustenses hanc caedem fuisse eandem, quam sub Augusto factam quidam descri-
bunt, sed Varum illum nominant his verbis: ea tempestate Varus, romano more, superbe et avare erga subditos se gerens a Germanis deletus est.

Some later writers also mention the tradition. About 1373—91, an ecclesiastic, Küchlin, composed in rhyme a history of Augsburg for the burgomaster Peter Egen the Young, who wished to have his house painted with illustrations from it. Cap. 2, fol. 99 says of the Swabians:

Sie bawten einen tempel gross darein zu eren (in honour of) Zise der abgöttin, die sie nach heidnischen sitten (after heathen ways) anbetten zu denselben zeiten (adored in those days). Die stat ward genannt (city got named) auch Zisaris nach der abgöttin (after the goddess), das war der pris. Der tempel als lang stnd unversert (stood uninjured), bis im von alter was der val beschert (its fall decreed), und da er von alter abgieng (as from age it passed away), der berg namen von im empfieng (the hill took name), darauf gestanden was (whereon had stood) das werck, und haist noch hüt (hight still to-day) der Zisenberek.

Conf. Keller's Fastn. sp., p. 1361. Sigism. Meisterlin, in his Augsburg chronicle (which is in print from the 8th chap. of bk 1), treats of this Cisa in chaps. 5-6 of bk 2. In the unprinted chap. 4 of bk 1, he unmistakably refers to Küchlin, and again at the end of chap. 7: ‘das er auch melt (tells) von der göttin Cisa, die auch genent wird Cizais, das sy geert habend (they honoured her) die doch aus Asia warend; dawider seind die andern, die von Cysa schreibent, die sprechent, das sy die Vindelici habend nach schwabischen sitten angebetet. von der göttin wirst du hernach mer haben, ob got wil (buch 3. cap. 5. 6).’ (See Suppl.)

Hopeless contradictions lie on the face of that fragment. Bogud, a Punic ship's-captain, who lived in the year 494 of Rome, or 260 B.C., is here turned into a Macedonian king; and his son Avar is made contemporary with the Ciceronian Verres of 200 years after, or even of the still later Varus. Yet Bogudes and Varus do occur as contemporaries of Pompey in Dio Cassius 41, 42.

1 Cod. Monach. Lat. 61; likewise sent me by Schmeller.
2 Augsb. 1522 fol. Meisterlin wrote it in 1456, and died about 1484.
What Titus Annius was meant by the 'praetor,' I cannot guess; there is a consul of that name A.U.C. 601 and 626, or B.C. 153, 128. Velleius Paterculus can never have written this sort of thing.¹

But all the rubbish it contains does not destroy the value of the remarkable story to us. The comparatively pure Latinity is enough to show that it was not composed so late as the twelfth century; Lazius and Velser² are inclined to place it in the Carolingian period, and it looks like the work of a foreigner, to whom the Germans are heathens and barbarians. The glosses confirm the local connexion of the whole tradition with Augsburg and its neighbourhood; and not only the Latin verses, but the German forms werthaha (R. Wertach), cizünberc, habino, habinonberc, look too old for the 12th century. Habino (Hepino), Habinolf, is an authentic OHG. man's name: Cacus is unknown to me, Cacan, Cagan would seem more vernacular, and the derived local name Geginen leads up to it. Some of the names quoted are preserved to this day: the eminence in the middle of the city, next the senate-house, is still called Perlach, on which the monastery and church of St. Peter were founded in 1064; so the verse 'subdidit hunc (collem) Romae praepes victoria Petro' was composed after that? The name perleih, which the legend derives from periens or perdita legio, suggests the OHG. eikileih, aigilaihi (phalaux), Gl. ker. 124. Diut. 1, 223; and in other compounds we find leih in a variety of senses.³ Zisenberg and Havenenberg are names no longer heard, while Pferzen (Veris-sè) MB. 33b, 108 an. 1343, and Kriegshaber are well known villages. Whatever may be the explanation of the older and correcter form Criechesaveron, it is very plain that the name of the place Criahhes (graece) avarà (imago, conf. pp. 86, 95, yet also avaro proles) first suggested ' Graecus Avar,' as well as Habinonberc the hero 'Habino.' The Auersberg chronicler's statement, that the Latin verses were found carved in all those places, must be rejected.

We find then, that tradition, true to her wont, has mixed up

¹ G. Jo. Vossius, De hist. Lat. 1, 24.
³ Henisch p. 293 explains 'berlach' at Augsburg 'ab ursis in publica cavea ibi altis,' a thing which was done in other towns, e.g. Bern. On the Perlach tower there was fixed a figure of St. Michael, which came into view every time the clock struck on Michaelmas-day; in earlier times a wooden temple of Isis (p. 294, ex lignis) is said to have stood on the spot; Fischart's geschichtkl. 30b: 'der amazonischen Augspurger japetisch fraw Eysen'.
fact and fiction; the great point is, that she brings us tidings of a Suevic goddess. Cisa seems the older and better spelling, and Ciza would be harder to explain. Now from this name of the goddess we can hardly derive that of the town Cisara, supposing it to be a purely German derivative; names of places are never formed with such a termination from male or female proper names. It seems more likely that Cisara = Cisae ara, from the altar and temple of the goddess: and later writers might corrupt Cisaram into Zizarim, Zizerim. We read that she was most devoutly (religiosissime) honoured by the Suevi, her anniversary is a grand festival devoted to games and merrymaking, the day is precisely defined as the fifty-ninth after Aug. 1, it fell therefore on Sept. 28. At such a season might be held a feast of the divinity who had prospered the harvest just gathered in. On Sept. 29 the christians kept one of their grandest days, that of St. Michael, who often had to replace a heathen god of war and victory. It seems worthy of notice, that the Saxons had their great feast of victory about the same time, viz., the beginning of October; Widukind pp. 423-4. With the first Sunday after Michaelmas the holy common-week was considered in the Mid. Ages to begin; Scheffer's Haltans, pp. 141-2. na der hilligen meinweken, Weisth. 3, 240. In the handing down of a precise and doubtless genuine date, I feel the credibility of the story confirmed.

Now who is Cisa? One naturally thinks first of that Suevic Isis (p. 257) in Tacitus, whose name even is not unlike Cisa, Zisa, if we make allowance for the mere dropping of the initial, an omission which the Roman might be prompted to make by the similarity of the Isis that he knew. But even if Zisa be totally different from Isis, she can with all the better right be placed by the side of our Zio, in whom also was displayed a thoroughly Swabian deity (p. 199); nay, together with our supposed feminine Ziu (p. 203) there may have been a collateral form Zisâ, so that her Zisânberg would exactly correspond to the god's Ziewesberg, Zisberg (see Suppl.). Shall I bring forward a reason for this guess, which shall be anything but far-fetched? The Mid. Dutch name for the third day of the week had the curious form Disendach (p. 125), which being of course a corruption of Tisendach brings us at once to Tise = Zisa. It is a matter for further researches to demonstrate,1 but

1 Down in the Riess between the rivers Lech and Wertach, in the midst of Sueves, at a time supposed to be before even the Romans settled in the region,
that three divinities, Zio, Zisa and Isis, are assigned to the Suevi, is already abundantly clear.

8. Frikkia (Frigg).  Frouwa (Freyja).

Our inquiry turns at length to the goddesses of the Norse religious system, of whom unequivocal traces are forthcoming in the rest of Teutondom.

Foremost of these are Frigg the wife of Oðinn, and Freyja the sister of Freyr, a pair easy to confound and often confounded because of their similar names. I mean to try if a stricter etymology can part them and keep them asunder.

The name of Freyja seems the easier: it is motived no doubt by the masculine Freyr (Gramm. 3, 335). Now as we recognised Freyr in the Gothic frauíja (p. 209), Freyja leads us to expect a Gothic fraújô, gen. fraújons, both in the general sense of domina mistress, and in the special one of a proper name Frúijnô. The notion of mistress, lady, never occurs in Ulphilas. To make up for it, our OHG. remains express it very frequently, by frouwâ, frówâ; the MHG. frouwe, frou and our modern frau have preserved themselves purely as common nouns, while the masc. frô has vanished altogether. In meaning, frouwe and frau correspond exactly to hërre, herr, and are used like it both in addressing and otherwise.¹ Our minnesängers are divided as to the respective superiority of frouwe (domina) and wip (femina),² wip expressing more the sex, and frouwe the dignity; to this day we feel frau to be nobler than weib, though the French femme includes a good deal of what is in our frau. It seems worthy of notice, that the poets

¹ Like our frô, the O Fr. dame (dominus) is now lost; dame (domina) remains, like our frau. The Span. keeps both don and doña, the Ital. only donna. The Romance tongues express the masc. notion by two other words, sirr, sieur (p. 27) and seigneur, signore, señor, i.e., seniør, out of which an Ital. signora, a Span. señora have sprouted, but no Fr. feminine.

harp on the connexion of *frau* with *fröh* glad (fro-lic) and *freude* joy; conf. Fridank 109, 5—8. Tit. 15, 35.

The AS. and OS. languages have done the very reverse: while their masc. *freá*, *fraho* is used far more freely than the OHG. *frouwo*, they have developed no fem. by its side. The M. Dutch dialect has *vrouwe*, *vrouwe* in addressing and as title (Huyd. op St. 1, 52. 356. Rein. 297. 731. 1365. 1655. 2129. 2288. 2510-32-57-64, &c.), seldom in other positions, Rein. 2291; the modern *vrouw* has extended its meaning even beyond the limits of our *frau*.

All the above languages appear to lack the fem. proper name, in contrast to the ON. which possesses *Freyja* almost solely as the goddess’s name, and no freyja = hera. Yet we find hús*freyja* housewife, Sæm. 212, and Snorri is still able to say that *freyja* is a tignarnafn (name of honour) derived from the goddess,¹ that grand ladies, rikiskonur, are *freyjur*, Sn. 29. Yngl. saga c. 13. The readings *frúr*, *fruvor* here are corrupt, for the Icel. form *frú* has evidently slipped in from the Dan. *frue*, Swed. *fru*, and these from Germany. The goddess should be in Swed. *Fröa*, Dan. *Frøe*, which I have never met with; the Swed. folk-song of Thor’s hammer calls Freyja *Froijenborg* (the Dan. Fridlefsborg), a Danish one has already the foreign *Fru*. Saxo is silent about this goddess and her father altogether; he would no doubt have named her Fróa. Our Merseburg poem has now at last presented us with *Frúð = Frówá*, as the proper name of the goddess.²

*Frígg* gen. Fríggjar, daughter of *Fíorgynn* and wife of *Óðinn*, is kept strictly apart from *Freyja*, gen. Freyju: in the Vafprudnismál and the beginning of the Grímnismál, *Óðinn* and *Frígg* are plainly presented as husband and wife; and as Hroprtr and Svâfnir are also names of *Óðinn*, ‘Hroprtr ok *Frígg*, Svâfnir ok *Frígg*’ in Sæm.

¹ As fráunjó from Fráunjó, and freyja from Freyja, a song of Frauenlob's, Ettn. p. 112 makes *vip* come from a Frankish king *Wippeo*. Is this an echo of a mythical Wippo, Wibba (general. of Mercia, end of ch. VII)? The explanation is as false as when the Edda derives *viff* from *vefa*, for all a woman’s being practically a weaver and a peace-weaver; we should have to assume two roots, *viban* and *veiban*, side by side. The ON. proper name *Vefreyja* is also worthy of note, Fornald. sög. 2, 459. 3, 250. 394.

² The reasons why we may not take *frúð* here for a mere title (and so a noun com.) are set forth in the Zeitschr. f. d. a. 2, 189. As for the *u* in the MS., it looks to me quite plain, else Wackernagel’s proposal to read *Frúá = Fria*, Friga, Fria, would be acceptable (*fríu* does occur in T. 93, 3). Frúá and Fria are alike welcome and suitable for my explanation.
91b 93a express the same relation. Saxo Gram., p. 13, has correctly ‘Frigga Othini conjux’. In prayers the two goddesses even stand side by side: ‘svå hialpi ther hollar vættir, Frigg ok Freyja, ok fleiri godr (more gods), sem þú feldir mer fár af höndom!’ Sem. 240b. So they do at the burning of Baldr’s body, Sn. 66, conf. 37. And that Danish folk-song has likewise ‘Frigge, Frv og Thor’.

The ON. usually has gg where the AS. has cg and OHG. ec or kk, namely, where a suffix i had stood after g or k: thus, ON. egg (acies), AS. eeg, OHG. ekki; ON. bryggja (pons), AS. brygege, OHG. prukkâ; ON. hryggr (dorsum), AS. hryeg, OHG. hrukki. In the same way we get an AS. Fricg, OHG. Frikke, Frickia, even farther away from Frouwâ than Frigg from Freyja.

It is the confounding of these two beings that will explain how Adam of Bremen came to put Fricco instead of Frô for Freyr (supra, p. 212); he would equally have said Fricca for Freyja. Fricco, Friccho, Friccolf were in use as proper names in OHG.

And now it seems possible to explain, what is otherwise unaccountable, why the sixth day of the week, dies Veneris, should be called in ON. both Freyjadagr and also Fridadagr, in OHG. never Frouwûntac, but Frïatac, Frïgetac, now Freitag, in AS. Friyedæg (for Fricyedæg ?), v. supra, pp. 123-6, and in Farôese Frýggjudeâ (Lyngbye 532).

Among these forms the AS. presents no difficulty: in the OHG. and ON. names we are puzzled by the absence of the guttural. I believe a solution is offered by that most important passage in Paulus Diac. 1, 8 where Wodan’s consort is named Frea, which can only mean Frigg, not Freyja, as Saxo Gram. too, while expressly grounding on Paulus, makes use of the form Frig: ‘Paulo teste auctore Frig dea’.

This Langob. Frea accords with the OHG. Fría, I take it to be not only identical with Frigg, but the original form of the name; it has less to do with Freyja and the AS. masc. freá. As an ON. brâ (pons) stands related to bryggia, so will frî to frigg. The Langob. Frea is = Frêa, Fria, Frija, Frêa. Its root is suggested by

1 The AS. chroniclers (p. 128) borrow Frea from Paulus. With Frea we must above all connect the free of the Laws of Liutprand 6, 40 and 67, and this means uxor, domina, not libera, ingenna. Paulus therefore, in assigning Frea to Wodan as his wife, has put her in the place of the Norse Frigg. The substitution is often made: thus, when Fornald. sög. 2, 25-6 has ‘heita á Freyju ok á Hútt (Öðinn),’ it is Frigg that should have been associated with Öðinn, as is done in the Grimnmismál (see Suppl.).
such words as: Goth. freis, frijis (liber), OHG. fri; Goth. frijôn (amare), OHG. friôn; especially may we take into account the OS. neut. fri (mulier), Hel. 9, 21. 13, 16. 171, 21. 172, 1, the AS. freo (mulier), Cædm. 29, 28. freolic cwên (pulcra femina), Beow. 1275. freolien meowle, Cod. exon. 479, 2. freolic wif, Beow. 1222. freolíc fæmne, Cædm. 12, 12. 54, 28. Now, as fri (liber) and our frech, ON. frekr (protervus, impdens), fri (mulier formosa) and ON. friðr (formosus), friðr (pax) seem to be all related, even the adjectival forms betray the shifting sense of the substantival. 2

We gather from all this, that the forms and even the meanings of the two names border closely on one another. Freyja means the glad some, gladdening, sweet, gracious goddess, Frigg the free, beautiful, loveable; to the former attaches the general notion of frau (mistress), to the latter that of fri (woman). Holda, from hold (sweet, kind), and Berhta from berht (bright, beautiful) resemble them both. The Swedish folk-song, in naming Fröjenborg, calls her ‘den väna solen,’ the beautiful sun.

Hence the mingling of their myths becomes the more conceivable. Saxo, p. 13, relates how Friggja, to obtain gold for her ornaments, violated conjugal fidelity; more minutely told, and differing much in the details, the tale about Freyja in Sn. 356 appears to be the same adventure. On quite another ground however the like offence is imputed to Frigg too (Sæm. 63. Yngl. saga cap. 3). In Sn. 81 the valshamr of Freyja is spoken of, but in 113-9 that of Frigg; the former is supported by Sæm. 70.

Hence the variations in the name for the day of the week. The OHG. Frîlaterc ought clearly to be Friggjarðagr in ON., and the ON. Freyjarðagr should be Frouwântac in OHG. Hence too the uncertainty in the naming of a constellation and of several plants. Orion’s belt, elsewhere named Jacob’s staff and also spindle (colus ἥλακάτη), is called by the Swedish people Friggervick (colus Friggae, Ihre, p. 663) or Frejervick (Finn Magnusen 361a), as we noticed before, or Fröjvas rok (Wieselgren. 383). The orchis odoratissima, satyrion albident, a plant from which love-potions are brewed, Icel. Frigjargras, otherwise hionagras (herba conjugalis); the later

1 Conf. the MHG. wiplich wip, Parz. 10, 17. MS. 1, 50a 202v. 2, 42b 182b 255a. wibin wip, MshI. 1, 359b; similarly ὥφλιτερα γυναῖκες, Od. 11, 386. 434. 15, 422. Hesiod sent. 4.

2 We might connect Venus with the Goth. qinô, qens, as venire with qiman; the Wel. gwên would answer to Gvenus for Venus; the Ir. dia beine, Friday, from beain, ben (lady) = Venus = AS. cwên.
christian way of thinking has substituted Mary for the heathen goddess. And the labouring man in Zealand speaks of the above constellation also by the name of Mariyrok, Marirok. Several kinds of fern, adiantum, polypodium, asplenium, are named lady's hair, maidenhair, Mariengras, capillus Veneris, Icel. Freyjuhár, Dan. Fruehaar, Venusstraa, Venusgrás, Norweg. Marigras, &c. Even if the Norse names here have sprung out of Latin ones, they show how Venus was translated both by Frigg and Freyja and Mary. As for Mary, not only was the highest conception of beauty carried over to her, (frío scóniòsta, idiso scóniòst, Hel. 61, 13. 62, 1), but she was pre-eminently our lady,frau, domina, donna. Conf. infra Frauachueli, ladycow, Marienkübelblatt. In the nursery-tales she sets the girls sewing and spinning like Holda and Bertha, and Holda’s snow appears to mean the same as Mary’s snow (p. 268).

Before so close a contact of the two names I pause, doubting with which of them to connect the strong and incontestable similarity of certain divine names in the non-Teutonic [Aryan] languages. First of all, an OBoh. gloss gives Priye for Aphrodite; taking into account the Goth. frijón, the OHG. friudil (lover), MHG. vriedel, and the Slav. priyátel (friend), Boh. přítel, Pol. przyjaćel, it must have meant either Freyja the goddess of love and fruitfulfulness, or Frigg the divine mother and patroness of marriage. In Sanskrit also pri is to love, priyas a friend, Ramâpriya dear-to-Lakshmi = lotus, Yamapriya pleasing-to-Yama = ficus indica, priya in names of gods = husband or wife, Pott’s forsch. 2, 424-7. Then prithivěl is the earth, and माता Prithvě Terra mater, from whom comes fruit and increase (conf. Wel. pridēl terra, Bopp’s gloss. 223b); and the word, though next of kin to prithus (πλατῶν latus), the earth being named the broad and wide, seems nevertheless connected with Fria, Frigg and fridu.

Frigg the daughter of Fiörgynn (p. 172), as consort of the highest god,1 takes rank above all other goddesses: she knows the fates of men (Sæm. 63b. Sn. 23. 64), is consulted by Óðinn (Sæm. 31a), administers oaths, handmaids fulfil her hest, she presides over

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1 Some of the AS. genealogies have ‘Wóden et Freáláf ejus uxor,’ so that Frigg = Freáláf (OHG. Fröleip) which fits in with that Fragelsborg in the Danish song, p. 300; others make Fréáláf Wóden’s father. But in lieu of him we have also Fríðuláf and Fríðuwulf, a fresh confirmation of the connexion between fríð and the goddess’s name.
marriages, and her aid is implored by the childless (Fornald. sög. 1, 117); hence hionagrás is also Friggjargras. We may remember those maidens yet unmarried (p. 264) being yoked to the plough of the goddess whose commands they had too long defied. In some parts of northern England, in Yorkshire, especially Hallamshire, popular customs show remnants of the worship of Frig. In the neighbourhood of Dent, at certain seasons of the year, especially autumn, the country folk hold a procession and perform old dances, one called the giant’s dance: the leading giant they name Woden, and his wife Frīgga, the principal action of the play consisting in two swords being swung and clashed together about the neck of a boy without hurting him. Still more remarkable is the clear vestige of the goddess in Lower Saxony, where to the common people she is fru Freke, and plays the very parts which we saw assigned to fru Hollé (pp. 267-8): a strong argument, by the way, for the divine nature of this latter. Then in Westphalia, legend may derive the name of the old convent Freckenhorst, Frickenhorst, from a shepherd Frickio, to whom a light appeared in the night (like the fall of snow by night at Hildesheim, p. 268) on the spot where the church was to be built; the name really points to a sacred hurst or grove of Frecka fem., or of Fricko masc., whose site christianity was perhaps eager to appropriate; conf. Frecinghyrst, Kemble 1, 248. 2, 265. There is a Vreckeleve, Fricksleben, not far from Magdeburg (see Suppl.).

Freya is the goddess most honoured after or along with Frīg; her worship seems to have been even the more prevalent and important of the two, she is styled ‘agætuz af Asynjum,’ Sn. 28, and ‘blötgyðja,’ Yngl. saga cap. 4, to whom frequent sacrifices were offered. Heiðrekr sacrificed a boar to her, as elsewhere to Freyr, and honoured her above all other gods. She was wedded to a

1 Communicated by J. M. Kemble, from the mouth of an ‘old Yorkshireman’. I account for the sword by the ancient use of that weapon at weddings; conf. RA. 426-7. 431; esp. the old Frisian custom pp. 167-8, conf. Heimreich’s Nordfries. chron. 1. 53-4. In Swabia, as late as the 18th century, the bridesmen carried large swords with fluttering ribbons before the bride; and there is a striking similarity in the Estonian custom (Superst. M. 13).

2 Eccard de orig. Germ. p. 398: Celebratur in plebe Saxonica fru Freke, cui eadem munia tribununtur, quae superiores Saxones Holiae suae adscribunt. Fru Freke has just been unearthed again by Ad. Kuhn, namely in the Uckermark, where she is called Fruke, and answers to fru Harke in the Mittelmark and fru Gode in the Prignitz.

3 Hervararsaga, ed. Verel. p. 138, ed. 1785 p. 124. By the editors of the Fornald. sög. 1, 453 the passage is banished into the notes as an unsupported reading.
man (not a god, at least not an As), named Oðr, but he forsook her, and she sought him all over the world, among strange peoples, shedding tears. Her name Sýr (Sn. 37) would perhaps be Sauðr in Gothic: Wilh. Müller has detected the very same in the Syritha of Saxo Gram. p. 125, who likewise goes in search of Other. Freyja’s tears were golden, gold is named after them, and she herself is ‘grærfagr,’ fair in greeting (weeping), Sn. 37. 119. 133; in our nursery-tales pearls and flowers are wept or laughed out, and dame Holla bestows the gift of weeping such tears. But the oldest authorities make her warlike also; in a waggon drawn by two cats (as Thórr drives two goats)¹ she rides to the battlefield, ‘riðr til vigs;’ and goes shares with Oðinn in the slain (supra p. 133, conf. Sæm. 42a. Sn. 28. 57). She is called ‘eigandi valfalls’ (quae sortitur caesos in pugna), Sn. 119; valfreyja, mistress of the chosen, Nialss. p. 118, and of the valkyrs in general; this seems to be in striking accord with Holda or Berhta (as well as Wuotan) adopting the babes that die unchristened into their host, heathen goddesses the heathen souls. Freyja’s dwelling is named Fólkvångr or Fólkvångar, the plains on which the (dead?) folk troop together; this imparts new credibleness to the connexion of St. Gertrude, whose minne is drunk, with Frowa, for the souls of the departed were supposed to lodge with Gertrude the first night (p. 61). Freyja’s hall is Sessrymnir, the seat-roomy, capacious of much folk; dying women expect to find themselves in her company after death. Thórgarðr in the Egilss., p. 103, refuses earthly nourishment, she thinks to feast with Freyja soon: ‘ok engan (nąttverð) mun ek fyrr enn at Freyju’. Yet love-songs please her too, and lovers do well to call upon her: ‘henni líkaði vel mansöngr, á hana er gott at heita til ásta,’ Sn. 29. That the cat was sacred to her, as the wolf to Wuotan, will perhaps explain why this creature is given to night-hags and witches, and is called donneraas, wetteraas (-carriion). When a bride goes to the wedding in fine weather, they say ‘she has fed the cat well,’ not offended the favourite of the love-goddess. The meaning of a phrase in Walther 82, 17 is dark to me: ‘weder ritest gerner eine guldín’ katze, ald einen wunderlichen Gérhart Atzen?’ In Westphalia, however, the weasel was named froie.

¹ Freyja has a waggon like Nerthus (mother of Freyr?), like Holda and Freyr himself, Wuotan and Donar (pp. 105-7, 251-2-4, 275); the kingly waggon is proper only to great exalted deities.
Reinh. clxxii, which I suppose means frau, fräulein (froiken), as that ghostly creature was elsewhere called mühmlein (aunty), fräulein, donna, donnola, titles sure to be connected with myths, and these would doubtless point in the first place to our goddess and her worship. The Greeks said Galinthias was turned into a weasel or cat (γαλέη), Ovid, metam. 9, 306 (see Suppl.).

In so far as such comparisons are allowable, Frigg would stand on a line with Here or Juno, especially the pronuba, Jupiter’s spouse; and Freyja with Venus, but also with Isis who seeks Osiris. Freyr and his sister Freyja are suggestive of Liber and Libera (Dionysus and Proserpina, or even her mother Demeter; of sun and moon). Mary could replace the divine mother and the goddess of beauty; verbally Frigg agrees better with Libera, and Adam of Bremen’s Fricco, if he was god of love, answers in name to Liber, in character to Freyr.

The passage quoted from Paul Diac. is one of the clearest and most convincing testimonies to the harmony between the German and Norse mythologies. An author of Charles the Great’s time tells us that the Langobards named Wodan’s wife Freo, and she is called Frigg in the Edda. He cannot have drawn this from Norse tradition, much less can his narrative through Saxo’s intermediacy have become the source of the northern faith.

But in favour of Freyja too we possess a weighty piece of external evidence. The Edda makes her the owner of a costly necklace named Brisinga men (Brisingorum monile); she is called ‘eigandi Brisingamens,’ Sn. 37. 119. How she acquired this jewel from the dwarfs, how it was cunningly stolen from her by Loki, is fully narrated in a tale by itself, Sn. 354—357. In the poets therefore Loki is Brising’s piofr (Thorl. obs. 6, 41. 63); a lost lay of the Edda related how Heimdallr fought with Loki for this ornament, Sn. 105. When Freyja pants with rage, the necklace starts from her breast (stauk þat í niela men Brisinga), Sæm. 711. When Thórr, to get his hammer back, dresses up in Freyja’s garments, he does not forget to put her famous necklace on: ‘hafi

1 In the Tanhäuser, as sung in Switzerland (Aufsess. anz. 1832, 240-2; Uhland’s volksl. p. 771), instead of the usual dame Venus we find precisely fru Vrene, and acc. to Stald. 1, 395 frein is there a collateral form of frei free. A woman’s name Vreneli is known from Hebel. Vrene may be Verena the martyr, or Veronica, v. Vrène, Ben. 328.
hann (have he) it mikla men Brisinga! Sæm. 72.—Now this very trinket is evidently known to the AS. poet of Beowulf 2399, he names it Brisinga mene, without any allusion to the goddess; I would read ‘Brisinga mene,’ and derive the word in general from a verb which is in MHG. brisen, breis (nodare, nodis constringere, Gr. kevteiw to pierce), namely, it was a chain strung together of bored links. Yet conf. ch. XX, brising St. John’s fire: perhaps the dwarfs that forged it were called Brisingarr? The jewel is so closely interwoven with the myth of Freyja, that from its mention in AS. poetry we may safely infer the familiarity of the Saxon race with the story itself; and if the Goths worshipped a goddess Fríaujó, they too would doubtless know of a Breisiggê mani.1 Conf. ch. XX, Iarðar men, Earth’s necklace, i.e., turf in the ON. legal language.

We cannot but feel it significant, that where the gospel simply speaks of τὸ ἄρμον sacrum (Matt. 7, 6), the OS. poet makes it a hêlag halsmeni (holy necklace), Hel. 52, 7; an old heathen reminiscence came over him, as once before about doves perching on shoulders (p. 148). At the same time, as he names only the swine, not the dogs, it is possible that he meant halsmeni to be a mere amplification of ‘merigrioton,’ pearls.

But this legend of the goddess’s necklace gains yet more in importance, when we place it by the side of Greek myths. Brisinga men is no other than Aphrodite’s ὀχύρος (Hymn to Venus 88), and the chain is her girdle, the κεστὸς ἵματος ποικίλος which she wears on her bosom, and whose witchery subdues all gods and mortals. How she loosens it off her neck (ἐπὶ στήθεσθεφίν) and lends it to Here to charm her Zeus with, is told in a lay that teems with world-old myths, II. 14, 214-8. As the ἱμάς is worn in turn by Here and by Aphrodite, the Norse fable gives the jewel now to Frigg and now to Freyja, for that ‘gold of Frigg’ in Saxo is the same as Brisinga men. Then there is another similarity: the same narrative makes Freyja possess a beautiful chamber, so strong that, when the door is locked, no one can enter against her will: ‘hun

1 Just as from Freyja proceeded the general notion of a freyja frouwa, so necklace-wearing serves to describe a beautiful wife or maiden. In Sæm. 97a menglōð (monili lacta, rejoicing in a necklace) means simply femina, but in 108a 111a Menglōð is a proper name (see p. 272 note); in 222a menskōgiul is used of Brynhildr. Women are commonly named from their ornaments of gold or precious stones, Sn. 128 (see Suppl.).
âtti ser eina skemmu, er var bæði fôgr ok sterk, svâ at þat segja menn, ef hurðin var læst, at eingi mâtí komast í skemmu nau (without) vilja Freyju,' Sn. 354. We are told the trick by which Loki after all got in, and robbed her of the necklace; ¹ Homer says nothing about that, but (II. 14, 165-8) he knows of Here's ðálamos,
tón oí fîlôs uîðs êtêuže
"Hfaiostos, ðukinâs de ðûraws ðtaðmûðtw éðpûse
klaïði kruptûþ, tûn £' ou ðeðos állos áûôgen.
What can be more exactly in accordance with that inaccessible apartment of Freyja, especially as the iûás is spoken of directly after? Hephaistos (Vulcan), who built his mother the curiously contrived bedchamber, answers to the dwarfs who forged the necklace for Freyja. The identity of Frigg and Freyja with Here and Aphrodite must after this mythus be as plain as day.


Another thing that betrays the confusion of Frigg with Freyja is, that the goddess Follâ, now proved by the Merseburg poem to belong to our German mythology, is according to it a sister of Frûâ, while the ON. Fullâ again is handmaid to Frigg, though she takes rank and order among the Asynjor themselves (Sn. 36-7).² Her office and duties are sufficiently expressed in her name; she justifies our reception of the above-mentioned Abundia or dame Habonde into German mythology, and corresponds to the masculine god of plenty Pilnitis, Pilnitus, whom the Lettons and Prussians adored. Like dame Herke on p. 253, she bestowed prosperity and abundance on mortals, to her keeping was intrusted the divine mother's chest (eski), out of which gifts were showered upon them.

It may be, that Fullâ or Follâ was at the same time thought of as the full-moon (Goth. fullips, Lith. Pilnatis, masc.), as another heavenly body, Orion, was referred to Frigg or Freyja: in the Merseburg MS. she is immediately followed by Sunndâ with a sister Sindgund, whose name again suggests the path of a constellation. The Eddie Söl ranks with the Asynjor, but Sindgund (ON. Sinn-

¹ He bored a hole and crept through as a fly, then as a flea he stung the sleeping goddess till she shook off the ornament: an incident still retained in nursery-tales. Conf. the stinging fly at the forging, Sn. 131.

² If we read Fria for Frûâ, then Folla would stand nearer to her as in the Norse, whether as attendant goddess or as sister. Yet, considering the instability of those goddesses' names, she may keep her place by Frouwa too.
gunnr ?) is unknown to the Edda. In ch. XXII. on the constellations I shall come back to these divinities (see Suppl.).


From surviving proper names or even impersonal terms, more rarely from extant myths, we may gather that several more goddesses of the North were in earlier times common to the rest of Teutondom.

Frey’s beloved, afterwards his wife, was named Gerdr, she came of the giant breed, yet in Sn. 79 she is reckoned among the Asynjor. The Edda paints her beauty by a charming trait: when Freyr looked from heaven, he saw her go into a house and close the door, and then air and water shone with the brightness of her arms (Sem. 81. Sn. 39). His wooing was much thwarted, and was only brought to a happy issue by the dexterity of his faithful servant Skimrir. The form of her name Gerdr, gen. Gerdrar, acc. Gerdí (Sem. 117b), points to a Goth. Gardi or Gardja, gen. Gardjós, acc. Gardja, and an OHG. Gart or Garta, which often occurs in the compounds Hildigart, Irmingart, Lintkart, &c., but no longer alone. The Latin forms Hildegardis, Liudgardis have better preserved the terminal i, which must have worked the vowel-change in Gerdr, Thôrgerdr, Valgerdr, Hrîngerdr. The meaning seems to be cingens, muniens [Gurth ?], Lat. Cinxia as a name of Juno (see Suppl.).

The Goth. sibja, OHG. sippia, sippa, AS. sib gen. sibbe, denote peace, friendship, kindred; from these I infer a divinity Sibja, Sippia, Sib, corresponding to the ON. Sif gen. Sifjar, the wife of Thôrr, for the ON. too has a pl. sifjar meaning cognatio, sif amicus (OHG. sippio, sippo), sif genus, cognatio. By this sense of the word, Sif would appear to be, like Frigg and Freyja, a goddess of loveliness and love; as attributes of Óðinn and Thôr agree, their wives Frigg and Sif have also a common signification. Sif in the Edda is called the fair-haired, ‘it hárfragra god,’ and gold is Sifjar haddr (Sифae peplum), because, when Loki cut off her hair, a new and finer crop was afterwards forged of gold (Sn. 119. 130). Also a herb, polychrichum aureum, bears the name haddr Sifjar. Expositors see in this the golden fruits of the Earth burnt up by fire and growing up again, they liken Sif to Ceres, the ξαυθή Δημήτηρ (II. 5, 500); and with it agrees the fact that the O Slav. Sîva is a gloss on ‘Ceres dea
frumenti’ (Hanka’s glosses 5a 6a,b); only the S in the word seems to be the Slav. zhivète = Zh, and V does not answer to the Teut. F, B, P. The earth was Thôr’s mother, not his wife, yet in Sn. 220 we do find the simple Sif standing for earth. To decide, we ought to have fuller details about Sif, and these are wholly wanting in our mythology. Nowhere amongst us is the mystic relation of seed-corn to Demeter, whose poignant grief for her daughter threatens to bring famine on mankind (Hymn to Cer. 305—315), nor anything like it, recorded.

The Gothic language draws a subtle distinction between sunja (veritas) and sunjó (defensio, probatio veritatis); in OHG. law, sunna, sunnis means excusatio and impedimentum. The ON. law likewise has this syn gen. synjar, for excusatio, defensio, negatio, impedimentum, but the Edda at the same time exhibits a personified Syn, who was to the heathen a goddess of truth and justice, and protected the accused (Sn. 38). To the same class belongs Vôr gen. Varar, goddess of plighted faith and covenants, a dea foederis (Sn. 37-8), just as the Romans deified Tutela. The phrase ‘vigja saman Varar hendi,’ consecrare Tutelae manu (Sæm. 74b), is like the passages about Wish’s hands, p. 140. As in addition to the abstract wish we saw a Wish endowed with life, so by the side of the OHG. wara foedus there may have been a goddess Wara, and beside sunia a Suniâ (see Suppl.).

In the same way or sage (saw, tale) is intensified into a heathen goddess Saga, daughter of Wuotan; like Zeus’s daughter the Muse, she instructs mankind in that divine art which Wuotan himself invented. I have argued in a separate treatise (Kleine schr. 1, 83—112), that the frou Aventiure of the Mid. Ages is a relic of the same.

Nanna the wife of Baldr would be in Goth. Nanþô, OHG. Nandâ, AS. Nôðr, the bold, courageous (p. 221), but, except in ON., the simple female name is lost; Procopius 1, 8 has Gothic Θενδε-νάνθα, ON. Thióðnanna (see Suppl.).

Inferences like these, from dying words to dead divinities, could be multiplied; to attempt them is not unprofitable, for they sharpen the eye to look in fresh quarters [for confirmation or con-
12. Rahana (Ran). Hellia (Hel).

My survey of the gods closed with Oegir and Loki; and the goddesses akin to these shall be the last mentioned here.

To correspond to the ON. Geffjon the Old Saxons had, as far as we know, not a female but a male being, Geðan, Geofon (sea, p. 239). With four giant oxen, according to Sn. 1, Geffjon ploughs Zealand out of the Swedish soil, and a lake arises, whose inward bend exactly fits the projecting coast of Zealand. She is described as a virgin, and all maidens who die virgins wait upon her, Sn. 36. Her name is called upon when oaths are taken: sver ek við Geffjon, F. Magn. lex. 386 (see Suppl.). Geffn, a name of Freyja (Sn. 37 and Vígaglumss. cap. 27) reminds one of Geffjon.

Rán was the wife of the seagod Oegir, they had nine daughters who are cited by name in the Edda, and called Ránar (or Oegis) datr.² Men who are drowned fall to the share of Rán, which of itself attests her divinity: fara til Ránar is to get drowned at sea, Fornald. sög. 2, 78; and sitja at Ránar to be drowned, Fornm. sög. 6, 376. Those who were drowned she drew to her in a net, and

1 It seems almost as if the MHG. poets recognised a female personage fró Fuoge or Gefuoge (fitness), similar in plastic power to the masc. Wish, a personified compages or ōpprovia. Lachmann directs me to instances in point. Er. 7534-40 (conf. Iwein, p. 400):

So hete des meisters sin geprievet ditz gereite mit grózer wischiete; er gap dem helfenbeine und dá bò dem gesteine sin gevellige stat, als in diu Geuóge bat.

(Conf. Er. 1246: als in min ware schulde bat).—Parz. 121, 11:

Wer in den zwein landen wirt, Gefuoge ein wunder an im birt; he is a miraculous birth of Fitness, her child, her darling.—Conversely, Walther 64, 38:

Fró Unfuoge, ir hab gesiget. And 65, 25:

Swer Ungefuoge swigen hieze und sic abe den bürgen stieze!

It is true, the prefixes ge-, un-, argue a later and colder allegory. And the weak fem. form (acc. in -en) would be preferable, OHG. Fuogā, gen. Fuogûn, as in N. cap. 135 hifuogûn, sotigenam (see Suppl.).

carried them off, whence the explanation of her name: ŭan neut. is rapina, rena rapere, spoliare (see Suppl.).

On the discovery of the rare word rahana (spoliare) in the Hildebr. lied 57, I build the supposition that other Teutonic lands had also a subst. rahan (rapina, spolium) and a goddess Rahana (conf. Tanfana, Hluodana), as well as an Uogi = Oegir.

As we passed from Oegir (through Forniot and Logi) to Loki, so we may from ŭan to Hel, who is no other than Loki's daughter, and like him a dreadful divinity. ŭan receives the souls that die by water, Hel those on land, and Freyja those that fall in battle.

The ON. Hel gen. Heljar shows itself in the other Teutonic tongues even less doubtfully than Frigg and Freyja or any of the above-mentioned goddesses: Goth. Halja gen. Haljós, OHG. Helliga, Hella gen. Hellia, Hella, AS. Hell gen. Helle; only, the personal notion has dropped away, and reduced itself to the local one of halja, hellia, hell, the nether world and place of punishment. Originally Hellia is not death nor any evil being, she neither kills nor torments; she takes the souls of the departed and holds them with inexorable grip. The idea of a place evolved itself, as that of oegir oceanus out of Oegir, and that of geban mare from Geban; the converted heathen without any ado applied it to the christian underworld, the abode of the damned; all Teutonic nations have done this, from the first baptized Goths down to the Northmen, because that local notion already existed under heathenism, perhaps also because the church was not sorry to associate lost spirits with a heathen and fiendish divinity. Thus hellia can be explained from Hellia even more readily than ὥσταρα from Ostara.

In the Edda, Hel is Loki's daughter by a giantess, she is sister to the wolf Fenrir and to a monstrous snake. She is half black and half of human colour (blā hálf, en hálf með hörundar lit), Sn. 33, after the manner of the pied people of the Mid. Ages; in other

1 The Trad. patav. pp. 60-2 assure us of a man's name Raan, Rhaa (Rahan?). An OHG. Rahana rests on a very slender foundation.

2 Hel has no affinity at all with ON. hella petra, hellir antrum, as the Goth. hallus petra shows (from hillan sonare, because a rock resoundis): a likelier connexion is that with our hól antrum, OHG. holi, more frequent in neut. hol, for which we should expect a Gothic hul, as in fact a fem. sulundi is caverna, for a cave covers, and so does the nether world (both therefore from hilan celare). Only, the vowels in hól (hul) and hölle (halja) do not agree.
passages her blackness alone is made a subject of comparison: blár sem Hel, Nialss. 117. Formn. sög. 3, 188; conf. Helfjarskinna for complexion of deathly hue, Landnámab. 2, 19. Nialss. cap. 96. Fornald. sög. 2, 59. 60; death is black and gloomy. Her dwelling is deep down in the darkness of the ground, under a root of the tree Yggdrasill, in Niflheim, the innermost part of which is therefore called Nífhel, there is her court (rann), there her halls, Sæm. 63 44a 94a. Sn. 4. Her platter is named hángr, her knife sultr, synonymous terms to denote her insatiable greed. The dead go down to her, fara til Heljar, strictly those only that have died of sickness or old age, not those fallen in fight, who people Valhalla. Her personality has pretty well disappeared in such phrases as ò hel slå, drepa, berja ò hel, to smite into hell, send to Hades; ò helju vera, be in Hades, be dead, Fornald. sög. 1, 233. Out of this has arisen in the modern dialects an altogether impersonal and distorted term, Swed. ihjäl, Dan. ihiel, to death.2 These languages now express the notion of the nether world only by a compound, Swed. helvete, Dan. helvede, i.e., the ON. helveti (supplicium infernale), OHG. hellawizzi, MHG. hellowizze. One who is drawing his last breath is said in ON. liggja milli heims oc heljar (to lie betwixt home and hell), to be on his way from this world to the other. The unpitying nature of the Eddie Hel is expressly emphasized; what she once has, she never gives back: haldi Hel þvi er hefir, Sn. 68; hefir nu Hel, Sæm. 257a, like the wolf in the apologue (Reinhart xxxvi), for she is of wolfish nature and extraction; to the wolf on the other hand a hellish throat is attributed (see Suppl.).

Two lays in the Edda describe the way to the lower world, the

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1 The ancients also painted Demeter, as the wrathful earth-goddess, black (Paus. 8, 42. O. Müller's Eumenides 168, conf. Archæol. p. 509 the black Demeter at Phigalia), and sometimes even her daughter Persephone, the fair maid doomed to the underworld; 'furea Proserpina,' Hor. Od. 2, 13 (Censorin. De die nat. c. 17). Black Aphrodite (Melanis) is spoken of by Pansanius 2, 2, 8, 6, 9, 27 and by Athenaeus bk. 13; we know the black Diana of Ephesus, and that in the Mid. Ages black Madonnas were both painted and carved, the Holy Virgin appearing then as a sorrowing goddess of earth or night; such at Loretto, Naples, Einsiedeln, Würzburg (Allsd. W. 2, 209. 286), at Oettingen (Goethe's Corresp. with a child 2, 184), at Puy (Blüching's Nachr. 2, 312-333), Marseilles and elsewhere. I think it specially significant, that the Erinys or Furia dwelling in Tartarus is also represented both as black and as half white half black.

2 O Swed. has more correctly ihäl, i.e., ihil (Fred. af Normandie 1299. 1356. 1400. 1414). In Östgötalagen p. 8, one reading has already ihäll for ihäl; they no longer grasped the meaning of the term.
Goddesses.

Helreið Brynhildar and the Vegtamsqvíða; in the latter, Óðinn's ride on Sleipnir for Baldr's sake seems to prefigure that which Hermóðr afterwards undertakes on the same steed in Sn. 65-7. But the incidents in the poem are more thrilling, and the dialogue between Vegtamr¹ and the vala, who says of herself:

var ek snifin sniófi (by snow), ok slegin regni,  
ok drifin döggö (by dew), dauð (dead) var ek leungi,  
is among the sublimest things the Edda has to shew. This vala  
must stand in close relationship to Hel herself.

Saxo Gram. p. 43 very aptly uses for Hel the Latin Proserpina,  
he makes her give notice of Balder's death. In the Danish popular  
belief Hel is a three-legged horse, that goes round the country,  
a harbinger of plague and pestilence; of this I shall treat further  
on. Originally it was no other than the steed on which the goddess  
posted over land, picking up the dead that were her due; there is  
also a waggon ascribed to her, in which she made her journeys.

A passage in Beowulf shows how the Anglo-Saxons retained  
perfectly the old meaning of the word. It says of the expiring  
Grendel 1698: 'feorh álægede, hæðene sáwle (vitam deposuit,  
animam gentilem), þær hine Hel onfæng; the old-heathen goddess  
took possession of him.

In Germany too the Mid. Ages still cherished the conception of  
a voracious, hungry, insatiable Hell, an Orcus esuriens, i.e., the man-  
devouring ogre: 'diu Helle fersklindet al daz ter lebet, si ne wirdet  
niomer sat,' N. Cap. 72. 'diu Helle und der arge wän werdent  
niomer sat,' Welsch. gast. It sounds still more personal, when she  
has gaping yawning jaws ascribed to her, like the wolf; pictures in  
the MS. of Cædmon represent her simply by a wide open mouth.

Der tobende wuoterich  The raging tyrant  
der was der Hellen gelich, he was like the Hell  
diu daz abgrunde who the chasm (steep descent)  
begenit mit ir munde be-yawneth with her mouth  
unde den himel zuo der erden. from heaven down² to earth.  
unde ir doch niht ne mac werden,And yet to her it cannot hap

¹ Óðinn calls himself Vegtamr (way-tame, broken-in to the road, gnarus viae), son of Vållamr (assuetus cædibus), as in other places gântamr (itineri assuetus) is used of the horse, Sam. 265b, but Óðinn himself is Gângráðr or Gângleri. Vegtamr reminds one of the holy priest and minstrel Wechtam in Hunibald.

² I have supposed that 'unde den' is a slip for 'abe dem'.—Trans.
daz si inner werde vol; that she ever become full;
si ist daz ungesattliche hol, she is the insatiable cavern,
daz weder nu noch nie ne sprah: that neither now nor ever said
‘diz ist des ih niht ne mac.’ ‘this is what I cannot (manage).’

Lampr. Alex. 6671-80. Old poems have frequent allusions to the
abgrund (chasm, abyss) and the doors of hell: helligruoba, hellagrun, helliporta, &c. Gramm. 2, 458; der abgrunde tunc, der tiefen
helle tunc (the deep hell’s dinge, darkness), Mart. 88b 99e.

Of course there are Bible texts that would in the first instance
suggest much of this, e.g., about the insatiableness of hell, Prov. 27, 20. 30, 16 (conf. Freidank lxxiv), her being uncovered, Job 26, 6, her opening her mouth, Isaiah 5, 14. But we are to bear in
mind, that all these have the masc. ἄδης or infernus, with which
the idea of the Latin Orcus also agrees, and to observe how the
German language, true to its idiosyncrasy, was obliged to make use
of a feminine word. The images of a door, abyss, wide gaping
throat, strength and invincibility (fortis tanquam orcus, Petron.
cap. 62), appear so natural and necessary to the notion of a nether
world, that they will keep recurring in a similar way among
different nations (see Suppl.).

The essential thing is, the image of a greedy, unrestoring, female
deity.¹

But the higher we are allowed to penetrate into our antiquities,
the less hellish and the more godlike may Halja appear. Of this
we have a particularly strong guarantee in her affinity to the Indian
Bhavani, who travels about and bathes like Nerthus and Holda
(p. 268), but is likewise called Kālī or Mahakālī, the great black
goddess. In the underworld she is supposed to sit in judgment on
souls. This office, the similar name and the black hue (kāla niger,
conf. cālīgo and κελανώς) make her exceedingly like Halja. And
Halja is one of the oldest and commonest conceptions of our
heathenism.

¹ In the south of Holland, where the Mense falls into the sea, is a place
named Helvoetsluis. I do not know if any forms in old documents confirm
the idea contained in the name, of Hell-foot, foot of Hell. The Romans have
a Helium here: Inter Helium ac Flevum, ita appellantur ostia, in quae effusus
Rhenus, ab septentrione in lacus, ab occidente in annem Mosam se spargit,
medio inter haec ore modiem nomine suo custodiiens alveum, Plin. 4, 29.
Tac. also says 2, 6: immenso ore. Conf. supra p. 198 on Oegislyr (see Suppl.).
CHAPTER XIV.

CONDITION OF GODS.

Now that we have collected all that could be found concerning the several divinities of our distant past, I will endeavour to survey their nature as a whole; in doing which however, we must be allowed to take more frequent notice of foreign and especially Greek mythology, than we have done in other sections of this work: it is the only way we can find connecting points for many a thread that otherwise hangs loose.

All nations have clothed their gods in human shape, and only by way of exception in those of animals; on this fact are founded both their appearances to men, or incarnation, their twofold sex, their intermarrying with mankind, and also the deification of certain men, i.e., their adoption into the circle of the gods. It follows moreover, that gods are begotten and born, experience pain and sorrow, are subject to sleep, sickness and even death, that like men they speak a language, feel passions, transact affairs, are clothed and armed, possess dwellings and utensils. The only difference is, that to these attributes and states there is attached a higher scale than the human, that all the advantages of the gods are more perfect and abiding, all their ills more slight or transient.

This appears to me a fundamental feature in the faith of the heathen, that they allowed to their gods not an unlimited and unconditional duration, but only a term of life far exceeding that of men. All that is born must also die, and as the omnipotence of gods is checked by a fate standing higher than even they, so their eternal dominion is liable at last to termination. And this reveals itself not only by single incidents in the lives of gods, but in the general notion of a coming and inevitable ruin, which the Edda expresses quite distinctly, and which the Greek system has in the background: the day will come when Zeus's reign shall end.
But this opinion, firmly held even by the Stoics, finds utterance only now and then, particularly in the story of Prometheus, which I have compared to the Norse ragnarök, p. 245-6.

In the common way of thinking, the gods are supposed to be immortal and eternal. They are called θεοὶ αἰεν ἑόντες, II. 1, 290. 494, αἰειγενέται 2, 400, ἄθανατοι 2, 814, ἄθανατος Ζεὺς 14, 434; and therefore μάκαρες 1, 339. 599 in contrast to mortal man. They have a special right to the name ἄμβροτοι immortales, while men are βροτοί mortales; ἄμβροτος is explained by the Sansk. amrita immortalis, the negative of mrita mortalis (conf. Pers. merd, homo mortalis); in fact both amrita and ἄμβροσιος, next neighbour to ἄμβροτος, contain a reference to the food, by partaking of which the gods keep up their immortality. They taste not the fruits of the earth, whereby the βροτοὶ live, οὐ ἄροιρὴς καρπὸν ἐδούσιν, II. 6, 142. With βροτὸς again is connected βρότος thick mortal blood, whereas in the veins of the gods flows ἰχώρ (II. 5, 340. 416), a light thin liquid, in virtue of which they seem to be called ἀβροτοὶ = ἄμβροτοι.

Indian legend gives a full account of the way amrita, the elixir of immortality, was brewed out of water clear of milk, the juice of herbs, liquid gold and dissolved precious-stones; no Greek poem tells us the ingredients of ambrosia, but it was an ἄμβροσιή τροφή (food), and there was a divine drink besides, γλυκὸς νέκταρ, II. 1, 598, of a red colour 19, 38, its name being derived either from νη and κτᾶσθαι, or better from νεκ-ταρ nectar avertens. Where men take bread and wine, the gods take ambrosia and nectar, Od. 5, 195, and hence comes the

ἀμβροτοῦ ἀίμα θεοῦ, ἰχώρ, οὗς πέρ τε ἰέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἐδούσι, οὐ πίνοις' αἴθοτα ὁμον· τοῦνεκ' ἀναιμονές εἰσι καὶ ἄθανατοι καλέονται.
—II. 5, 339.

Their is no thick glutinous ἀίμα (conf. our sein, ON. seimr, slime), nor according to the Indians do they sweat; and this ἀναιμον (bloodless) agrees with the above explanation of ἀβροτος. The

1 Ατικος omnes pariter deos perdet mors aliqua et chaos. Seneca in Herc. 1014.
2 Cleopatra had costly pearls melted in her wine, and it is said to be still a custom with Indian princes; conf. Sueton. Calig. 37.
adjectives ἀβρότος, ἀμβρότος, ἀμβρόσιος, νεκτάρεως are passed on from the food to other divine things\(^1\) (see Suppl.). Plainly then the gods were not immortal by their nature, they only acquired and secured this quality by abstaining from the food and drink of men, and feasting on heavenly fare. And hence the idea of death is not always nor as a matter of course kept at a distance from them; Kronos used to kill his new born children, no doubt before nectar and ambrosia had been given them,\(^2\) and Zeus alone could be saved from him by being brought up secretly. Another way in which the mortality of certain gods is expressed is, that they fall a prey to Hades, whose meaning borders on that of death, \textit{e.g.}, Persephone.

If a belief in the eternity of the gods is the dominant one among the Greeks, and only scattered hints are introduced of their final overthrow; with our ancestors on the contrary, the thought of the gods being immortal seems to retire into the background. The Edda never calls them eylfir or ðáuðögíðir, and their death is spoken of without disguise: þá er regin devýja, Sæm. 37\(^a\), or more frequently: regin riufaz (solvuntur), 36\(^b\) 40\(^a\) 108\(^b\). One of the finest and oldest myths describes the death of Balder, the burning of his body, and his entrance into the lower world, like that of Proserpine; Óðin’s destined \textit{fall} is mentioned in the Völuspá 9\(^a\), Óðins baui (bane), Sn. 73, where also Thórr falls \textit{dead} on the ground; Hrûngnir, a giant, threatens to slay all the gods (drepa guð òll), Sn. 107. Yet at the same time we can point to clear traces of that prolongation of life by particular kinds of food and drink. While the einherjar admitted into Valhöll feast on the boiled flesh of a boar, we are nowhere told of the Ases sharing in such diet (Sæm. 36. 42. Sn. 42); it is even said expressly, that Óðinn \textit{needs no food} (ónga vist þarf ham), and \textit{only drinks wine} (vin er honum bæði dryekr ok matr, both meat and drink); with the viands set before him he feeds his two wolves Geri and Freki. Við vin eitt vâpengögur Óðinn æ lifir (vino solo armipelins semper vivit), Sæm. 42\(^b\); æ lifir can be rendered ‘semper vescitur,

\(^1\) Both nectar and ambrosia, like the holy grail of the Mid. Ages, have miraculous powers: poured into the nose of a corpse, they prevent decay, II. 19, 38; they ward off hunger, II. 19, 347. 353.

\(^2\) As human infants may only be exposed before milk and honey have moistened their lips, conf. RA. pp. 458-9. When Zeus first receives in the assembly of the gods the son whom Leto bore him, he hands him nectar in a golden bowl: by this act he recognised him for his child.
nutritur;' or 'immortalitatem nanciscitur;' and then the cause of his immortality would be found in his partaking of the wine. Evidently this wine of the Norse gods is to the beer and ale (öhr) of men, what the nectar of the Greek gods was to the wine of mortals. Other passages are not so particular about their language;¹ in Sæm. 59 the gods at Oegir’s hall have ale set before them, conf. öl giöra, 68b; Heimdall gladly drinks the good mead, 41b; verðar nema oc sumbl (cibum capere et symposium) 52, leaves the exact nature of the food undefined, but earthly fare is often ascribed to the gods in so many words.² But may not the costly Oðhreris drekkr, compounded of the divine Qvâsir’s blood and honey, be likened to amrita and ambrosia?³ Dwarfs and giants get hold of it first, as amrita fell into the hands of the giants; at last the gods take possession of both. Oðhreris drekkr confers the gift of poesy, and by that very fact immortality: Öðinn and Saga, goddess of poetic art, have surely drunk it out of golden goblets, gladly and evermore (um alla daga, Sæm. 41a). We must also take into account the creation of the wise Qvâsir (conf. Slav. kvas, convivium, potus); that at the making of a covenant between the Aesir and Vanir, he was formed out of their spittle (hraki); the refining of his blood into a drink for gods seems a very ancient and far-reaching myth. But beside this drink, we have also notices of a special food for gods: Öðinn has in her keeping certain apples, by eating of which the aging gods make themselves young again (er goðin skulo ábita, þà er þau eldaz, oc verða þà allir ungir, Sn. 30a). This reminds one of the apples of Paradise and the Hesperides, of the guarded golden apples in the Kindermärchen no. 57, of the apples in the stories of Fortunatus and of Merlin, on the eating or biting of which depend life, death and metamorphosis, as elsewhere on a draught of holy water. According to the Eddie view, the gods have a means, it is true, of preserving perpetual freshness and youth,

¹ As Homer too makes Ganymede ὀινοχοεῖν, II. 20, 234, and of Hebe it is even said, νέκταρ ὀινοχοεῖ 4, 3.
² Zeus goes to banquet (κατὰ δαίτα) with the Ethiopians, II. 1, 423; ἵππος δαίτα καὶ ἑτοι βοίνη ἔσθι, Plato’s Phædr. 247, as Thorr does with the Norwegians; even when disguised as a bride, he does not refuse the giants’ dishes, Sæm. 73b; and the Aesir boiled an ox on their journey, Sn. 80.
³ In Sanskrit, sudha nectar is distinguished from amrita ambrosia. Everywhere there is an eagle in the business: Garuda is called sudhāhara, or amritaharana, nectar-thief or ambrosia-thief (Pott, forsch. 2, 451); it is in the shape of an eagle that Öðinn carries off Oðhrerir, and Zeus his cupbearer Ganymede (see ch. XXXV and XXX, Path-crossing and Poetry).
but, for all that, they are regarded as subject to the encroachments of age, so that there are always some young and some old gods; in particular, Odinn or Wuotan is pictured everywhere as an old greybeard (conf. the old god, p. 21), Thôrr as in the full strength of manhood, Balder as a blooming youth. The gods grow hárir ok gamlir (hoar and old), Sn. 81. Freyr has 'at tannfé' (tooth-fee) presented him at his teething, he is therefore imagined as growing up. In like manner Uranos and Kronos appear as old, Zeus (like our Donar) and Poseidon as middle aged, Apollo, Hermes and Ares as in the bloom of youth.

Growth and age, the increase and decline of a power, exclude the notion of a strictly eternal, immutable, immortal being; and mortality, the termination, however long delayed, of gods with such attributes, is a necessity (see Suppl.).

Epithets expressing the power, the omnipotence, of the reigning gods have been specified, pp. 21-2. A term peculiar to ON. poetry is ginregin, Sem. 28a 50a 51a 52b; ginheilög goð 1a; it is of the same root as gina, OHG. kiun, hiare, and denotes numina ampla, late dominantia, conf. AS. ginne grund, Beow. 3101. Jud. 131, 2. ginne rice, Cæd. 15, 8. ginfæst, firmissimus 176, 29. ginfæsten god, terrae dominus 211, 10. gárseceges gin, oceani amplitudo 205, 3.

The Homeric ἰεῖα (ἕλιος, Goth. râpizô) beautifully expresses the power of the gods; whatever they do or undertake comes easy to them, their life glides along free from toil, while mortal men labour and are heavy laden: θεοὶ ἰεῖα ἔωντες, II. 6, 138. Od. 4, 805. 5, 122. When Aphrodite wishes to remove her favourite Alexander from the perils of battle, τὸν ἐκηρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη ἰεῖα μᾶλ', ὀ σ τ ῶ ῶ ὀ σ, II. 3, 381; the same words are applied to Apollo, when he snatches Hector away from Achilles 20, 443. The wall so laboriously built by the Greeks he overturns ἰεῖα μᾶλα, as a boy at play would a sand-heap 15, 362. With a mere breath (πνοή), blowing a little (ἡκα μᾶλα ψύξασα), Athene turns away from Achilles the spear that Hector had thrown 20, 440 (see Suppl.). Berhta also blows (p. 276), and the elves breathe (ch. XVII), on people.

The sons of men grow up slowly and gradually, gods attain their full size and strength directly after birth. No sooner had
Themis presented nectar and ambrosia (ἀμβροσίαν ἐρατεινήν) to the newborn Apollo, than he leapt, κατέβησεν ἀμβροσίαν, out of his swathings, sat down among the goddesses, began to speak, and, unshorn as he was, to roam through the country (Hymn. in Ap. Del. 123—133). Not unlike Vali, whom Rindr bore to Oðinn; when only one night old (einætttr), unwashed and unkempt, he sallies forth to avenge Baldr’s death on Höðr, Sæm. 6b 95b. Here the coincidence of ἀκερσεκόμψ with the Edda’s ‘ne hóðu kembr’ is not to be disregarded. Hermes, born at early morn, plays the late at mid-day, and at eve drives oxen away (Hymn. in Merc. 17 seq.). And Zeus, who is often exhibited as a child among the Kuretes, grew up rapidly (καρπαλίμως μένος καὶ φαιόμια γυνα ηὔξετο τοῖο ἄνακτος), and in his first years had strength enough to enter the lists with Kronos (Hes. theog. 492). The Norse mythology offers another example in Magni, Thórr’s son by the giantess Iarnsaxa: when three nights old (prinætttr), he flung the giant Hrungni’s enormous foot, under whose weight Thórr lay on the ground, off his father, and said he would have beaten the said giant dead with his fist, Sn. 110 (see Suppl.).

The shape of the gods is like the human (p. 105), only vaster, often exceeding even the gigantic. When Ares is felled to the ground by the stone which Athene flings, his body covers seven roods of land (ἐπτά δ’ ἐπέσχε πέλεβρα πεσών, Il. 21, 407), a size that with a slight addition the Od. 11, 577 puts upon the titan Tityos. When Here takes a solemn oath, she grasps the earth with one hand and the sea with the other (Il. 14, 272). A cry that breaks from Poseidon’s breast sounds like that of nine or even ten thousand warriors in battle (14, 147), and the same is said of Ares when he roars (5, 859); Here contents herself with the voice of Stentor, which only equals those of fifty men (5, 786). By the side of this we may put some features in the Edda, which have to do with Thórr especially: he devours at a wedding one ox and eight salmon, and drinks three casks of mead, Sæm. 73b; another time, through a horn, the end of which reaches to the sea, he drinks a good portion of this, he lifts the snake that encircles the whole world off one of its feet, and with his hammer he strikes three deep valleys in the rocky mountain, Sn. 59, 60. Again, Teutonic mythology agrees with the Greek in never imputing to its gods the deformity of many heads, arms or legs; they are only bestowed
on a few heroes and animals, as some of the Greek giants are ἑκατόγχειρες. Such forms are quite common in the Hindu and Slav systems: Vishnu is represented with four arms, Brahma with four heads, Svantovit the same, while Porevit has five heads and Rugevit seven faces. Yet Hecate too is said to have been three-headed, as the Roman Janus was two-faced, and a Lacedæmonian Apollo four-armed.¹ Khúvera, the Indian god of wealth, is a hideous figure with three legs and eight teeth. Some of the Norse gods, on the contrary, have not a superfluity, but a deficiency of members: Óðinn is one-eyed, Týr one-handed, Höðr blind, and Logi or Loki was perhaps portrayed as lame or limping, like Hephaestus and the devil. Hel alone has a dreadful shape, black and white; the rest of the gods and goddesses, not excepting Loki, are to be imagined as of beautiful and noble figure (see Suppl.).

In the Homeric epos this ideally perfect human shape, to which Greek art also keeps true, is described in standing epithets for gods and especially goddesses, with which our ruder poetry has only a few to set in comparison, and yet the similarity of these is significant. Some epithets have to serve two or three divinities by turns, but most are confined to individuals, as characteristic of them. Thus Here is λευκώλευος or βοώτις (the former used also of Helen, II. 3, 121,² the latter of a Nereid 18, 40), Athene γλαυκώπις or ἄφοκομος (which again does for Here), Thetis ἄργυρόπεζα, Iris ἀελλότος, ποδήνεμος, χρυσόπτερος, Eos ῥόδοδάκτυλος, Demeter (Ceres) ξανθή 5, 500, and καλλιπλάκαμος 14, 326, just as Sif is hárfrógr (p. 309), in allusion to the yellow colour of the waving corn. As the sea rolls its dark waves, Poseidon bears the name κυανοχαῖτις, II. 14, 390. 15, 174. 20, 144. Zeus could either be called the same, or κυανόφρυς (a contrast to Baldr bráhvitir, brown-white p. 222), because to him belong ἀμβρόσιαι χαῖται II. 1, 528, the hair and locks of Wish (p. 142), and because with his dark brows he makes signs. This confirmatory lowering of the brows or nodding with the head (νεύειν, κατανεύειν κυανέσσιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι II. 1, 527. 17, 209) is the regular expression of Zeus’s will: κεφαλῆ κατανεύσομαι, ἀθανάτοις μέγιστον τέκμωρ, II. 1, 524. In refusing, he draws the head back (ἀνανεύει). Thór’s indignant rage is shown by sinking the eyebrows over the eyes (siga brýnnar ofan fyrir

¹ O. Müller’s archæol. p. 515.
² And Aphrodite throws her πιχείε λευκώ round Ἀεneas.—Trans.
augun, Sn. 50), displaying gloomy brows and shaking the beard. Obviously the two gods, Zeus and Donar, have identical gestures ascribed to them for expressing favour or anger. They are the glowering deities, who have the avenging thunder at their command; this was shown of Donar, p. 177, and to Zeus is given the grim surging look (δευνά δ᾽ ἵπτομαι ἵδων, II. 15, 13), he above all is the μέγ᾽ ὀχθίσας (1, 517. 4, 30), and next to him Poseidon of the dingy locks (8, 208. 15, 184). Zeus again is distinguished by beaming eyes (τρέπεν ὄσε φαενώ 13, 3. 7. 14, 236. 16, 645), which belong to none else save his own great-hearted daughter 21, 415; Aphrodite has ὀμματα μαρμαίροντα, 3, 397, twinkling, shimmering eyes (see Suppl.).

Figures of Greek divinities show a circle of rays and a nimbus round the head,1 on Indo-Grecian coins Mithras has commonly a circular nimbus with pointed rays,2 in other representations the rays are wanton. Mao (deus Lunus) has a halfmoon behind his shoulders; Aesculapius too had rays about his head. In what century was the halo, the aureole, first put round the heads of Christian saints? And we have also to take into account the crowns and diadems of kings. Ammian. Marc. 16, 12 mentions Chnodomarius, cujus vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur. N. Cap. 63 translates the honorati capitis radios of the Sol auratus by houbetskimo (headsheen), and to portray the sun’s head surrounded with flames is extremely natural. In ON. I find the term rōda for caput radiatum sancti, which I suppose to be the OHG. ruota rod, since virga also goes off into the sense of flagellum, radius, ON. geisli. A likening of the gods to radiant luminaries of heaven would at once suggest such a nimbus, and blond locks do shine like rays. It is in connexion with the setting sun that Tac. Germ. 45 brings in formas deorum and radios capitis. Around Thor’s head was put, latterly at all events, a ring of stars (Stephanii not. ad Saxon. Gram. p. 139). According to a story told in the Galien restoré, a beam came out of Charles the Great’s mouth and illumined his head.3 What seems more to the purpose, among the Prilwitz figures, certain Slavic idols, especially Perun, Podaga and Nemis, have rays about their

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1 O. Müller’s archæol. p. 481.
2 Götting. anz. 1838, 229.
3 This beam from Charles’s mouth is like the one that shines into his beloved’s mouth and lights up the gold inside (see ch. XVI., Menni).
heads; and a head in Hagenow, fig. 6, 12 is encircled with rays, so is even the rune R when it stands for Radegast. Did rays originally express the highest conception of divine and lustrous beauty? There is nothing in the Homeric epos at all pointing that way (see Suppl.).

It is a part of that insouciance and light blood of the gods, that they are merry, and laugh. Hence they are called blið regin (p. 26), as we find 'froh' in the sense of gracious applied to gods and kings, and the spark of joy is conveyed from gods to men. Fráunja, lord, is next of kin to froh glad (p. 210). It is said of the Ases, teitir vâro, Sæm. 2a; and of Heimdall, dreckr glâðr hinn góða miðð 41b. And 'in svâso guð' 33a contains a similar notion. In this light the passages quoted (pp. 17-8) on the bliðe and cheerful God gather a new importance: it is the old heathen notion still lurking in poetry. When Zeus in divine repose sits on Olympus and looks down on men, he is moved to mirth (ópón ov fréna térpô-muaí, II. 20, 23), then laughs the blessed heart of him (ἐγέλασσε δέ 0' φίλων ἦτορ, 21, 389); which is exactly the Eddie 'hlô honum hugr i briosti, hlô Hlórirða hugr i briosti,' laughed the mind in his breast: a fresh confirmation of the essential oneness of Zeus and Thôrr. But it is also said of heroes: 'hlô þá Atla hugr i briosti,' Sæm. 238b. 'hlô þá Brynhildr af òllum hugr,' with all her heart 220a. OS. 'hugi ward frönmôd,' Hel. 109, 7. AS. 'móð áhôh,' Andr. 454. Later, in the Rudlieb 2, 174. 203. 3, 17 the king in his speech is said subridere; in the Nibel. 423, 2 of Brunhild: 'mit smieînden wünde si über ahsel sah,' looked over her shoulder. Often in the song of the Cid: 'sonrisose de la boca,' and 'alegre era.' 2 Θυμός iáñthi, II. 23, 600; conf. ἐμὸν iâuov, Hymn. in Cer. 435. Half in displeasure Here laughs with her lips, not her brows: ἐγέλασσε χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ’ ὁφρύσι κυανέσσιν iáñthi, II. 15, 102; but Zeus feels joy in sending out his lightnings, he is called τερπικέραννος 2, 781. 8, 2. 773. 20, 144. So Artemis (Diana) is iochéîupa, rejoicing in arrows, 6, 423. 21, 480. Od. 11, 198. At the limping of Hêphaestus, the assembly of gods bursts into ἀσβεστος γέλως, uncontrolled laughter, II. 1, 599; but a gentle smile (μειδάν) is peculiar to Zeus, Here and Aphrodite. As

1 Andreas and Elene p. xxxvii.
2 Helbl. 7, 518: diu wärheit des erlachet, truth laughs at that.
Aphrodite's beauty is expressed by φιλομενής, smile-loving (II. 4, 10. 5, 375), so is Freyja's on the contrary by 'грåтфгр,' fair in weeping (see Suppl).

We have to consider next the manner in which the gods put themselves in motion and become visible to the eyes of mortals. We find they have a gait and step like the human, only far mightier and swifter. The usual expressions are βῆ, βῆ ἢμεν, βῆ ἢναι, II. 1, 14. 2, 14. 14. 24, 347, βεβήκει 1, 221, εἶβην 14, 224, βάπην 5, 778, βήτην 14, 281, ποσὶ προβιβάς 13, 18, προσεβήσετο 2, 48. 14, 292, κατεβήσετο 13, 17, ὑπεβήσετο 2, 35; and in the Edda genera, Sæm. 9a, γέκ 100b, γέγον 70a 71b, γεγένγο Ia 5a, or else for 31a 31b 53a 75a, this fara meaning no more than ire, proficisci, and Ödinn was even called Gangleri, Sæm. 32. Sn. 24, i.e., the walker, traveller; the AS. poets use gearæi (evasit, abiiit) or sidóde of God returning to heaven, Andr. 118. 225. 977. El. 94-5. But how enormously the walk of the gods differs from the common, we see in the instance of Poseidon, who goes an immense distance in three steps, II. 13, 20, or that of the Indian Vishnu, who in three paces traverses earth, air and sky. From such swiftness there follows next the sudden appearance and disappearance of the gods; for which our older speech seems to have used Goth. hwaerban, OHG. huerban, AS. hweorfan (verti, ferri, rotari): 'hwearf him τó hœofenum hálig dryhten,' says Cædm. 16, 8; and 'Ödinn hæar ðá,' vanished, Sæm. 47. Homer employs, to express the same thing, either the verb átσω (impetu feror), or the adverbs καρπαλίμως (as if ἄρταλμος raptim) and κραπτνδδ raptim. Thus Athene or Here comes átσα, Od. 1, 102. II. 2, 167. 4, 74. 19, 114. 22, 187; Thetis, the dream, Athene, Here, all appear καρπαλίμως, II. 1, 359. 2, 17. 168. 5, 868. 19, 115. Od. 2, 406; Poseidon and Here κραπτνδδ, κραπτνδδ, II. 13, 18. 14. 292; even Zeus, when he rises from his throne to look on the earth, στῆ ἄναιγας 15, 6. So Holda and Berhta suddenly stand at the window (p. 274). Much in the same way I understand the expression used in Sæm. 53a of Thórr and Týr: fóro dringam (ibant tractim, raptim, ἔλκηδον), for dringr is from druga, Goth. drigan trahere, whence also Goth. drauhts, OHG. truhf turba, agmen, ON. dreugr larva, phantasma, OHG. gitroc fallacia, because a spectre appears and vanishes quickly in the air. At the same time it means the rush and din
that betokened the god's approach, the wôma and ômi above, from which Òðinn took a name (p. 144-5). The rapid movement of descending gods is sometimes likened to a shooting star, or the flight of birds, II. 4, 75. 15, 93. 237; hence they often take even the form of some bird, as Tharapila the Osilian god flew (p. 77). Athene flies away in the shape of a ἄρτη (falcon ?), II. 19, 350, an ὀρνις bird, Od. 1, 320, or a φήνη osprey, 3, 372; as a swallow she perches (ἐξετ' ἀναίξασα) on the house's μέλαθρον 22, 239. The exchange of the human form for that of a bird, when the gods are departing and no longer need to conceal their wondrous being, tallies exactly with Òðin's taking his flight as a falcon, after he had in the shape of Gestr conversed and quarrelled with Heiðrekr: viðbrast i vals liki, Fornald. sög. 1, 487; but it is also retained in many stories of the devil, who assumes at departure the body of a raven or a fly (exit tanquam corvus, egressus est in muscae similitudine). At other times, and this is the prettier touch of the two, the gods allow the man to whom they have appeared as his equals, suddenly as they are going, to become aware of their divine proportions: heel, calf, neck or shoulder betrays the god. When Poseidon leaves the two Ajaxes, one of them says, II. 13, 71:

ἐξευα γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἵδε κνημάων
ρεῖ' ἐγνον ἄπι ϊν τοσο ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὺς περ.

So, when Venus leaves Aeneas, Virg. 1, 402:

Dixit, et avertens rosea cervice refulsit
et vera incessu patruit dea. Ille ubi matrem
agnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus.

So, II. 3, 396, Alexander recognises the

θεὰς περικαλλέα δειρήν,
στήθεα τ' ἵμερόεντα καὶ ὀμματα μαρμαίροντα.

And in ON. legend, Hallbiörn on awaking sees the shoulder of a figure in his dream before it vanishes: þykist siâ á herðar honum, Fornald. sög. 3, 103; as is likewise said in Olaf the saint's saga cap. 199. ed. Holm., while the Formm. sög. 5, 38 has it: siâ svi mannsins er á brutt gekk; conf. os humerosque deo similis, Aen. 1 589. This also lingers in our devil-stories: at the Evil one's departure his cloven hoof suddenly becomes visible, the ἐξευα of the ancient god.

As the incessus of Venus declared the goddess, the motion (ιθμα) of Here and Athene is likened to that of timorous doves, II. 5, 778.
But the gliding of the gods over such immense distances must have seemed from first to last like flying, especially as their departure was expressly prepared for by the assumption of a bird's form. It is therefore easy to comprehend why two several deities, Hermes and Athene, are provided with peculiar sandals (πέδιλα), whose motive power conveys them over sea and land with the speed of wind, Il. 24, 341. Od. 1, 97. 5, 45; we are expressly told that Hermes flew with them (πετετο, Il. 24, 345. Od. 5, 49); plastic art represents them as winged shoes, and at a later time adds a pair of wings to the head of Hermes.1 These winged sandals then have a perfect right to be placed side by side with the feather-shift (fiaðrhamr) which Freyja possessed, and which at Thôr's request she lent to Loki for his flight to Iðtunheim, Sæm. 70ab; but as Freyja is more than once confounded with Frigg (p. 302), other legends tell us that Loki flew off in the 'valsham Friggjar,' Sn. 113. I shall come back to these falcon or swan coats in another connexion, but their resemblance to the Greek pedila is unmistakable; as Loki is here sent as a messenger from the gods to the giants, he is so far one with Hermes, and Freyja's feather-shift suggests the sandals of Athene. Sn. 132-7: 'Loki átti skúa, er hann rann á lopt ok lög,' had shoes in which he ran through air and fire. It was an easy matter, in a myth, for the investiture with winged hamr or sandals to glide insensibly into an actual assumption of a bird's form: Geirrôðr catches the flying Loki as a veritable bird, Sn. 113, and when Athene starts to fly, she is a swallow (see Suppl.).

The mighty gods would doubtless have moved whithersoever it pleased them, without wings or sandals, but simple antiquity was not content with even these: the human race used carriages and horses, and the gods cannot do without them either. On this point a sensible difference is to be found between the Greek and German mythologies.

All the higher divinities of the Greeks have a chariot and pair ascribed to them, as their kings and heroes in battle also fight in chariots. An ἕρμα for the god of thunder would at once be suggested by the natural phenomenon itself; and the conception of the sun-chariot driven by Helios must also be very ancient. The

1 O. Müller's archæol. 559.
car of Here, and how she harnesses her steeds to it, mounts it in company with Athene, and guides it, is gorgeously depicted in II. 5, 720-76; so likewise Demeter and Kora appear seated in a carriage. Hermes is drawn by rams,¹ as the Norse Thórr [by he-goats]. The Okeanides too have their vehicle, Aesch. Prom. 135. But never are Zeus, Apollo, Hermes or any of the most ancient gods imagined riding on horseback; it is Dionysos, belonging to a different order of deities, that first rides a panther, as Silenus does the ass, and godlike heroes such as Perseus, Theseus, and above all, the Dioscuri are mounted on horses. Okeanos bestrides a winged steed, Prom. 395. It seems worth remarking, that modern Greek legend represents even Charon as mounted.

In Teutonic mythology the riding of gods is a far commoner thing. In the Merseburg poem both Wuvian and Phol ride in the forest, which is not at all inconsistent with the word used, 'faran'; for it is neither conceivable that Wuvian drove while Balder rode, nor that Balder drove a one-horse carriage. Even Hartmann von Aue still imagines God riding a horse, and contented with Enit for his groom (p. 18). Among those that ride in the Edda are Oðinn (who saddles his Sleipnir for himself, Sæm. 93a), Baldr and Hermóðr; in Sæm. 44a and Sn. 18 are given the names of ten other horses as well, on which the Ases daily ride to council, one of them being Heimdall's Gulltoppr, Sn. 30. 66; the owners of the rest are not specified, but, as there were twelve Ases and only eleven horses are named, it follows that each of those gods had his own, except Thórr, who is invariably introduced either driving or walking (p. 167), and when he gets Gullfaxi as spoil from Hrûngnir, gives him away to his son Magni, Sn. 110. Oðinn's horse leaps a hedge seven ells high, Formn. sög. 10, 56. 175. Even the women of the gods are mounted: the valkyrs, like Oðinn, ride through air and water, Sn. 107, Freyja and Þyndla on a boar and a wolf, as enchantresses and witches are imagined riding a wolf, a he-goat or a cat. Night (fem.) had a steed Hrimfaxi, rimy-maned, as Day (masc.) had Skinfaxi, shiny-maned.

At the same time carriages are mentioned too, especially for goddesses (p. 107). The sacred car of Nerthus was drawn by cows, that of Freyja by cats, Holda and Bertha are commonly found driving waggons which they get mended, the fairies in our nursery-

¹ O. Müller's archæol. 563.
tales travel through the air in coaches, and Brynhildr drives in her waggon to the nether world, Sæm. 227. The image of a Gothic deity in a waggon was alluded to on p. 107; among the gods, Freyr is expressly described as mounted on his car, while Thórr has a waggon drawn by he-goats: on Woden's waggon, conf. p. 151 (see Suppl.).

When we consider, that waggons were proper to the oldest kings also, especially the Frankish kings, and that their riding on horseback is nowhere mentioned; it seems probable that originally a similar equipage was alone deemed suitable to the gods, and their riding crept in only gradually in the coarser representations of later times. From heroes it was transferred to gods, though this must have been done pretty early too, as we may venture to allow a considerable antiquity to the story of Sleipnir and that of Balder's horse or foal. The Slavs also generally furnished their god Svantovit with a horse to ride on.

Some few divinities made use of a ship, as may be seen by the stories of Athene's ship and that of Isis, and Frey's Skiðblaðnir, the best of all ships, Sæm. 45b.

But whichever way the gods might move, on earth, through air or in water, their walk and tread, their riding and driving is represented as so vehement, that it produces a loud noise, and the din of the elements is explained by it. The driving of Zeus or Thórr awakens thunder in the clouds; mountains and forests tremble beneath Poseidon's tread, Il. 13, 18; when Apollo lets himself down from the heights of Olympus, arrows and bow clatter (ἐκλαργεῖν) on his shoulder 1, 44, δεινὴ δὲ κλαργηγίᾳ γένετ' ἀργυρέω διόν, dreadful was the twang of his silver bow 1, 49. In the lays of the Edda this stirring up of nature is described in exactly the same way, while the AS. and OHG. writings, owing to the earlier extinction of heathen notions, have preserved no traces of it: *framm reið Oðinn, foldvegr dundi,* forth rode O., earth's way thundered, Sæm. 94a; *biðg brotnoðo, brann iörd loga, ōk Oðins sonr i Iötunheimra,* mountains crumbled, earth blazed, when rode, &c. 73a; *fló Loki, fiaðrhamr dundi,* the wing-coat whirred, 70a 71a; *iörd bifaz (quaked), enn allir for sciálfa garðar Gymis,* when Skírnir came riding 83a. The rage and writhing of gods who were bound produced equally tremendous effects (p. 246).
On the other hand, delightful and salutary products of nature are also traced to the immediate influence of the gods. Flowers spring up where their feet have strayed; on the spot where Zeus clasped Heres in his arms, shot up a thick growth of sweet herbs and flowers, and glittering dewdrops trickled down, II. 14, 346—51. So, when the Valkyrs rode through the air, their horses' manes shook fruitful dew on the deep vales below, Sæm. 145b; or it falls nightly from the bit of Hrimfaxi's bridle 32b (see Suppl).

Of one thing there is scarcely a trace in our mythology, though it occurs so often in the Greek: that the gods, to screen themselves from sight, shed a mist round themselves or their favourites who are to be withdrawn from the enemy's eye, II. 3, 381. 5, 776. 18, 205. 21, 549. 597. It is called ἥρι καλύπτειν, ἥρα χείν, ἀχλών or νέφος στέφειν, and the contrary ἀχλών σκεδάζειν to scatter, chase away, the mist. We might indeed take this into account, that the same Valkyrs who, like the Servian vily, favour and shield their beloved heroes in battle, were able to produce clouds and hail in the air; or throw into the reckoning our tarnkappes and helidhelms, whose effect was the same as that of the mist. And the Norse gods do take part with or against certain heroes, as much as the Greek gods before Ilion. In the battle of Brâvik, Óðinn mingled with the combatants, and assumed the figure of a charioteer Brûni; Saxo Gram., p. 146. Fornald. sóg. 1, 380. The Grimmismál makes Geirrœðr the protégé (fóstri) of Óðinn, Agnarr that of Frigg, and the two deities take counsel together concerning them, Sæm. 39; in the Völs. saga cap. 42, Óðinn suggests the plan for slaying the sons of Ionakr. The Greek gods also, when they drew nigh to counsel or defend, appeared in the form of a human warrior, a herald, an old man, or they made themselves known to their hero himself, but not to others. In such a case they stand before, beside or behind him (παρά, II. 2, 279. ἐγγύθι, Od. 1, 120. ὄχλον, II. 2, 172. 3, 129. 4, 92. 5, 123. πρόσθεν 4, 129. ὄπιθεν 1, 197); Athene leads by the hand through the battle, and wards the arrows off 4, 52; she throws the dreadful aegis round Achilles 18, 204; Aphrodite shields Aeneas by holding her veil before him 5, 315; and other heroes are removed from the midst of the fray by protecting deities (p. 320). Venus makes herself visible to Hippomenes alone, Ovid Met. 10, 650. Now they appear in friendly guise, Od. 7, 201.
SLEEP. SICKNESS. LAUGHTER.

seq.; now clothed in terror: \( \chiαλεποί \ \& \ θεοὶ \ φαίνεσθαι \ \varepsilonναργεῖν, \)
II. 20, 131 (see Suppl.).

The Iliad, 14, 286 seq., relates how "\( \Upsilon \nuος \) (sleep), sitting in the shape of a song-bird on the boughs of a fir-tree on Mt. Ida, overpowers the highest of all the gods; other passages show that the gods went to their beds every night, and partook like men of the benefit of sleep, II. 1, 609. 2, 2. 24, 677. Still less can it be doubted of the Norse gods, that they too slept at night: Thôrr on his journeys looks out for night-lodging, Sn. 50; of Heimdall alone is it said, that he needs less sleep than a bird, Sn. 30. And from this sway of sleep over the gods follows again, what was maintained above, that of death: Death is the brother of Sleep. Besides, the gods fell a prey to diseases. Freyr was sick with love, and his great hugsót (mind-sickness) awakened the pity of all the gods. Óðinn, Njôrir and Freyr, according to the Yngl. saga 10. 11. 12, all sink under sicknesses (sôttdanðir). Aphrodite and Ares receive wounds, II. 5, 330. 858; these are quickly healed [yet not without medical aid]. A curious story tells how the Lord God, having fallen sick, descends from heaven to earth to get cured, and comes to Arras; there minstrels and merryandrews receive commands to amuse him, and one manages so cleverly, that the Lord bursts out laughing and finds himself rid of his distemper.¹ This may be very ancient; for in the same way, sick daughters of kings in nursery-tales are made to laugh by beggars and fiddlers, and so is the goddess Skaði in the Edda by Loki’s juggling tricks, when mourning the death of her father, Sn. 82. Iambe cheered the sorrowing Demeter, and caused her, \( \piολλά \ \piαρασκιόπτουσα, \ \muειδήσαι \ \gammaελάσαι \ \tauε, \ \kαί \ \ιλαον \ \sigmaχείν \ \θυμόν, \) Hymn. in Cer. 203 (see Suppl.).

Important above all are the similar accounts, given by Greek antiquity and by our own, of the language of the gods. Thus, passages in the Iliad and the Odyssey distinguish between the divine and human names for the same object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du} & \ \text{Bριάρεων} \ \kαλέουσι \ \text{θεοὶ}, \ \text{ἀνδρεῖς} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{τέ} \ \text{πάντες} \\
\text{Αἰγαίον}. \ & \ \text{Π.} \ 1, \ 403. \\
\text{τὴν} & \ \text{ήτοι} \ \text{ἀνδρεῖς} \ \text{Βατίειαν} \ \kικλήσκουσιν,
\end{align*}
\]

¹ De la venue de Dieu à Arras, in Jubinal's Nouveau recueil de contes 2, 377-8.
A whole song in the Edda is taken up with comparing the languages, not only of gods and men, but of Vanir, elves, dwarfs, giants and subterraneans, and that not in a few proper names and rare words, but in a whole string of names for the commonest objects. At the very outset it surprises us, that while gods and æsir are treated as synonymous, a distinction is drawn between gods and ginregin. In 13 strophes are given 78 terms in all: on examining these, it soon appears that the variety of names (six) for each thing simply comes of the richness of the Teutonic tongue, and cannot possibly be ascribed to old remnants or later borrowings from any Finnic, Celtic or Slavic languages. They are synonyms or poetic names, which are distributed among six or eight orders of beings endowed with speech, according to the exigencies of alliteration, not from their belonging to the same class, such as poetical or prose. I will illustrate this by quoting the strophe on the names for a cloud:

\[ \text{se} \text{\textit{j} heitir me} \text{\textit{d} mönnon, en se} \text{\textit{urv}ân me} \text{\textit{d} godom,} \\
\text{kalla vindflot Vanir,} \\
\text{ûrvân iótnar, álfar veðrmegin,} \\
\text{kalla i heljo hiúlm huliz.} \]

Everything here is Teutonic, and still the resources of our language are not exhausted by a long way, to say nothing of what it may have borrowed from others. The only simple word is sky, still used in the Scandinavian dialects, and connected with skuggi umbra, AS. scuwa, scua, OHG. scuwo. The rest are all appropriate and intelligible periphrases. Scúrván [shower-weening] pluviae expectatio, from skûr imber, Germ. schauer; úrván just the same, from úr pluvia, with which compare the literal meaning of Sanskr. abhra nubes, viz. aquam gerens. Vindflot is apparently navigium venti, because the winds sail through the air on clouds. Veðrmegin transposed is exactly the OHG. maganwetar turbo; and hiúlmr

1 Perhaps we ought also to reckon aléros and περκνός 24, 316, which is no mere ἐπίκλησις as in 7, 138. 18, 487 (Od. 5, 273), 22, 29, 506, though Ἀστυνάξ in this last passage happens to have Σκαμάνδρος (6, 402) answering to it, as Σάνθος has Σκάμανδρος.

2 Bopp, gloss. sanskr. 16a 209a.
Huliz appears elsewhere as hulizhiálmar, OS. helith-helm, a tarn-helmet, grima, mask, which wraps one in like a mist or cloud. Of course the Teutonic tongue could offer several other words to stand for cloud, beside those six; e.g., nifl, OHG. nebal, Lat. nebula, Gr. νεφέλη; Goth. millha, Swed. moln, Dan. mulm; Sansk. mēgha, Gr. ὀμίχλη, ὀμίχλη, Slav. meglia; OHG. wolchan, AS. wolcen, which is to Slav. oblako as miluk, milk, to Slav. mleko; ON. bokabebula, Dan. taage; M. Dut. swerk nubes, OS. gisuer, caligo, nimbus; AS. hoðina nubes, Beow. 4911. And so it is with the other twelve objects whose names are discussed in the Alvismál. Where simple words, like sól and sunna, máni and skin, or Íörd and fold, are named together, one might attempt to refer them to different dialects: the periphrases in themselves show no reason (unless mythology found one for them), why they should be assigned in particular to gods or men, giants or dwarfs. The whole poem brings before us an acceptable list of pretty synonyms, but throws no light on the primitive affinities of our language.

Plato in the Cratylus tries hard to understand that division of Greek words into divine and human. A duality of proper names, like Briareos and Aigaion, reminds us of the double forms Hlér and Oegir (p. 240), Ymir and Oergelmir, which last Sn. 6 attributes to the Hrimpurses; Íðunn would seem by Sm. 89a to be an Elvish word, but we do not hear of any other name for the goddess. In the same way Xanthus and Skamander, Batieia and Myrina might be the different names of a thing in different dialects. More interesting are the double names for two birds, the Χαλκίς or κύμινδις (conf. Plin. 10, 10), and the αἰετός and περκνώς. Χαλκίς is supposed to signify some bird of prey, a hawk or owl, which does not answer to the description ὀρυξ λυγυρά (piping), and the myth requires a bird that in sweet and silvery tones sings one to sleep, like the nightingale. Περκνώς means dark-coloured, which suits the eagle; to imagine it the bird of the thundergod Perkun, would be too daring. Poetic periphrases there are none among these Greek words.

The principal point seems to be, that the popular beliefs of Greeks and Teutons agree in tracing obscure words and those departing from common usage to a distinction between divine and human speech. The Greek scholiasts suppose that the poet, holding converse with the Muses, is initiated into the language of
gods, and where he finds a twofold nomenclature, he ascribes the older, nobler, more euphonious (τὸ κρεῖττον, εὐφωνον, προγενέστερον ὄνομα) to the gods, the later and meaner (τὸ ἐλαττον, μεταγενέστερον) to men. But the four or five instances in Homer are even less instructive than the more numerous ones of the Norse lay. Evidently the opinion was firmly held, that the gods, though of one and the same race with mortals, so far surpassed living men in age and dignity, that they still made use of words which had latterly died out or suffered change. As the line of a king’s ancestors was traced up to a divine stock, so the language of gods was held to be of the same kind as that of men, but right feeling would assign to the former such words as had gradually disappeared among men. The Alvismål, as we have seen, goes farther, and reserves particular words for yet other beings beside the gods; what I maintained on p. 218 about the impossibility of denying the Vanir a Teutonic origin, is confirmed by our present inquiry.—That any other nation, beside Greeks and Teutons, believed in a separate language of gods, is unknown to me, and the agreement of these two is the more significant. When Ovid in Met. 11, 640 says: Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus nominat, this is imitated from the Greeks, as the very names show (see Suppl.). The Indians trace nothing but their alphabet (devanâgari, dêva-writing), as our forefathers did the mystery of runes (p. 149), to a divine origin, and the use of the symbol may be connected with that of the sound itself; with the earliest signs, why should not the purest and oldest expressions too be attributed to gods? Homer’s ἔπεα πτερόεντα (winged words) belong to heroes and other men as well as to gods, else we might interpret them strictly of the case and nimbleness with which the gods wield the gift of speech.

Beside language, the gods have customs in common with men. They love song and play, take delight in hunting, war and banquets, and the goddesses in ploughing, weaving, spinning; both of them keep servants and messengers. Zeus causes all the other gods to be summoned to the assembly (ἄγορή, Η. 8, 2. 20, 4), just as the Ases
attend at the þing (Sæm. 93a), on the rökstóla, and by the Yggdrasil (Sæm. 1b 2a 44a), to counsel and to judge. Hebe, youth, is cupbearer of the gods and handmaid to Here (Il. 5, 722), as Fulla is to Frigg (Sn. 36); the youth Ganymede is cupbearer too, and so is Beyla at the feast of the Ases (Sæm. 67a); Skírnir is Frey’s shoemaker (81) and messenger, Beyggvir and Beyla are also called his servants (59). These services do no detriment to their own divine nature. Beside Hermes, the goddess Iris goes on errands for the Greek gods (see Suppl.).

Among the gods themselves there is a difference of rank. Three sons of Kronos have the world divided among them, the sky is allotted to Zeus, the sea to Poseidon, hell to Hades, and the earth they are supposed to share between them (II. 15, 193). These three tower above all the rest, like Hâr, Iafnhâr and Thrîðî in the Norse religion, the triad spoken of on p. 162. This is not the same thing as ‘Wuotan, Donar, Ziu,’ if only because the last two are not brothers but sons of Wuotan, although these pass for the three mightiest gods. Then, together with this triad, we become aware of a circle of twelve (p. 26), a close circle from which some of the gods are excluded. Another division, that into old and new gods, does not by any means coincide with this: not only Óðinn and his Ases, but also Zeus and his colleagues, appear as upstarts1 to have supplanted older gods of nature (see Suppl.).

All the divinities, Greek and Norse, have offices and functions assigned them, which define their dominion, and have had a marked influence on their pictorial representation. In Sn. 27—29 these offices are specified, each with the words: ‘hann raðr fyrir (he looks after),’ or ‘A hann skal heita til, er gott at heita til (to him you shall pray for, it is good to pray for).’ Now, as any remnants of Greek or Teutonic paganism in the Mid. Ages were sure to connect themselves with some Christian saints, to whom the protection of certain classes or the healing of certain diseases was carried over, it is evident that a careful classification of these guardian saints according to the offices assigned them, on the strength of which they are good to pray to,2 would be of advantage to our antiquities. And the animals dedicated to each

2 Conf. Haupt’s zeitschr. für d. alt. 1, 143-4.
deified saint (as once they were to gods) would have to be specified too.

The favourite residence of each god is particularly pointed out in the Grimmismál; mountains especially were consecrated to the Teutonic, as to the Greek deities: Sigtýsberg, Himinbiörg, &c. Olympus was peculiarly the house of Zeus (Δίος ἐδώμα), to which the other gods assembled (II. 1, 494); on the highest peak of the range he would sit apart (ἀπάνευθε θεόν 8, 10). He had another seat on Ida (11, 183. 336), whence he looked down to survey the doings of men, as Oðinn did from Hlíðscialf. Poseidon sat on a height in the wooded range of Samos (13, 12). Valhöll and Bilskirnir, the dwellings of Oðinn and Thórr, are renowned for their enormous size; the one is said to have 540 doors, through any one of which 800 einherjar can go out at once, and Bilskirnir has likewise 540 ‘golfer’ [ON. gólfr, floor] (see Suppl.).

If now we take in one view the relations of gods and men, we find they meet and touch at all points. As the created being is filled with a childlike sense of its dependence on the creator, and prayers and offerings implore his favour, so deity too delights in its creations, and takes in them a fatherly interest. Man’s longing goes forth towards heaven; the gods fix their gaze on the earth, to watch and direct the doings of mortals. The blessed gods do commune with each other in their heavenly abodes, where feasts and revels go on as in earthly fashion; but they are more drawn to men, whose destinies enlist their liveliest sympathy. It is not true, what Mart. Cap. says 2, 9: ipsi dicuntur dii, et caelites alias perhibentur . . . nec admodum eos mortalium curarum vota sollicitant, ἀπαθείσque perhibentur. Not content with making their will known by signs and messengers, they resolve to come down themselves and appear to men. Such appearance is in the Hindu mythology marked by a special name: avatāra, i.e., descensus.¹

Under this head come first the solemn car-processions of deities heralding peace and fruitfulness or war and mischief, which for the most part recur at stated seasons, and are associated with popular festivals; on the fall of heathenism, only motherly wise-women

¹ Bopp’s gloss. sansk. 21a.
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still go their rounds, and heroes ride through field or air. More rarely, and not at regular intervals, there take place journeys of gods through the world, singly or in twos or threes, to inspect the race of man, and punish the crimes they have noticed. Thus Mercury and Oisin appeared on earth, or Heindall to found the three orders, and Thórr visited at weddings; Oisin, Hoenir and Loki travelled in company; medieval legend makes God the Father seek a lodging, or the Saviour and St. Peter, or merely three angels (as the Servian song does, Vuk 4, no. 3). Most frequent however are the solitary appearances of gods, who, invoked or uninvoked, suddenly bring succour to their favoured ones in every time of need; the Greek epos is quite full of this. Athene, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite mingle with the warriors, warning, advising, covering; and just as often do Mary and saints from heaven appear in Christian legends. The Lithuanian Perkunos also walks on earth (see Suppl.).

But when they descend, they are not always visible; you may hear the car of the god rush by, and not get sight of him bodily; like ghosts the blessed gods flit past the human eye unnoticed, till the obstructive mist be removed from it. Athene seizes Achilles by the hair, only by him and no other is she seen, Il. 1, 197; to make the succouring deities visible to Diomed, she has taken the mist from his eyes, that was on them before’ 5, 127:

άιχλων δ’ αὖ τοι ἄτ’ ὀφθαλμών ἐλον, ἥ προν ἐπην,

οὖρ’ εὖ γεγνώσκῃς ἥμεν θέου ἰδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

Just so Biarco, in Saxo Gram., p. 37, is unable to spy Othin riding a white steed and aiding the Swedes, till he peeps through the ring formed by the arm of a spirit-seeing woman: a medium that elsewhere makes the elfin race visible to the bleared eyes of man. In another way the gods, even when they showed themselves bodily, concealed their divine nature, by assuming the form of a human acquaintance, or of an animal. Poseidon stept into the host, disguised as Kalechas, Il. 13, 45, Hermes escorted Priam as a Myrmidon warrior 24, 397, and Athene the young Telemachus as Mentor. In the same way Othin appeared as the chariot-driver Bruno (p. 330), or as a one-eyed old man. Metamorphoses of gods into animals in Teutonic mythology take place only for a definite momentary purpose, to which the character of the animal supplies the key; e.g., Oisin takes the shape of a snake, to slip through a
hole he has bored (Sn. 86), and of an eagle, to fly away in haste (86), Loki that of a fly, in order to sting (131), or to creep through a keyhole (356); no larger designs are ever compassed by such means. So, when Athene flies away as a bird, it expresses the divinity of her nature and the suddenness of her departure. But the swan or bull, into which Zeus transformed himself, can only be explained on the supposition that Leda too, and Io and Europa, whom he was wooing, were thought of as swan-maidens or kine. The form of animal would then be determined by the mythus, and the egg-birth of the Dioscuri can be best understood in this way (see Suppl.).

In the Asiatic legends, it seems to me, the manifestations of deity are conceived deeply and purely in comparison, and nowhere more profoundly than in those of India. The god comes down and abides in the flesh for a season, for the salvation of mankind. Wherever the doctrine of metempsychosis prevailed, the bodies of animals even were eligible for the avatāra; and of Vishnu's ten successive incarnations, the earlier ones are animal, it was in the later ones that he truly 'became man' (see Suppl.). The Greek and Teutonic mythologies steer clear of all such notions; in both of them the story of the gods was too sensuously conceived to have invested their transformations with the seriousness and duration of an avatāra, although a belief in such incarnation is in itself so nearly akin to that of the heroes being bodily descended from the gods.

I think that on all these lines of research, which could be extended to many other points as well, I have brought forward a series of undeniable resemblances between the Teutonic mythology and the Greek. Here, as in the relation between the Greek and Teutonic languages, there is no question of borrowing or choice, nothing but unconscious affinity, allowing room (and that inevitably) for considerable divergences. But who can fail to recognise, or who invalidate, the surprising similarity of opinions on the immortality of gods, their divine food, their growing up overnight, their journeyings and transformations, their epithets, their anger and their mirth, their suddenness in appearing and recognition at parting, their use of carriages and horses, their performance of all natural functions, their illnesses, their language, their servants and
messengers, offices and dwellings? To conclude, I think I see a further analogy in the circumstance, that out of the names of living gods, as Týr, Freyr, Baldr, Bragi, Zeus, grew up the common nouns τῦρ, φράυα, βάλδορ, βραγί, δεός, or they bordered close upon them (see Suppl.).
CHAPTER XV.

HEROES.

Between God and man there is a step on which the one leads into the other, where we see the Divine Being brought nearer to things of earth, and human strength glorified. The older the epos, the more does it require gods visible in the flesh; even the younger cannot do without heroes, in whom a divine spark still burns, or who come to be partakers of it.

Heroism must not be made to consist in anything but battle and victory: a hero is a man that in fighting against evil achieves immortal deeds, and attains divine honours. As in the gradation of ranks the noble stands between the king and the freeman, so does the hero between God and man. From nobles come forth kings, from heroes gods. ἢρως ἐστιν εξ ἀνθρώπον τι καὶ θεοῦ σώματος, δ μήτε ἀνθρωπός ἐστι, μήτε θεός, καὶ συναμφότερον ἐστί (Lucian in Dial. mortuor. 3), yet so that the human predominates: 'ita tamen ut plus ab homine habeat,' says Servius on Aen. 1, 200. The hero succumbs to pains, wounds, death, from which even the gods, according to the view of antiquity, were not exempt (p. 318). In the hero, man attains the half of deity, becomes a demigod, semideus: ἦμιθε ἐν γένος ἀνδρόν, I. 12, 23; ἀνδρόν ἡρώων θείων γένος, où καλέονται ἦμιθε όυ, Hes. ἔργ. 159. Jornandes applies semidei to the anses (supra p. 25), as Saxo Gram. pronounces Balder a semideum, arcano superūm semine procreatum. Otherwise in ON. writings we meet with neither hálfrōð nor hálfrás; 1 but N. Cap. 141 renders hemithei heroesque by 'hálbkota unde erðkota (earthgods)'.

Heroes are distinct from demonic beings, such as angels, elves, giants, who fill indeed the gap between God and man, but have not a human origin. Under paganism, messengers of the gods were

1 Hálfrōll, hálfrisi are similar, and the OHG. halpdurinc, halpwalah, halpteni (ON. hálfdau) as opposed to altdurinc, altwalah.
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gods themselves, the Judeo-christian angel is a daemon. Rather may the hero be compared to the christian saint, who through spiritual strife and sorrow earns a place in heaven (see Suppl).

This human nature of heroes is implied in nearly all the titles given to them. For the definite notion of a divine glorified hero, the Latin language has borrowed heros from the Greek, though its own vir (=Goth. vafr ON. ver, AS. OHG. wer, Lett. wihrs, Lith. wyras) in the sense of vir fortis (Tac. Germ. 3) so nearly comes up to the Sanskr. vira heros. Hēros, ἤρως, which originally means a mere fighter, has been identified with rather too many things: hērus, Ἡρη, Ἡρακλῆς, even Ἀρης and ᾅρη = virtus, so that the Goth. āiros, ON. ār, āri=nuntius, minister, might come in too, or the supposed digamma make a connexion with the aforesaid vira look plausible. More undeniably, our held is a prolongation of the simple ON. har, AS. hæle vir: the name Halidlegastes (like Leudogastes) is found so early as in Vopiscus; and a Goth. halīps, OHG. halid, helid may be safely inferred from the proper names Helidperahit, Heliderim, Helidgund, Helidniu, Helidberga, though it is only from the 12th century that our memorials furnish an actual helit pl. helide; the MHG. helet, helt, pl. helde, occurs often enough. Of the AS. hæled I remark that it makes its pl. both hælædas and hæled (e.g., Beow. 103), the latter archaic like the Goth. mēnōps, whence we may infer that the Gothic also had a pl. haliōps, and OHG. a pl. helid as well as helidā, and this is confirmed by a MHG. pl. held, Wh. 44, 20. In OS. I find only the pl. helidōs, helithōs; in the Heliand, helithcunni, helithocunni mean simply genus humanum. M.Dut. has helet pl. helke. The ON. höldr pl. höldar (Sæm. 114b 115a, Sn. 171) implies an older hōluðr (like mānuðr = Goth. mēnōps); it appears to mean nothing but miles, vir, and höldborit (höld-born) in the first passage to be something lower than hersborit, the höldar being free peasants, bœndr. The Dan. helt, Swed. hjelte (OSwed. hälad) show an anomalous t instead of d, and are perhaps to be traced to the

1 At most, we might feel some doubt about Skirnir, Frey's messenger and servant; but he seems more a bright angel than a hero.
2 With this we should have to identify even the veorr used of Thórr (p. 187) in so far as it stood for viórr.
3 Fortbildung: thus staff, stack, stall, stem, stare, &c. may be called prolongations of the root sta.—Trans.
4 In early docs. the town of Heldburg in Thuringia is already called Helidberga, MB. 28b 33.
German rather than the ON. form. If we prefer to see both in hair and in halips the verb haljan occulere, defendere, tueri, the transition from tutor to vir and miles is easily made; even the Lat. cēler is not far from cēlo to conceal.

Beside this principal term, the defining of which was not to be avoided here, there are several others to be considered. Notker, who singularly avoids heleda, supplies us in Cap. 141 with: ‘heroes, taz chit, hertinga alde chueniga’. This hertinga suggests the AS. heardingas, Elene 25. 130, whether it be a particular line, or heroes in general that are meant by it; and we might put up with the derivation from herti, heard (hard), viri duri, fortes, exercitati, as hartunga in N. ps. 9, 1 means exercitatio. But as we actually find a Gothic line of heroes Azdingi, Astingi, and also an ON. of Haddingjar, and as the Goth. zd, ON. dd, AS. rd, OHG. rt correspond to one another, there is more to be said for the Gothic word having dropt an ḳ in the course of transmission, and the forms hazdiggs, haddingr, hearding, harteing being all one word.\(^1\) Now, if the ON. haddr means a lock of hair (conf. p. 309), we may find in haddingr, hazdiggs, &c. a meaning suitable enough for a freeman and hero, that of crinitus, capillatus, cincinnatus; and it would be remarkable that the meaning heros should be still surviving in the tenth century. No less valuable to us is the other term chuenig, which can hardly be connected with chuning rex, as N. always spells it; it seems rather to be = chuonig, derived either from chuoni audax, fortis (as fizusig from fizus callidus), or from its still unexplained root.\(^2\) Other terms with a meaning immediately bordering on that of hero are: OHG. dēyan (miles, minister); wigant (pugil); chamfio, chempho (pugil), AS. cempa, ON. kappi; the ON. hetja (bellator), perhaps conn. with hair odium, bellum; and skati, better skaði, AS. sceāða, sceāda, properly nocivus, then prædator, latro, and passing from this meaning, honourable in ancient times, into that of heros; even in the Mid. Ages, Landseado, scather of the land, was a name borne by noble families. That heri (exercitus), Goth. harjis, also meant miles, is shown by OHG.

\(^1\) The polypt. Irminon 170\(^b\) has a proper name Ardīngus standing for Hardingus.

\(^2\) Graff 4, 447 places chuoni, as well as chunine and chunni, under the all-devouring root chan; but as kruoni, AS. grēne viridis, comes from kruan, AS. grōwan, so may chuoni, AS. cēne, from a lost chuoan, AS. cówan pollere ? vigere ?
glosses, Graff 4, 983, and by names of individual men compounded with heri; conf. ch. XXV, einheri. The OHG. *wrecchio*, *hrecchio*, *recchio*, had also in a peculiar way grown out of the sense of exsul, profugus, advena, which predominates in the AS. *wrecca*, OS. *wrekio*, into that of a hero fighting far from home, and the MHG. *recke*, ON. *rekkr* is simply a hero in general. Similar developments of meaning can doubtless be shown in many other words; what we have to keep a firm hold of is, that the very simplest words for man (vir) and even for man (homo) adapted themselves to the notion of hero; as our *mann* does now, so the ON. *hár*, the OHG. *gomo* (homo), ON. *gumi* served to express the idea of heros. In Diet. 2, 314<sup>+</sup>, heros is glossed by gomo, and gumnar in the Edda has the same force as skatnar (see Suppl.).

Now, what is the reason of this exaltation of human nature? Always in the first instance, as far as I can see, a relation of bodily kinship between a god and the race of man. The heroes are epigoni of the gods, their line is descended from the gods: *ættir guma er frá göðum kómo*, Sæm. 114<sup>a</sup>.

Greek mythology affords an abundance of proofs; it is by virtue of all heroes being directly or indirectly produced by gods and goddesses in conjunction with man, that the oldest kingly families connect themselves with heaven. But evidently most of these mixed births proceed from Zeus, who places himself at the head of gods and men, and to whom all the glories of ancestors are traced. Thus, by Leda he had Castor and Pollux, who were called after him Dios-curi, Hercules by Alcmena, Perseus by Danaë, Epaphus by Io, Pelasgus by Niobe, Minos and Sarpedon by Europa; other heroes touch him only through their forefathers: Agamemnon was the son of Atreus, he of Pelops, he of Tantalus, and he of Zeus; Ajax was sprung from Telamon, he from Aeacus, he from Zeus and Aegina. Next to Zeus, the most heroes seem to proceed from Ares, Hermes and Poseidon: Meleager, Diomedes and Cycnus were sons of Ares, Autolycus and Cephalus of Hermes, while Theseus was a son of Aegeus, and Nestor of Neleus, but both Aegeus and Neleus

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were Poseidon's children by Aethra and Tyro. Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, Aeneas of Anchises and Venus. These examples serve as a standard for the conditions of our own heroic legend (see Suppl.).

Tacitus, following ancient lays, places at the head of our race as its prime progenitor Tuisco, who is not a hero, but himself a god, as the author expressly names him 'divus terra editum'. Now, as Gaia of herself gave birth to Uranos and Pontos, that is to say, sky and sea sprang from the lap of earth, so Tuisco seems derivable from the word tiv, in which we found (pp. 193-4) the primary meaning to be sky; and Tuisco, i.e., Tvisco, could easily spring out of the fuller form Tivisco [as Tuesday from Tiwedæg]. Tvisco may either mean coelestis, or the actual offspring of another divine being Tiv, whom we afterwards find appearing among the gods: Tiv and Tivisco to a certain degree are and signify one thing. Tvisco then is in sense and station Uranos, but in name Zeus, whom the Greek myth makes proceed from Uranos not directly, but through Kronos, pretty much as our Tiv or Zio is made a son of Wuotan, while another son Donar takes upon him the best part of the office that the Greeks assigned to Zeus. Donar too was son of Earth as well as of Wuotan, even as Gaia brought forth the great mountain-ranges (οὐρας μακρά, Hes. theog. 129 = Goth. faírgunja mikila), and Donar himself was called mountain and faírguneis (pp. 169. 172), so that οὐράνος sky stands connected with οὐρος ὤρος mountain, the idea of deus with that of ans (pp. 25. 188). Gaia, Tellus, Terra come round again in our goddesses Fiorgyn, Iórd and Rindr (p. 251) ; so the names of gods and goddesses here cross one another, but in a similar direction.

This earth-born Tvisco's son was Mannus, and no name could sound more Teutonic, though Norse mythology has as little to say of him as of Tvisco (ON. TÝski ?). No doubt a deeper meaning once resided in the word; by the addition of the suffix -isk, as in Tiv Tivisco, there arose out of mann a mannisko = homo, the

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1 In the Roman legend, Romulus and Remus were connected through Silvia with Mars, and through Amulius with Venus; and Romulus was taken up to heaven. The later apotheosis of the emperors differs from the genuine heroic, almost as canonization does from primitive sainthood; yet even Augustus, being deified, passed in legend for a son of Apollo, whom the god in the shape of a dragon had by Atia; Sueton. Octav. 94.
thinking self-conscious being (see p. 59); both forms, the simple and the derived, have (like tiv and tivisko) the same import, and may be set by the side of the Sanskr. Manus and manushya. Mannus however is the first hero, son of the god, and father of all men. Traditions of this forefather of the whole Teutonic race seem to have filtered down even to the latter end of the Mid. Ages: in a poem of meister Frauenlob (Ettn. p. 112), the same in which the mythical king Wippo is spoken of (see p. 300), we read:

_Mennor der erzte was genant,_ Mennor the first man was named
dem diutische rede got tet to whom Dutch language God
bekant.

This is not taken from Tacitus direct, as the proper name, though similar, is not the same (see Suppl.).

As all Teutons come of Tvisco and Mannus, so from the three (or by some accounts five) sons of Mannus are descended the three, five or seven main branches of the race. From the names of nations furnished by the Romans may be inferred those of their patriarchal progenitors.

1. **Inguio. Iscio. Irmino.**

The threefold division of all the Germani into Ingaevones, Iscaevones and Herminones is based on the names of three heroes, Ingo, Isco, Hermino, each of whom admits of being fixed on yet surer authority.

_Ing,_ or _Ingo, Inguio_ has kept his place longest in the memory of the Saxon and Scandinavian tribes. Runic alphabets in OHG. spell _Inc,_ in AS. _Ing,_ and an echo of his legend seems still to ring in the Lay of Runes:

_Ing_ wæs ærest mid Eastdenum
gesewen seegum, ðæ he siðnan east
ofor wæg gewát. wæn æfter ran.
þus Heardingas þone hæle nemdon.

_Ing_ first dwelt with the East Danes (conf. Beow. 779. 1225. 1650), then he went eastward over the sea; his wain ran after. The wain

1 Proximi oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Iscaevones vocantur, Tac. Germ. 2.

2 Caedim. 88, 8 says of the raven let out of Noah’s ark: gewát ofer wonne wæg sigan.
is a distinctive mark of ancient gods, but also of heroes and kings; its being specially put forward here in connexion with a sea-voyage, appears to indicate some feature of the legend that is unknown to us (see Suppl.). Ing's residence in the east is strikingly in harmony with a pedigree of the Ynglings given in the Islendingabók (Isl. sög. 1, 19). Here at the head of all stands 'Yngvi Tyrkja konungr,' immediately succeeded by divine beings, Niördr; Freyr, Fiolnir (a byname of Oðinn), Svegdir, &c. In the same way Oðinn was called Tyrkja konungr (Sn. 368) from his residing at Byzantium (p. 163 note).¹ The Ynglinga saga on the other hand begins the line with Niördr, after whom come Freyr, Fiolnir and the rest; but of Freyr, whom the wain would have suited exactly, it is stated that he had another name Yngvi or Yngvifreyr (p. 211-2), and the whole race of Ynglingar were named after him.² Ingíngar or Ingvingar would be more exact, as is shown by the OHG. and AS. spelling, and confirmed by a host of very ancient names compounded with Ing or Ingo: Inguiomérus (Ingimárus, Ingumár, or with asp. Hincmarus), Inguram, Inginund, Ingiburc, Inginolt, &c. Even Saxo Gram. writes Ingo, Ingimarus. As for Ynglingar, standing for Inglingar, it may be formed from the prolongation Ingil in Ingelwin, Ingelram, Ingelberga and the Norse Ingellus, unless it is a mere confusion of the word with ýnglingr juvenis, OHG. jungilinc, AS. geongling, from the root ųng, junc, geong, which has no business here at all (?).—The main point is, that the first genealogy puts Ingvi before Niördr, so that he would be Frey's grandfather, while the other version makes him be born again as it were in Freyr, and even fuses his name with Frey's, of which there lurks a trace likewise in the AS. 'freá Ingwina' (p. 211). This Ingwina appears to be the gen. pl. of Ingwine, OHG. Ingwini, and 'dominus Ingwino-rum' need not necessarily refer to the god, any hero might be so called. But with perfect right may an Ingvi, Inguio be the patriarch of a race that

¹ Snorri sends him to Turkland, Saxo only as far as Byzantium.—Trans.
² As the ON. genealogies have Yngvi, Niördr, Freyr, the Old Swedish tables in Geijer (háfder 118, 121. 475) give Inge, Neorch, Fro; some have Neoroch for Neorch, both being corruptions of Neorth. Now, was it by running Ingví and Freydr into one, that the combination Yngvifreyr (transposed into AS. freá Ingwina) arose, or was he cut in two to make an additional link? The Skáldskaparmál in Sn. 211a calls Yngvifreyr Oðin's son, and from the enumeration of the twelve or thirteen Aesæ in Sn. 211b it cannot be doubted that Yngvifreyr was regarded as equivalent to the simple Freyr.
bears the name of Ingvīngar = Ynglingar. And then, what the Norse genealogy is unable to carry farther up than to Ingvi, Tacitus kindly completes for us, by informing us that Inguio is the son of Mannus, and he of Tvisco; and his Ingaevones are one of two things, either the OHG. pl. Inguion (from sing. Inguio), or Ingwini after the AS. Ingwine.

Thus pieced out, the line of gods and heroes would run: Tvisco, Mannus, Ingvio, Nerthus, Fravio (or whatever shape the Gothic Frāuja would have taken in the mouth of a Roman). The earth-born Tvisco's mother repeats herself after three intermediate links in Nerthus the god or hero, as a Norse Ingui stands now before Niörðr, now after; and those Vanir, who have been moved away to the east, and to whom Niörðr and his son Freyr were held mainly to belong (pp. 218-9), would have a claim to count as one and the same race with the Ingaevones, although this association with Mannus and Tvisco appears to vindicate their Teutonic character.

But these bonds draw themselves yet tighter. The AS. lay informed us, that Ing bore that name among the Heardings, had received it from them. This Heardingas must either mean heroes and men generally, as we saw on p. 342, or a particular people. Hartung is still remembered in our Heldenbuch as king of the Reussen (Rūs, Russians), the same probably as 'Hartnit' or 'Hertnit von Reussen'; in the Alphart he is one of the Wölfing heroes.1 Hartune and his father Immunc (Rudlieb 17, 8) remain dark to us. The Heardingas appear to be a nation situated east of the Danes and Swedes, among whom Ing is said to have lived for a time; and this his sojourn is helped out both by the Turkish king Yngui and the Russian Hartung. It has been shown that to Hartune, Hearding, would correspond the ON. form Haddingr. Now, whereas the Danish line of heroes beginning with Oðinn arrives at Frōði in no more than three generations, Oðinn being followed by Skjöldr, Frōðleifr, Frōði; the series given in Saxo Gram. stands thus: Humbl, Dan, Lother, Skjöld, Gram, Hading, Frotho. But Hading stands for Hadding, as is clear from the spelling of 'duo Haddingi' in Saxo p. 93, who are the Haddingjar often mentioned in the Edda; it is said of him, p. 12: 'orientalium

1 Hernit = Harding in the Swedish tale of Dietrich (Iduna 10, 253-4. 284).
robore debellato, Suetiam reversus,' which orientals again are Rutheni; but what is most remarkable is, that Saxo p. 17-8 puts in the mouth of this Danish king and his wife Regnilda a song which in the Edda is sung by Niörðr and Skaði (Sn. 27-8). We may accordingly take Hadding to be identical with Niörðr, i.e., a second birth of that god, which is further confirmed by Fröðelfr (= Freðlaf, whom we have already identified with the simple Freá, p. 219) appearing in the same line, exactly as Freyr is a son of Niörðr, and Saxo says expressly, p. 16, that Hadding offered a Fröblót, a sacrifice in honour of Freyr. Whether in Fröði (OHG. Fruoto, MHG. Fruote), the hero of the Danish story, who makes himself into three, and whose rule is praised as peaceful and blissful, we are to look for Freyr over again, is another question.

In the god-hero of Tacitus then there lingers, still recognisable, a Norse god; and the links I have produced must, if I mistake not, set the final seal on the reading 'Nerthus'. If we will not admit the goddess into the ranks of a race which already has a Terra mater standing at its very head, it is at all events no great stretch to suppose that certain nations transferred her name to the god or hero who formed one of the succeeding links in the race.

There are more of these Norse myths which probably have to do with this subject, lights that skim the deep darkness of our olden time, but cannot light it up, and often die away in a dubious flicker. The Formáli of the Edda, p. 15, calls Óðinn father of Yngvi, and puts him at the head of the Ynglingar: once again we see ourselves entitled to identify Óðinn with Mannus or Tvisco. Nay, with all this interlacing and interchange of members, we could almost bear to see Óðinn made the same as Niörðr, which is done in one manuscript. But the narrative 'frá Fornioti ok haus ættmönnum' in Fornald. sög. 2, 12 carries us further: at the top stands Burri, like the king of Tyrkland, followed by Burr, Óðinn, Freyr, Niörðr, Freyr, Fjölnir; here then is a double Freyr, the first one taking Yngvi's place, i.e., the Yngvifreyr we had before; but also a manifold Óðinn, Fjölnir being one of his names (Sæm. 10a 46b 184a. Sn. 3). Burri and Burr, names closely related to

1So Wh. Müller (Haupt's zeitschr. 3, 48-9) has justly pointed out, that Skaði's choice of the muffled bridegroom, whose feet alone were visible (Sn. 82), agrees with Saxo's 'eligendi marieti libertas curiosiore corporum attenuations,' but here to find a ring that the flesh has healed over. Skaði and Ragnbild necessarily fall into one.
each other like Folkvaldi and Folkvaldr, and given in another list as Buri and Bors, seem clearly to be the Buri and Börr cited by Sn. 7. 8 as forefathers of the three brothers Oðinn, Vili, Ve (see p. 162). Now, Buri is that first man or human being, who was licked out of the rocks by the cow, hence the éristporo (erst-born), an OHG. Poro, Goth. Baúra; Börr might be OHG. Paro, Goth. Barus or whatever form we choose to adopt, anyhow it comes from bairan, a root evidently well chosen in a genealogical tale, to denote the first-born, first-created men. Yet we may think of Byr too, the wish-wind (see Oskabyrr, p. 144). Must not Buri, Börr, Oðinn be parallel, though under other names, to Tvisco, Mannus, Inguio? Inguio has two brothers at his side, Iscio and Hermino, as Oðinn has Vili and Ve; we should then see the reason why the names Týski and Maðr are absent from the Edda, because Buri and Börr are their substitutes; and several other things would become intelligible. Tvisco is ‘terra editus,’ and Buri is produced out of stone; when we see Oðinn heading the Ynglingar as well as Inguio the Ingaevones, we may find in that a confirmation of the hypothesis that Saxons and Cheruscans, preeminently worshippers of Wödan, formed the flower of the Ingaevones. These gods and demigods may appear to be all running into one another, but always there emerges from among them the real supreme divinity, Wuotan.

I go on expounding Tacitus. Everything confirms me in the conjecture that Inguio’s or Ingo’s brother must have been named Iscio, Isco, and not Istio, Isto. There is not so much weight to be laid on the fact that sundry MSS. even of Tacitus actually read Iscaevones: we ought to examine more narrowly, whether the st in Pliny’s Istaevones be everywhere a matter of certainty; and even that need not compel us to give up our se; Iscaevus was perhaps liable to be corrupted by the Romans themselves into Istaevus, as Vistula crept in by the side of the truer Visula (Weichsel). But what seem irrefragable proofs are the Esco and Hisicion of

1 So in the Rigsmál 105. Berr is called the first, Barn the second, and Iod (conf. AS. ēadan) the third child of Faðir and Möôir.

2 ON. for man: sing. maðr, mannís, mann, mann; pl. menn, manda, mönnun, munn.

3 In Nennius § 17, Stevenson and Sanmarte (pp. 39, 40) have adopted the very worst reading Hisicio.
Heroes.

Nennius, in a tradition of the Mid. Ages not adopted from Tacitus, and the *Isiccon* in a Gaelic poem of the 11th century (see Suppl.). If this will not serve, let internal evidence speak: in Tuisco and Mannisco we have been giving the suffix -isc its due, and Tuisto, a spelling which likewise occurs, is proof against all attempt at explanation. Now *Isco*, as the third name in the same genealogy, would agree with these two. For Tvisco and Mannus the Norse legend substitutes two other names, but Inguiio it has preserved in Ingvi; ought not his brother Iscio to be discoverable too? I fancy I am on his track in the Eddie *Askir*, a name that is given to the first-created man again (Sæm. 3. Sn. 10), and means an ash-tree. It seems strange enough, that we also come across this *ask* (let interpretation understand it of the tree or not) among the Runic names, side by side with 'inc, ziu, er,' all heroes and gods; and among the ON. names for the earth is *Eskja*, Sn. 220. And even the vowel-change in the two forms of name, Iscio and Askir, holds equally good of the suffix -isk, -ask.

Here let me give vent to a daring fancy. In our language the relation of lineal descent is mainly expressed by two suffixes, ING and ISK. Manning means a son the offspring of man, and mannisko almost the same. I do not say that the two divine ancestors were borrowed from the grammatical form, still less that the grammatical form originated in the heroes' names. I leave the vital connexion of the two things unexplained, I simply indicate it. But if the Ingaevones living 'proximi oceano' were Saxon races, which to this day are addicted to deriving with -ing, it may be remarked that *Ascibur*g, a sacred seat of the Iscaevones who dwelt 'proximi Rheno,' stood on the Rhine. Of *Askir*, and the relation of the name to the tree, I shall treat in ch. XIX; of the Iscaevones it remains to be added, that the Anglo-Saxons also knew a hero *Oesc*, and consequently *Oeseingas*.

Zeuss, p. 73, gives the preference to the reading *Istaevones*, connecting them with the Astingi, Azdingi, whom I (p. 342) took for Hazdingi, and identified with the ON. Haddingjar, AS. Heardingas, OHG. Hertingâ. The hypothesis of *Istaevones = Izdaevones* would require that the Goth. *zd* = AS. rd, OHG. rt, should in the time of

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1 Pointed out by Leo in the zeitschr. f. d. alt. 2, 534.
2 Conf. Askitôn (Ascha near Amberg), Askiprunno (Eschborn near Frankfurt), Askipah (Eschbach, Eschenbach) in various parts; Ascarih, a man's name (see Suppl.).
Tacitus have prevailed even among the Rhine Germans; I have never yet heard of an OHG. Artingâ, Ertinâ, nor of an ON. Addingar, Eddingar. According to this conjecture, ingenious anyhow and worth examining further, the ancestral hero would be called Istio = Izdio, Izdvio, OHG. Erto, ON. Eddi, with which the celebrated term edda proavia would agree, its Gothic form being izdô, OHG. erťâ. Izdo, Izdio proavus would seem in itself an apt name for the founder of a race. The fluctuation between i and a would be common to both interpretations, ‘Iscaevones = Askingâ’ and ‘Istaevones = Artingâ’.

The third son of Mannus will occupy us even longer than his brothers. Ermino’s posterity completes the cycle of the three main races of Germany: Ingaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones. The order in which they stand seems immaterial, in Tacitus it merely follows their geographical position; the initial vowel common to them leads us to suppose an alliterative juxtaposition of the ancestral heroes in German songs. The aspirate given by the Romans to Herminones, as to Hermunduri, is strictly no part of the German word, but is also very commonly retained by Latin writers of the Mid. Ages in proper names compounded with Irmin. In the name of the historical Arminius Tacitus leaves it out.

As with Inguio and Iscio, we must assign to the hero's name the otherwise demonstrable weak form Irmino, Ermino, Goth. Aírmana: it is supported by the derivative Herminones, and even by the corruptions ‘Hisicion, Armenon, Negno’ in Nennius (see Suppl.). Possibly the strong-formed Irman, Irmin, Armin may even be a separate root. But what occurs far more frequently than the simple word, is a host of compounds with irman-, irmin-, not only proper names, but other expressions concrete and abstract: Goth. Ermanaricus (Aírmanareiks), OHG. Irmanrih, AS. Eormenric, ON. Iörmunrekkr, where the u agrees with that in the national name Hermundurus; OHG. Irmandegan, Irmandeo, Irmanperaht, Irmanfrit, Irminolt, Irmandrut, Irmangart, Irmansuint, &c. Attention is claimed by the names of certain animals and plants: the ON. Iörmungandr is a snake, and Iörmunrekkr a bull, the AS. Eormenwyrt and Eormenleaf is said to be a mallow, which I also

1 Pertz 1, 200. 300. 2, 290. 463. 481; the abbas Irmino of Charles the Great's time is known well enough now; and a female name Íirmín is met with in deeds.
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find written geornwenwyrt, geornenleāf. Authorities for irmangot, irmandiot, OS. irminthiod, irminman, irmansul, &c., &c., have been given above, p. 118. A villa Irmęnló, i.e., a wood (in illa Silva scaras sexaginta) is named in a deed of 855, Bondam’s charterbook, p. 32. Silva Irminló, Lacombl. 1, 31.

In these compounds, especially those last named, irman seems to have but a general intensifying power, without any distinct reference to a god or hero (conf. Woeste, mittheil. p. 44); it is like some other words, especially got and diot, regin and megin, which we find used in exactly the same way. If it did contain such reference, Eormenleāf would be Eormenes leāf, like Forneotes folme, Wuotanes wec. Irmandeo then is much the same as Gotadeo, Irmanrih as Diotrih; and as irmangot means the great god, irmandiot the great people, iörmungrund the great wide earth, so irmansul cannot mean more than the great pillar, the very sense caught by Rudolf in his translation universalis columnna (p. 117).

This is all very true, but there is nothing to prevent Irmino or Irmin having had a personal reference in previous centuries: have we not seen, side by side with Zeus and Týr, the common noun deus and the prefix tý-, tir- (p. 195-6) ? conf. p. 339. If Sæteresdæg has got rubbed down to Saturday, Saterdach (p. 125), so may Eritac point to a former Erestac (p. 202), Eormenleāf to Eormenes leāf, Irmansul to Irmanessul; we also met with Donnerbühel for Donnersbühel (p. 170), Woenlet for Woenslet, and we say Frankfurt for Frankenfurt [Oxford for Oxenaford, &c.]. The more the sense of the name faded out, the more readily did the genitive form drop away; the OHG. godes hûs is more literal, the Goth. guplûs more abstract, yet both are used, as the OS. regano giscapu and regangiscapu, metodgisca pu held their ground simultaneously. As for geormen = eormen, it suggests Germanus (Gramm. 1, 11).

It is true, Tacitus keeps the Hermino that lies latent in his Herminones apart from Arminius with whom the Romans waged war; yet his famous ‘cænitur adluc barbaras apud gentes,’ applied to the destroyer of Varus, might easily arise through simply misinterpreting such accounts as reached the Roman ear of German songs about the mythical hero. Granted that irmansul expressed word for word no more than ‘huge pillar,’ yet to the people that worshipped it it must have been a divine image, standing for
a particular god. To discover who this was, we can only choose one of two ways: either he was one of the three great divinities, Wōdan, Thonar, Tiu, or some being distinct from them.

But here we must, above all things, ponder the passage partly quoted on p. 111 from Widukind, himself a Saxon; it says, a heathen god was worshipped, whose name suggested Mars, his pillar-statue Hercules, and the place where he was set up the sun or Apollo. After that, he continues: 'Ex hoc apparat, aestimationem illorum utcumque probabilem, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia Hirmin vel Hermes graecus Mars dicitur, quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hodie etiam ignorantes utinam'. From this it follows, that the god to whom the Saxons sacrificed after their victory over the Thuringians was called Hirmin, Irmin, and in the 10th century the name was still affixed in praise or blame to very eminent or very desperate characters. Apollo is brought in by the monk, because the altar was built ad orientalem portam, and Hercules, because his pillar called up that of the native god; no other idol can have been meant, than precisely the irminsůl (pp. 115—118), and the true form of this name must have been Irmines, Irmanes or Hirmines sůl. The Saxons had set up a pillar to their Irmin on the banks of the Unstrut, as they did in their own home.

The way Hirmin, Hermes and Mars are put together seems a perfect muddle, though Widukind sees in it a confirmation of the story about the Saxons being sprung from Alexander's army (Widuk. 1, 2. Sachsensp. 3, 45). We ought to remember, first, that Wōdan was occasionally translated Mars instead of Mercurius (pp. 121. 133), and had all the appearance of the Roman Mars given him (p. 133); then further, how easily Irmin or Hirmin in this case would lead to Hermes, and Ares to Mars, for the Irminsůl itself is connected with Eres-burg (p. 116). What the Corvei annalist kept distinct (p. 111), the two images of Ares and of Hermes, are confounded by Widukind. But now, which has the better claim to be Irmin, Mars or Mercury? On p. 197 I have pronounced rather in favour of Mars, as Müllenhoff too (Haupt 7, 384) identifies Irmin with Ziu; one might even be inclined to see

1 Much as we say now: he is a regular devil, or in Lower Saxony hamer (p. 182). The prefix irmin- likewise intensifies in a good or bad sense; like 'irmingod, irminthiod,' there may have been an irminthiob = 'meginthiob, reginthiob'.

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in it the name of the war-god brought out on p. 202, 'Eru, Heru,' and to dissect Irman, Erman into Ir-man, Er-man, though, to judge by the forms Irmin, Eormen, Ernum, Þormun, this is far from probable, the word being derivative indeed, yet simple, not compound; we never find, in place of Ærtag, dies Martis, any such form as Erminstæ, Irminestæ. On behalf of Mercury there would speak the accidental, yet striking similarity of the name Írmansúl or Hirmensúl to 'Ermyís and épμα = prop, stake, pole, pillar (p. 118), and that it was precisely Hermes's image or head that used to be set up on such épματα, and further, that the Mid. Ages referred the irmen-pillars to Mercury (p. 116). In Hirmin the Saxons appear to have worshipped a Wódan imaged as a warrior.

If this view be well grounded, we have Wódan wedging himself into the ancient line of heroes; but the question is, whether Írmin is not to be regarded as a second birth or son of the god, whether even an ancestral hero Írmino is not to be distinguished from this god Írmin, as Hermino in Tacitus is from Arminius? So from thiod, regin, were formed the names Thiodo, Regino. It would be harder to show any such relation between Ing and Ingo, Isco and Isco; but I think I can suggest another principle which will decide this point: when races name themselves after a famous ancestor, this may be a deified man, a demigod, but never a purely divine being. There are Íngaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones, Oescingas, Scifingas, Ynglingar (for Ingingar), Vôlsûngar, Skiöldûngar, Niflàngar, as there were Heracleidae and Pelopidae, but no Wôdeningas or Thunoringas, though a Wôdening and a Kronides. The Anglo-Saxons, with Wóden always appearing at their head, would surely have borne the name of Wôdeningas, had it been customary to take name from the god himself. Nations do descend from the god, but through the medium of a demigod, and after him they name themselves. A national name taken from the highest god would have been impious arrogance, and alien to human feeling.

As Lower Saxony, especially Westphalia, was a chief seat of the Irmin-worship, we may put by the side of Widukind's account of Hirmin a few other traces of his name, which is not even yet

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1 To the Greek aspirate corresponds a Teutonic S, not H: atég, hé sa, só; ἐπτά sibun; ἀτό salt. [There are exceptions: át, hé, oí he, ber, hig; ὀλός whole, hela; ὄλος ham, holen].

2 A patronymic suffix is not necessary: the Gáutós, Gevissi, Suápá take name from Gáuts, Gevis, Snap, divine heroes.
entirely extinct in that part of Germany. Strodtnann has noted
down the following phrases in Osnabrück: 'he met, use herre
gott heet Herm (he thinks our Lord is called H., i.e. is never angry);
use herre gott heet nich Herm, he heet leve herre, un weet waltó-
te-gripen (knows how to fall on'). Here there seems unconcealed
a slight longing for the mild rule of the old heathen god, in
contrast to the strictly judging and punishing christian God.
In Saxon Hesse (on the Diemel), in the districts of Paderborn, Ravens-
berg and Münster, in the bishopric of Minden and the duchy of
Westphalia,¹ the people have kept alive the rhyme:

*Hermen, sla dermen,
sla pipen, sla trummen,
de kaiser wil kummen
met hamer un stangen,²
wil Hermen uphangen.*

Hermen is challenged, as it were, to strike up his war-music, to
sound the catgut, pipe and drum; but the foe draws nigh with
maces and staves, and will hang up Hermen (see Suppl.). It is not
impossible that in these rude words, which have travelled down the
long tradition of centuries, are preserved the fragments of a lay
that was first heard when Charles destroyed the Irmensul. They
cannot so well be interpreted of the elder Arminius and the Romans;³
The striking and the staves suggest the ceremony of carrying out
the Summer.

In a part of Hesse that lies on the Werra, is a village named
Ermschwerd, which in early documents is called Ermeswerder,
Armeswerd,⁴ *Ermeneswerde* (Dronke’s trad. fuld. p. 123), *Ermenes-
werethe* (Vita Meinwerei an. 1022. Leibn. 1, 551), = Irmineswerid,
insula Irmini, as other gods have their isles or eas. This interpre-
teation seems placed beyond a doubt by other such names of places.

Leibn. ser. 1, 9 and Eccard, Fr. or. 1, 883, De orig. Germ. 397

¹ Rommel’s Hessen 1. p. 66 note. Westphalia (Minden 1830) i. 4, 52.
² The tune is given in Schumann’s Musical. zeitung for 1836.
³ Variants: mit stangen und prangen (which also means staves); mit
hamer un tangen (tongs).
⁴ This explanation has of course been tried: some have put Hermann for
Hermen, others add a narrative verse, which I do not suppose is found in the
people’s mouth: ‘an Hermen slaug dermen, slaug pipen, slaug trummen, de
fürsten sind kummen met all eren namen, hebt Varus uphangen?’. The same vowel-change is seen in *Ermensulen* (deed of 1298 in Baring’s
Clavis dipl. p. 493 no. 15), a Westphalian village, now called Armenseul.
give *Irmineswagen* for the constellation arctus, plaustrum coeleste, I do not know on what authority: this wain would stand beside Wuotanswagen, Donnerswagen, and even Ingswagen.

Some of the later AS. and several O. Engl. authorities, in specifying four great highways that traverse England, name amongst them *Ermingestrete*, running from south to north of the island. But we may safely assume the pure AS. form to have been Eormenstræt or Eormenes-stræt, as another of the four ways, *Wætlingastræt*, occurs in the Saxon Chron. (Ingr. 190, Thorpe's anal. p. 38), and in the Treaty of Ælfræd and Guthrun (Thorpe, p. 66), and 'andlang Wætlinga stræt' in Kemble 2, 250 (an. 944). Lye has *Irmingestræt* together with *Irminguyl*, both without references. The conjectural Eormenstræt would lead to an OHG. *Irmanstraza*, and Eormenesstræt to *Irmanesstraza*, with the meanings via publica and via Irmani.

Now it is not unimportant to the course of our inquiry, that one of the four highways, Wætlingastræt, is at the same time translated to the sky, and gets to look quite mythical. A plain enough road, extending from Dover to Cardigan, is the *milky way* in the heavens, *i.e.*, it is travelled by the car of some heathen god.

Chaucer (House of Fame 2, 427), describing that part of the sky, says:

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Lo there, quod he, cast up thine eye,
se yondir, lo, the galaxie,
the whiche men clepe the milky way
for it is white, and some parfay
ycallin it han Wætlingestrete,
that onis was brente with the hete,
whan that the sumnis some the rede,
which hite Phaeton, wolde lede
algate his fathirs carte and gie.
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In the Complaint of Scotland, p. 90, it is said of the comet: 'it aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit circumus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis *Vatlanstrcit*'. In Douglas's Virgil, p. 85:

If every sterne the twynkling notis he
that in the still hevin move cours we se,
Arthurys house, and Hyades betaikning rane,
Wallingestrete, the Horne and the Charlewane,
the feirs Orion with his goldin glave.

Wætlinga is plainly a gen. pl.; who the Wætlingas were, and how
they came to give their name to an earthly and a heavenly street,
we do not know. Chaucer perhaps could still have told us, but he
prefers to harp at the Greek mythus. Phaëthon, also the son of a
god, when he presumed to guide his father's sun-chariot, burnt a
broad streak in the sky, and that is the track we call the milky
way. The more common view was, that Here, indignant at the
bantling Hermes or Herakles being put to her breast, spilt her
milk along the sky, and hence the bright phenomenon. No doubt,
among other nations also, fancy and fable have let the names of
earthly and heavenly roads run into one another.¹

A remarkable instance of this is found in one of our national
traditions; and that will bring us round to Irmin again, whom we
almost seem to have lost sight of.

¹ I limit myself to briefly quoting some other names for the milky way.
In Arabic it is tarik al thibn (via straminis); Syriac schevil terno (via paleae);
Mod. Hebrew netibat theben (semita paleae); Pers. rah kah keshan (via stramen
trahentis); Copt. pimoit ende pith (via straminis); Ethiop. hasere zamanegade
(stipula viae); Arab. again derb ettibentin (path of the chopped-straw carriers);
Turk. saman ughrisi (paleam rapiens, paleae fur); Armen. hartacol or hartacogb
(paleae fur); all these names run upon scattered chaff, which a thief drop in
his flight. More simple is the Arabic majzura (tractus), nahr al majzura
(llumen tractus), and the Roman conception of path of the gods or to the gods;
also Iroq. path of souls, Turk. hadjider juli (pilgrims' path), hadji is a pilgrim to
Mecca and Medina. Very similar is the Christian term used in the Mid. Ages,
'galaxias via sancti Jacobi,' already in John of Genua's Catholicon (13th cent.);
camino di Santiago, chemin de saint Jaques, Jacobsstrasse, Slov. zesta v' Rim
road to Rome). From the pilgrimages to Galicia or Rome, which led to heaven
[was there no thought of Jacob's ladder?] This James's road too, or pilgrim's
road, was at once on earth and in heaven; in Lacomblet, docs. 184 and 185
(an. 1051) name a Jacobssteech together with the via regia. ON. ektrabaut
(winterway). Welsh caer Gwydion (p. 150), and Arrianrod (silver street? which
comes near Argentoratum). Finn. linmurota (birdway), Lith. paukseilik
kileis, perhaps because souls and spirits flit in the shape of birds; Hung.
Hadal-kutyua (via bellii), because the Hungarians in migrating from Asia followed
this constellation (see Suppl.). Vroneldenstraet (p. 285) and Pharaoidis fit
intelligibly enough with frau Holda and Herodias, whose airy voyages easily
account for their giving a name to the milky way, the more so, as Wntan,
who joins Holda in the nightly hunt, shows himself here also in the Welsh
appellation caer Gwydion. Even the fact of Diana being mixed up with that
chase, and Juno with the milky way, is in keeping; and gods or spirits sweep
along the heavenly road as well as in the heavenly hunt.
Widukind of Corvei is the first who gives us out of old songs the beautiful and truly epic story of the Saxons' victory over the Thuringians, which Ruodolf before him (Pertz 2, 674) had barely touched. Irmenfried, king of the Thuringians, being oppressed by Dieterich, king of the Franks, called the Saxons to his aid: they appeared, and fought valiantly. But he began to waver in his mind, he secretly negotiated a treaty with the Franks, and the two nations were about to unite against the formidable Saxon host. But the Saxons, becoming aware of the treachery, were beforehand; led by the aged Hathugat, they burst into the castle of the Thuringians, and slew them all; the Franks stood still, and applauded the warlike renown of the Saxons. Irmenfried fled, but, enticed by a stratagem, returned to Dieterich's camp. In this camp was staying Irmenfried's counsellor Iring, whose prudent plans had previously rendered him great services. When Irmenfried knelt before Dieterich, Iring stood by, and having been won by Dieterich, slew his own lord. After this deed of horror, the Frankish king banished him from his sight, but Iring said, 'Before I go, I will avenge my master,' drew his sword, stabbed Dieterich dead, laid his lord's body over that of the Frank, so that the vanquished in life might be the victor in death, opened a way for himself with the sword (viam ferro faciens), and escaped. 'Mirari tamen non possim us' adds Widukind, 'in tantum famam praevaluisse, ut Iringi nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus coeli circulus usque in praesens sit notatus.' Or, with the Auersberg chronicler: 'famam in tantum praevaluisse, ut lacteus coeli circulus Iringis nomine Iringesstràza usque in praesens sit vocatus' (sit notatus in Pertz 8, 178).

In confirmation, AS. glosses collected by Juniuss (Symb. 372) give 'via secta: Iringes uuce,' from which Sommer and Lye borrow their 'Iringes weg, via secta.' Conf. via secta iringeswеее, Haupts zeitschr. 5, 195. Unpubl. glosses of the Amplonian libr. at Erfurt (10-11th cent. bl. 14a) have 'via secta: Iuuàringes uuceg'; which Iuwaring agrees very remarkably with the later form Euring in Euringstràza, Aventin 102b 103a.

In the Nibelungenlied 1285. 1965—2009, these heroes appear again, they are the same, but differently conceived, and more akin to the H. German version in Goldast:¹ Irnrèt of Dùringen and Irînè of Tenenmarke, one a landgraf, the other a markgraf, both vassals of Etzel (Attila). The Lied von der klage (threnody) adds, that they had fallen under the ban of the empire, and fled to Hunland; here we see a trace of the banishment that Dieterich pronounced on Iring. In the poems of the 13th century, however, Iring is not a counsellor, still less a traitor and a murderer of Irmenfried: the two are sworn friends, and both fall before the irresistible Hagne and Volker.

Add to all this, that the Vilk. saga cap. 360, though silent on Irnfried, tells of Irung's last combat with Hogni, and makes him sink against a stone wall, which is still called Irungs veggr in memory of the hero. The Norse redactor confounded vegr (via) with veggr (murus); his German source must have had Iringes veg, in allusion to the 'cutting his way' in Widukind.

So now the road is paved to the conclusions we desire to draw: German legend knew of an Iringes veg on earth and in heaven, so did AS. legend of a double Wætlinga-stræt, and so was the road to Rome and St. James set in the firmament as well. These fancies about ways and veins, we know, are pagan, and indicate god-myths. The Thuringian Irnrèt, originally Irmanfrit, it is reasonable to suppose, is the same as Irman, Irmin (conf. Sigfrit, Sigmunt, Sigi), and the Hermunduri = Irman-duri are plainly connected with the Durings (Thuringians): so that Irman assumes a peculiar significance in Thuringian tradition. If this would but tell us of an Irmines veg, all would come right.

It does tell, however, in three or four places, of an Iringes veg. The names Irînè and Irîn, apart from the alliteration which doubtless operated in the ancient lay, have nothing in common; the first has a long è,² and of themselves they cannot have represented

¹ As already quoted, Deutsch. heldens. p. 117.
² Or iâ, as some roots shift from the fourth to the fifth vowel-series (like hirât and hiarât, now both heirat and heerat; or tir and ëyr, p. 196), so Irînè (expanded into Ilvarine, as the OHG. poss. pron. iur into iuwar); so in the 16-17th cent. Euring alternates with Euring. A few MSS. read Hiring for Iring, like Hirmin for Irmin, but I have never seen a Heuring for Euring, or it might have suggested a Saxon hewenring, as the rainbow is called the ring of heaven. An old AS. name for Orion, Eburdrûng, Ebirdrûng, seems somehow connected, especially with the Iuwarine above.
one another. Now, either the legend has made the two friends change places, and transferred *Irmin's way* to Iring, or *Iring* (not uncommon as a man's name too, e.g., Trad. Fuld. 1, 79) is of himself a demigod grown dim, who had a way and wain of his own, as well as Irmin. Only, Irmin's worship seems to have had the deeper foundations, as the image of the *Irmansill* sufficiently shows. As the name of a place I find *Iringes pure* (burg), MB. 7, 47. 157. 138. 231. *Iringispere* (berg) 29, 58.

Up to this point I have refrained from mentioning some Norse traditions, which have a manifest reference to the earthly hero-path. It had been the custom from of old, for a new king, on assuming the government, to travel the great highway across the country, confirming the people in their privileges (RA. 237-8). This is called in the O. Swed. laws *'Eriksgatu ridha,'* riding Eric's road. Sweden numbers a host of kings named *Erik* (ON. Eirikr), but they are all quite historical, and to none of them can be traced this custom of the *Eriksgata*. With the royal name of Erik the Swedes must from very early times have associated the idea of a god or deified king; the vita Anskarii written by his pupil Rimbert, has a remarkable passage on it (Pertz 2, 711). When the adoption of Christianity was proposed to king Olof about 860, a man of heathen sentiments alleged, *Se in conventu deorum, qui ipsam terram possidere credabantur, et ab eis missum, ut haec regi et populis nunciaret:* Vos, inquam, nos vobis propitios diu habuisitis, et terram incolatus vestri cum multa abundantia nostro adjutorio in pace et prosperitate longo tempore tenuistis, vos quoque nobis sacrificia et vota debita persolvistis, grataque nobis vestra fuerunt obsequia. At nunc et sacrificia solita subtrahitis, et vota spontanea segnius offertis, et, quod magis nobis disiplicet, alienum dein super nos intro ducitis. Si itaque nos vobis propitios habere vultis, sacrificia omissa augete et vota majora persolvite, alterius quoque dei culturam, qui contraria nobis docet, ne apud vos recipiatis et ejus servitio ne intendatis. Porro, si etiam plures deos

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2 For inquinam, as elsewhere inquit for inquinunt.

3 Votum, what an individual offers, as opposed to the sacrificium presented publicly and jointly; cons supra, p. 57.
habere desideratis, et nos vobis non sufficiimus, *Eri cum*, quondam regem vestrum, nos unanimem in collegium nostrum asciscimus, ut sit unus de numero deorum.'—I have transcribed the whole passage, because it aptly expresses the attitude of the pagan party, and the lukewarmness already prevailing towards their religion: the heathen priests thought of adding a fresh hero to their throng of gods. This seems to exclude all later Eries from any claim to the Eriksgata; probably there were mixed up even then, at least in Rümert's mind, traditions of a divine Erik.

It can no longer remain doubtful now, what god or divine hero lies hidden in this Erik. I had at one time thought of Er (Mars), because the form Eretag is met with a few times for Ertag (p. 124), but the short vowel in Er, and the long one in Irine, Eirikr, are enough to warn us off. Instead of Eriksgata we also meet with Riksgata, and this points decidedly to Rigr, the earthly name of the god Heimdallr, who in the Edda walks the green roads (groenar brautir) of earth, to beget the three races of men. In the green earthly roads are mirrored the white and shining paths of heaven. Then the problem started on p. 234, whether the ON. form *Rigr* arose out of *Iringr*, by apæresis and syncope, now finds a solution approaching to certainty. Heimdallr dwells in Himinbjörg on the quaking roost (Bifrost), the rainbow, which is the bridge or path by which the gods descend from heaven to earth. The rainbow is the celestial ring, as the galaxy is the celestial road, and Heimdallr keeper of that road, Heimdallr is Rigr = Iring, walking the earth and translated to the skies; now we comprehend, why there lived among the nations many a various tale of *Eriksga ta, Iringeswe, Iringestri sa*, and was shifted now to one and now to the other celestial phenomenon. Iring, through *Iuwar ing*, borders on *Ebur or ung* the old name of Orion (see Suppl.). And if our heroic legend associates Irmenfrit, *i.e.*, Irmin with Iring, and Irmin-street alternates with Iring-street, then in the god-myth also, there must have existed points of contact between Irmin = Oðinn and Iring = Heimdallr: well, Heimdallr was a son of Oðinn, and the Welsh milky way was actually named after Gwydion, *i.e.*, Woden. From the Irminsul four roads branched out across the country, Eriksgata

1 So king Hákon is admitted into the society of gods, Hermóðr and Bragi go to meet him: 'siti Hákon mcð heiðin goð’ (Hákonarmál).
2 Dahlmann guesses it may be the Upal Erik (d. 804).
3 Altd. blätter 1, 372-3.
extended in four directions, four such highways are likewise known to English tradition, though it gives the name of Ermingestret to only one, and bestows other mythic titles on the rest. Of Irmin and of Iring, both the divine personality and the lapse into hero-nature seem to be made out.


Now that I have expounded the primeval triad of Germanic races, I have to offer some conjectures on the sevenfold division. Pliny's quintuple arrangement seems not so true to fact, his Vindili are Tacitus's Vandilii, his Pencini not referable to any founder of a race. But Tacitus to his first three adds four other leading races, the Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi and Vandilii, in whose names there exists neither alliteration nor the weak form as a mark of derivation.

The Marsi between Rhine and Weser, an early race which soon disappears, in whose country the Tanfana sanctuary stood, lead up to a hero Marso, whom we must not mix up with the Roman Mars gen. Martis, nor with Marsus the son of Circe (who in like manner gives name to an Italian people, Gellius 16, 11. Pliny 7, 2. Augustine in Ps. 57). The Marsigni = Marsingi, a Suevic people, acknowledged the same name and origin. The proper name Marso occurs in Mabillon no. 18, in a deed of 692, also in the polypt. Irminonis p. 158a 163b, but seldom elsewhere. Mersiburg and Marseburg, Pertz 8, 537. 540, seem to belong here, while some other names given above, p. 201, are open to doubt; I do not know if a MHG. phrase, obscure in itself, is at all relevant: 'zuo allen marsen varn,' MS. 1, 25a, which may signify, to go to all the devils, expose oneself to every danger; conf. 'einen marsen man,' Crane 2865. The Gothic marzjan (impedire, offendere) might seem allied to the root, but that would have been merrian, merran in OHG.

The name of the Gambrivii I assign to the root gambar, kambar strenuus, from which also is derived the name of Gambara, ancestress of the Langobards. There may have been likewise a hero Gambaro. And the forest of Gambreta (instead of Gabreta) is worth considering. Gambara's two sons are called Ibor = OHG. Epur, AS. Eofor, ON. Iôfur, i.e. aper, boar, and Ajo: all the three names appear to be corrupt in Saxo Gram.
Ought we to assume for the Suevi, OHG. Suāpā, an eponymous hero *Suevo*, Suāpo, and perhaps connect with him an old legend of a mountain? Pliny 4, 13 places in the land of the ‘*gens Ingae- vonum*, quae est prima Germaniae’, a certain ‘*Sėvo mons immensus*’ reaching to the Sinus Codanus; and Solinus, following him, says 22, 1: ‘*Mons Sėvo ipse ingens . . . initium Germaniae facit, hunc Ingueones tenent,*’ but Isidor (Orig. 10, 2) makes out of it: ‘dicti autem Suevi putantur a monte Sėvero, qui ab ortu initium Germaniae facit’. From this evidently is taken the account of the immigrating Swāben in the Lay of Anno 284: ‘*si sluogen ivi gecelte (pitched their tents) ane dem berge Suébo (so several read for Suedo), dannin wurdin si geheizin Suābo*’.1 In the Low German psalms 57, 17 *mons coagulatus* is rendered ‘*berg sueuot*’, which is perhaps to be explained by the legend of the lebirmer [liver-sea, Tacitus’s *mare pigrum*? Germ. 45. Agr. 10]. It seems more to the point, that in Sæm. 164-8 the *Sėfo fiöll* (fells, mountains, of the Sevs) are mentioned in those very Helga-songs, one of which sings of *Seafaland*, king *Sväfnir* and the valkyr *Svaca*. A *v* after *s* is frequently dropped, and the readings Sevo, Suevo can thus be reconciled. Suāpo then would be a counterpart to Etzel and Faírguns (pp. 169, 172)? The AS. Sweppa, or rather Swæf-dæg, can hardly be brought in here.

Tacitus’s Vandili and Pliny’s Vindili stand in the same relation to each other as Arminius and Irmin, Angrivarii and Inguiones; both forms come from winding and wending, out of which so many mythic meanings flow. Wuotan is described under several names as the wender, wanderer [Germ. *wandeln* ambulare, mutare].

On the slight foundation of these national names, Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi and Vandili, it is unsafe as yet to build. Tacitus connects these with Mannus, but the heroes themselves he does not even name, let alone giving any particulars of them.


Clear and definite on the other hand are the historian’s notices of another famous hero: Fuisset apud eos et *Herculem* memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt, Germ.

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1 Kaiserchr. 285: *sin gecel hiez er slahen dō ñf einin here der heizit Swero, von dem berge Swero sint sie alle geheizen Swábo.* For Swero read *Swero* (see Suppl.).
3. Speaking of sacrifices in cap. 9, after mentioning Mercurius first, he immediately adds: *Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant, the demigod being purposely put before even Mars. Chapter 34 tells us of the ocean on the coast of the Frisians, then says: *Et superesse adhuc *Herculis columnas* fama vulgavit, sive adit *Hercules*, seu quidquid ubicque magnificum est, in claritate eonus referre consensimus. Nee defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed ostitit oceanus in se simul atque in *Herculem* inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam seire. The Annals 2, 12 name a 'silva *Herculi* sacra,' between the Weser and Elbe in the land of the Cherusci; while the Peutinger Table puts a 'castra *Herculis* ' near Noviomagus (Nimwegen). All this means something, it all points to some demigod who is identified, not unadvisedly, with that of the Romans. Hercules, whose deeds were accomplished in countries widely remote, is thought to have visited Germany also, and the Gaditanian pillars at one end of Europe have a counterpart in the Frisian ocean on another side of it. In the German battle-song the praise of Hercules is sounded first, victims are slain to him as to the highest gods, to him a wood is consecrated. Of pillars, even Widukind still knows something, by his speaking of Hirmin's effigies columnarum (pl.), not columnae. Was the plural irman-sulī (p. 115) more exact than irman-sūl, and had the image several pillars? Did the Roman in his Hermin and Herminones think of Herakles and Hercules, whose name bore plainly on its face the root *Hpa*, Hera? was that why he retained the aspirate in Herminones and Hermunduri, and not in Arminius? An approximation of sound in the names of the two heroes, Roman and German, may surely be presupposed. The position of Herculis silva and columnae does not indeed agree with that of the Herminones, but the worship of such a hero was sure to spread far and not to be confined to the particular race to which he gave his name. In the German Irman, Irmin, it seems correct for the aspirate to be wanting, as in Arminius; in Cherusci it is indispensable, and therefore the Romans never wrote Herusci.

If in this 'Hercules' we wish to see one of the great gods themselves, we must apparently exclude Mercury and Mars, from whom he is distinguished in cap. 9, i.e., Wuotan and Zio. And for supposing him to mean Donar, i.e., Jupiter (as Zeuss does, p. 25), I
see no other ground than that the Norse Thór, like Hercules, performs innumerable heroic deeds, but these may equally be placed to the credit of Irmin, and Irmin and the thundergod have nothing else in common. Yet, in favour of 'Hercules' being Donar, we ought perhaps to weigh the AS. sentences quoted on p. 161, note; also, that Herakles was a son of Zeus, and a foe to giants.

I had thought at one time that Hercules might stand for Sahsnôt, Saúxncát, whom the formula of renunciation exalts by the side of Thunar and Wôdan; I thought so on the strength of 'Hercules Saxanus,' whose surname might be explained by saxum = sahs. But the inscriptions in which we meet with this Hercules Saxanus extend beyond the bounds of Germany, and belong rather to the Roman religion. Our Sahsnôt has with more justice been assigned to Zio (p. 203), with whom Hercules cannot be connected. I now think the claims of Irmin are better founded: as Hercules was Jupiter's son, Irmin seems to have been Wôdan's; and he must have been the subject of the battle-songs (ituri in proelia canunt), even of those which Tacitus understood of Arminius (canitur adhuc); though they would have suited Mars too, p. 207 (see Suppl.).

It is a harder matter to form an opinion about the 'Ulysses': Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rhení situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo consti-
tutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam; Tac. Germ. 3. In Odysseus people have seen Osînn, in Asciburg Asburg; but if Wôden stood for the god Mercury, it cannot here mean the hero, still less can Askiburg be traced to the Æses, a purely Norse form, which in these regions would have been anes. When Tacitus makes Ulixes the founder of Ascibury, nothing is simpler than to suppose him to have been Isco, Eseio, Asko (p. 350); and if it was Isco that set the Romans thinking of Ul-ixes, how it helps to estab-
lish the sc in Iscaevones! Mannus the father of Isco may have suggested Laertes, inasmuch as λαός people, and λαός stone, are mixed up in the creation of the first man (the origo gentis) out of stone or rock (see ch. XIX); in the same way Asco grew up out of the tree (ash), and ἐράσ and πέτρη stand together in the mythus,
not without meaning. As liut from liotan, λαός seems to come from the same root as λᾶος, λᾶας.\(^1\)

The interpretatio Romana went more upon analogies of sense than of sound; so, in dealing with Castor and Pollux, I will not take them for the brothers Hadu and Phol = Baldr (see Suppl.). These Gemini, however, are the very hardest to interpret; the passage about them was given on p. 66, and an attempt was made to show that alx referred to the place where the godlike twins were worshipped: I confess it does not satisfy me. Our antiquity has plenty of hero brothers to show, but no twins with a name like Acli, if this plural of Ales is the true form. It occurs to me, that one of Oðin’s names is Íáldr (Sem. 46\(^b\) 47\(^b\)), and jolk in the Vermland dialect means a boy.\(^2\) This comes more home to us than the Samogitic Algir (angulus est summorum deorum, Lasiez, p. 47), towards which the dictionaries offer nothing but alga, reward. Utterly untrustworthy is any comparison with the Slav deities Lei and Polel, themselves as yet unsupported by authority (see Suppl.).\(^3\)

4. BEOWULF, SIGFRIT, AMALO, ERMENRICH, DIETERICH, &c.

From the above specimens in Tacitus we may conclude that all the Teutonic races had a pretty fully developed Heroology; and if our ancient stores of native literature had been still accessible to us, we might have gained a much closer insight into its nature and its connexion as a whole. As it is, we are thrown upon dry genealogies, dating from many centuries after, and touching only certain races, namely the Goths, Langobards, Burgundians, but above all, the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. We may learn from them the connexion of the later kings with the ancient gods and heroes, but not the living details of their myths. Yet we could be content, if even such pedigrees had also been preserved of the Franks and other nations of continental Germany.

The Anglo-Saxon genealogies seem the most important, and the

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\(^1\) “Ulixes = Loki, Sn. 78. For Laertes, whose name Pott 1, 222 explains as protector of the people, conf. Ptolemy’s Λακιδώργιος.” Extr. from Suppl., vol. iii.

\(^2\) Almqvist, Svensk språklära, Stockh. 1840, p. 385\(^a\).

\(^3\) In Lith. lele is pupa, akies lele pupilla, leilas butterfly.
Appendix gives them in full [but see above, p. 165]. All the families branch out from Wôden, as most of the Greek do from Zeus; it was a proud feeling to have one's root in the highest of all gods. Prominent among his sons are Saxneát and Baldeyq, who were themselves accounted divine; but several other names can claim a place among the earliest heroes, e.g., Sigegebát and Wôdelgebát (both akin to the Gothic Gáuts), Freáwine, Wusefrá, Seafugel, Westerfalena; and many are fallen dim to us. Cásere, which in other AS. writings is used for cyning,² seems to be a mere appellative, and to have acquired the character of a proper name after the analogy of the Roman cæsar (?). All these genealogies give us barely the names of the god's sons and grandsons, never those of their mothers or grandmothers; and the legend, which ought like the Greek ones to give life to the relationship, is the very thing we miss.

Some of the Norse traditions gain in value, by being taken with the genealogies. The Völsingasaga sets out with Öðin's being the father of Sigi, but all particulars of the relationship are withheld; Resir the son of Sigi is in the immediate keeping of the highest gods, and so on. Another time, on the contrary, we are informed, Sn. 84—86, how Öðinn under the name of Bôlverkr (OHG. Palo-
wurcho?) became servant to the giant Baugi, in order to get at the divine drink, which the giant's brother Suttíngr kept, guarded by his daughter Gunnlöð; between her and the god took place sundry passages of love, dimly hinted at by Sæmund also 12b 23ab 24a, but we are nowhere told what heroes were begotten in the three nights that Öðinn passed with the giant's daughter. Gunnlöð belongs to the race of giants, not of men, which is also the case with Gerðr whom Freyr wooed, and perhaps with others, who are not reckoned among the Æsýnjor. The Greeks also held that from the union of gods with titans' daughters might spring a hero, or even a god (like Týr, p. 208).—Only Saxo, p. 66, and no other authority, tells us of a Norwegian king and hero 'Frogerus, ut quidam ferunt, Othino patre natus,' to whom the gods gave to be invincible in fight, unless his adversary could grasp the dust from

¹ OHG. Wnotilgoz (Zeitschr. f. d. alt. 1, 577), conf. wüeteln above, p. 132, and Wodel-beer, p. 156 (see Suppl.).

² In Booth, 38, 1 Agamemnon is styled cásere, and Ulysses cyning [in the Pref., Rædgot, Eallerie, Theodrie are cyningas, the emperor always cásere]; in a doc. in Kemble 2, 304 Eadred is 'cyning and cásere'.

GOZ. FROGER. 367
under his feet,¹ which the Danish king Frotho by fraud contrived to do. Can this Froger be the AS. Fróðheri, Fróðgar in the Wessex genealogy, who had Brond for father, Baeldaeg for grandfather, Woden for great-grandfather? The ON. table of lineage seems to mix up Fróðgar with Fróði, his adversary.² According to the Formáli of the Edda, p. 15, and the Yngl. saga c. 9, Norway traced her eldest line of kings to Sémíngr, the son of Oðinn by Skáði, previously the wife of Niörðr; some write Sémíngr, which means pacificator, and would lead to Fridegir again. Skáði was daughter to the jötunn Thiassi, and the Sigurdáðrāpa (−killing) calls Sigurðr Laðaiarl ‘afspringr Thiassa,’ (Th. progenies).—The Herranðssaga cap. 1 makes Hringr siring from Gauti, and him from Oðinn: this Gauotr or Gauuti (conf. Ing and Ingo, Irmin and Irmino), Goth. Gáuts, OHG. Kôz, AS. Geát, whether surname, son or ancestor of Oðinn, cannot belie his divinity (conf. p. 367); and his son Godwulf too, confounded by some with Folcwulda (p. 165, last table), looks mythical. It is from Gáuts that the Gáutós (Kôzâ, Fau-utory) professed to be descended, these being other than the Gýpsans (Tac. Gothones, Fôtôtu), but related to them nevertheless, for the Gothic genealogy starts with the same Gáuts at the head of it.—Again, Sigrlami is called Oðin’s son, Fornald. sôg. 1, 413. But who can ‘Bous (gen. Boi), Othini ex Rinda filius’ be in Saxo Gram. 46? Possibly Bizr, Biaf, Beav = Beowulf, to whom we are coming (see Suppl.).³

Another Oðinsson, Skiöldr, is the famed ancestral hero of the Danes, from whom are derived all the Skiöldunga (Sn. 146); he may have been most nearly related to the people of Schonen, as in the Formn. sôg. 5, 239 he is expressly called Skânunga god (see p. 161), and was probably worshipped as a god. In Saxo Gram. he does not take the lead, but follows after Humblus, Dan⁴ and Lother; Skiöld himself has a son Gram,⁵ from whom come Hadding

¹ A token of victory? as the vanquished had to present such dust (RA. 111-2).
² The AS. name Fróðheri stands yet farther away (Beda 2, 9 § 113).
³ Saxo 122 mentions one hero begotten by Thôr: Hallanus Biurgrammamus apud Sueones magni Thor filius existimatur. And I know of no other but this one.
⁴ Dan, in Saxo’s view the true ancestor of the Danes, is called in the Rígsmál Þjórr, and placed together with Þjórr, Scm. 106b.
⁵ Elsewhere Gramr is the proper name of a particular sword, while the appellative gramr denotes king.
and then Frotho; but the AS. genealogy places its Scild after Scěf, and singularly makes them both ancestors of Ṣninn. From Scěf descends Sceldwa, from him consecutively Beaw, Tatva, Geát, and after several more generations comes Ḇōden last. The ON. version of the lineage is in harmony with this; and even in the Gothic pedigree, which only begins with Gāunts, we may suppose a Skáluf, Skildva, Tatva to have preceded, to whom the OHG. names Scoup, Sciltro, Zeizo would correspond.—None however is so interesting as Sceldwa’s son, the Anglo-Saxon Beaw, called by the Scandinavians Biar, Bíaf, but in the living AS. epos Beowulf. It is true, the remarkable poem of that name is about a second and younger Beowulf, in whom his forefather’s name repeats itself; but fortunately the opening lines allude to the elder Beowulf, and call his father Scild (Goth. Skildus, agreeing with Skíöldr) a Scedfing, i.e., son of Scěf. Beaw is a corruption of Beow, and Beow an abbreviation of Beowulf: it is the complete name that first opens to us a wider horizon. Beowulf signifies bee-wolf (OHG. Piavolf?), and that is a name for the woodpecker, a bird of gay plumage that hunts after bees, of whom antiquity has many a tale to tell. Strange to say, the classical mythus (above, pp. 206, 249) makes this Piêuus a son of Saturn, inasmuch as it either identifies him with Zeus who is succeeded by a Hermes, or makes him nourisher of Mars’s sons and father of Faunus. We see Piêuus (Piëumnus) interwoven into the race of Kronos, Zeus, Hermes and Ares, the old Bohemian Stračec = pius into that of Sitivrat, Kirt and Radigost, as Beowulf is into that of Geát and Wōden. If the groups differ in the details of their combination, their agreement as wholes is the more trustworthy and less open to suspicion. And just as the footprints of Saturn were traceable from the Slavs to the Saxons and to England, but were less known to the Northmen, so those of the divine bird in Stračec and Beowulf seem to take the same course, and never properly to reach Scandinavia. The central Germans stood nearer to Roman legend, although no actual borrowing need have taken place.

What a deep hold this group of heroes had taken, is evidenced by another legend. Scěf (i.e., manipulus frumenti) takes his name

1 Can the name in Upper Germany for the turtur or oriolus gallula, Birolf, Pirolf, brother Pirolf (Frisch i, 161), possibly stand for Biewolf (or Bitolf)? The Serbs call it Urosk, and curiously this again is a hero’s name. Conf. the Finn. uros [with heros ?], p. 341.
from the circumstance, that when a boy he was conveyed to the country he was destined to succour, while asleep\(^1\) on a sheaf of corn in the boat. The poetry of the Lower Rhine and Netherlands in the Mid. Ages is full of a similar story of the sleeping youth whom a swan-conducts in his ship to the afflicted land; and this swan-knight is pictured approaching out of paradise, from the grave, as Helias, whose divine origin is beyond question. Helias, Gerhart or Loherangrin of the thirteenth century is identical then with a Scêf or Scoup of the seventh and eighth, different as the surroundings may have been, for the song of Beowulf appears to have transferred to Scild what belonged of right to his father Seeaf. The beautiful story of the swan is founded on the miraculous origin of the swan-brothers, which I connect with that of the Welfs; both however seem to be antique lineage-legends of the Franks and Swabians, to which the proper names are mostly wanting. Had they been preserved, many another tie between the heroes and the gods would come to light.\(^2\)—Further, to Sceldwa or Skfoildr belongs obviously the name Schiltune in the Tirol and Parzival,\(^3\) as the name Schilbune, Nib. 88, 3, points to a race of Seilpungû, corresponding to the AS. Seilfingas, ON. Seilfingar, of whom Skelfir, Scilfe, Scilpi is to be regarded as the ancestor. This Skelfir the Fornald. sög. 2, 9 makes the father of Skoildr, so that the Skilfinga and Skoildinga att fall into one. Either Scelf is here confounded with Scêf, or Scêf must be altered to Scelf, but the frequent occurrence of the form Seeaf, and its interpretation (from sheaf), seem alike to forbid this (see Suppl.).

As the Sköldûngar descend from Sköldr, so do the Giukûngar from Giuki = Gibika, Köplico, with whom the Burgundian line begins: if not a god himself (p. 137), he is a divine hero that carries us back very near to Wuotan. The Gibichensteine (-stones) moreover bear witness to him, and it is to the two most eminent women of this race that Grimhildensteine, Brunhildensteine are allotted.\(^4\)

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1 Umborwesende? Beow. 92.
2 The ship that brought Seeaf and the swan-knight carries them away again at last, but the reason is disclosed only in later legend: it was forbidden to inquire into their origin, Parz. 825, 19. Conr., Schwanritter 1144-73.
3 Zeitschr. für deut. alterth. 1, 7.
4 Brunchildestein, lectulus Brunhilde, Kriemhilsteinen, Crimihlespl (Heldensage p. 153); Krimhilte graben (Weisth. 1, 48); in loco Grimhiltaperg nominato (Juvavia p. 137); de Grimhiltepere, MB. 7. 498.
Frau Uote however appears as ancestress of the stock.\(^1\) It has not been so much noticed as it ought, that in the Lex Burg. Gislahari precedes Gundahari by a whole generation, whilst our epic (Nibelungen) makes Giselhere Gunthere’s younger brother, and the Edda never names him at all. The Law makes no mention of any brothers, and Giselher the young has merely the name of his elder kinsman. Gérnôt (from gér = gáis) and Giselher seem to be identical (conf. Gramm. 2, 46). But the Norse Guttormr can hardly be a distortion of Godomar, for we meet with him outside of the legend, e.g., in Landn. 1, 18, 20, where the spelling Guðormr (Guntwurm) would lead us to identify him with Gunthere, and in Saxo Gram. are found several Guthormi (see Suppl.). Then Hagano the one-eyed, named from hagun (spinosus, Waltharius 1421), is ‘more than heroic’.\(^2\)

Even deeper reaching roots must be allowed to the Welisungs; their name brings us to a divine Valis who has disappeared (conf. the ON. Vali, p. 163), but the mere continuance of an OHG. Welisunc is a proof of the immemorial diffusion of the Völsungs-saga itself (see Suppl.). How, beginning with Wuotan, it goes on to Sigi, Sigimunt, Sigifrit, Sintarfizilo, has been alluded to on p. 367, and has already been treated of elsewhere.\(^3\) With Sigfrit stands connected Helfrich, Chilpericus, ON. Hialprekr. It is worthy of note, that the AS. Beowulf calls Sigfrit Sigemund, and Sigmundr is a surname of Óðinn besides.\(^4\) Such a flood of splendour falls on Siegfried in the poems, that we need not stick at trifles; his whole nature has evident traces of the superhuman: brought up by an elf Regino, beloved by a valkyr Brunhild, instructed in his destiny by the wise man Gripir, he wears the helmet of invisibility, is vulnerable only on one spot in his body, as Achilles was in the heel, and he achieves the rich hoard of the Nibelungs. His slaying of the dragon Fáfnir reminds us of Πεθων.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Haupts zeitschr. 1, 21.
\(^2\) Lachmann’s examination of the whole Nibelung legend, p. 22.
\(^3\) Haupts zeitschr. 1, 2—6.
\(^4\) In the Copenh. ed. of the Edda, Sem. 2, 889 Sigemon, and in Finn. Magn. lex. 643 Segemon, is said to have been a name of the Celtic Mars; I suppose on the ground of the inscript. in Gruter Ivii. 5: Marti Segomoni sacrum . . . in civitate Segumanorum; and ii. 2: Dis deabus omnibus Veturius L.L. Securius (al. Segomanus) pro se quisque (see Suppl.).
\(^5\) Almost the same, granting a change of th into f (as in θηρ, φηρ); of our à standing for Greek υ there are more examples: fnásu, blásu = πνεω, φλώ. 
whom Apollo overcame, and as Python guarded the Delphic oracle, the dying Fafnir prophesies.\footnote{The epithet sveinn (Sw. sven, Dan. svend) given to the Norse Sigurðr appears already in Fafnir's address 'sveinn ok sveinn!' and in the headings to ch. 142-4 of the Vilk. saga. The same hero then is meant by the Svævar sveævarvænd (fortis puer) of the Danish folk-song, who, riding on Grani, accompanies to Askereia (see ch. XXXI), and by Svend Fælding or Fælling of the Danish folk-tale (Thiele 2, 64-7. Müller's sagabibl. 2, 417-9). He drank out of a horn handed to him by elvish beings, and thereby acquired the strength of twelve men. Swedish songs call him Sven Fælling or Fælling; Arvidsson 1, 129. 415.} We must take into account Leósfjónir Sæm. 24, 30. Sinfjóðli, who, when a boy, kneads snakes into the dough, is comparable to the infant Hercules tested by serpents.

Through Siegfried the Frankish Welisungs get linked to the Burgundian Gibichungs, and then both are called Nibelungs.

Among Gothic heroes we are attracted by the Ovida and Cauvila in Jornandes cap. 22, perhaps the same as Offa and Cuenba in the Mercian line. But of far more consequence is the great Gothic family of Amals or Amalungs, many of whose names in the Jornandean genealogy seem corrupt. The head of them all was Gapt, which I emend to Gaut (Gáuts), and so obtain an allusion to the divine office of casting [giessen, ein-guss, in-got] and meting (pp. 22, 142); he was a god, or son of a god (p. 164), and is even imported into the Saxon lines as Gét, Wòdelgeät, Sigegeät (p. 367). In this Gothic genealogy the weak forms Amala, Isarna, Ostrogotha, Ansila, confirm what we have observed in Tuisco, Inguio, Iscio, Irmino; but those best worth noting are Amala, after whom the most powerful branch of the nation is named, Ermanaricus and Theodericus. Ermanaricus must be linked with Irmino and the Herminones, as there is altogether a closer tie between Goths and Saxons (Ingaevones and Herminones) as opposed to the Franks (Iscaevones), and this shows itself even in the later epics.—Amongst the Amalungs occur many names compounded with vulf, which reminds us of their side-branch, the Wülfings; if it be not too bold, I would even connect Isarna (Goth. Eisarna) with Isangrim. To me the four sons of Achiulf seem worthy of particular notice: Ansila, Ediulf, Vululf, and Hermenrich. Of the last we have just spoken, and Ansila means the divine; our present concern is with Ediulf and Vululf. I find that Jornandes, cap. 54, ascribes to the Seyrians also two heroes Edica and Vulf; the Rugian Odoacer has a father Eticho and a brother Aonulf; and
the legend on the origin of the Welfs has the proper names Isenbart, Irmentrud, Wolf and Etico constantly recurring. Now, welf is strictly catulus (huelf, whelp, ON. hvelpr), and distinct from wolf; natural history tells us of several strong courageous animals that are brought into the world blind; the Langobardic and Swabian genealogies play upon dogs and wolves being exposed; and as Odoacer, Otacher (a thing that has never till now been accounted for) is in some versions called Sipicho, ON. Bicki, and this means dog (bitch), I suspect a similar meaning in Edica, Eticho, Ediulf, Odaear, which probably affords a solution of the fable about the ‘blind Schwaben and Hessen’: their lineage goes back to the blind Welfs. In the genealogy Ediulf is described as brother to Ermen-rich, in later sagas Bicki is counsellor to Iörmunrekr; the Hildebrandslied has but too little to say of Otacher. Then Vuldulf also (perhaps Vuldr-ulf) will signify a glorious beaming wolf (see Suppl.).—As Siegfried eclipsed all other Welisungs, so did Dieterich all the Amalungs; and where the epos sets them one against the other, each stands in his might, unconquered, unapproachable. Dieterich’s divine herohood comes out in more than one feature, e.g., his fiery breath, and his taking the place of Wuotan or Frô (p. 213-4) at the head of the wild host, as Dietrichbern or Bernhard. The fiery breath brings him nearer to Donar, with whom he can be compared in another point also: Dieterich is wounded in the forehead by an arrow, and a piece of it is left inside him, for which reason he is called the deathless;¹ not otherwise did the half of Hrûngnir’s hein (stone wedge) remain in Thor’s head, and as Grôa’s magic could not lessen it, it sticks there still, and none shall aim with the like stones, for it makes the piece in the god’s forehead stir (Sn. 109—111).² This horn-like stone was very likely shown in images, and enhanced their godlike appearance.

The renowned race of the Billings or Billungs, whose mythic roots and relations are no longer discoverable, was still flourishing in North Germany in the 10-11th centuries. The first historically certain Billing died in 967, and another, above a hundred years older, is mentioned.³ The Cod. Exon. 320, 7 says: ‘Billing weold

² Hence the proverb: seint losnar hein i höfði Thórs.
Wernum; he belongs therefore to the stock of Werina, who were near of kin to the Angles. There was a Billinga hæð (heath) near Whalley, and London has to this day a Billingsgate. In OHG. we find a man's name Billunz (Ried nos. 14. 21-3, a.d. 808. 821-2). If we take into account, that a dwarf Billungr occurs in the Edda, Sæm. 2a 23a, a hero Pillunz in Rol. 175, 1, and Billunz and Nidunc coupled together in the Renner 14126-647, the name acquires a respectable degree of importance (see Suppl.). The derivative Billinc implies a simple bil or bili (lenitas, placiditas), from which directly [and not from our adj. billig, fair] are formed the OHG. names Pilidrüt, Pilihilt, Pilikart, Pilihelm; to which add the almost personified Billich (equity) in Trist. 9374. 10062. 17887. 18027, and the ON. goddess Bil, Sn. 39; the l in Billung could be explained through Biliung. Just as Óðinn in Sæm. 46b is called both Bileyskr (mild-eyed) and Bileysgr (of baleful eye), so in Saxo Gram. 130 a Bilvisus (aequus) stands opposed to Böluvisus (iniquus).


In addition to the heroes ascertained thus far, who form part of the main pedigree of whole nations, and thence derive weight and durability, there is another class of more isolated heroes; I can only put forward a few of them here.

We have still remaining a somewhat rude poem, certainly founded on very ancient epic material, about a king Orenitz or Erentel, whom the appendix to the Heldenbuch pronounces the first of all heroes that were ever born. He suffers shipwreck on a voyage, takes shelter with a master fisherman Eisen,1 earns the seamless coat of his master, and afterwards wins frau Breide, the fairest of women: king Eigel of Trier was his father's name. The whole tissue of the fable puts one in mind of the Odyssey: the shipwrecked man clings to the plank, digs himself a hole, holds a bough before him; even the seamless coat may be compared to Ino's veil, and the fisher to the swineherd, dame Breide's templars would be Penelope's suitors, and angels are sent often, like Zeus's messengers. Yet many things take a different turn, more in German fashion, and incidents are added, such as the laying of a naked sword between the newly married couple, which the Greek story knows nothing of. The hero's name is found even in OHG. documents:

1 Who is also found apparently in a version of the Lay of king Oswald.
Orendil, Meichelb. 61; Orendil, Trad. fuld. 2, 24. 2, 109 (Schannat 308); Orendil a Bavarian count (an. 843 in Ecard’s Fr. or. 2, 367); a village Orendelsal, now Orendensall, in Hohenlohe, v. Haupts zeitschr. 7, 558.—But the Edda has another myth, which was alluded to in speaking of the stone in Thòrr’s head. Gróa is busy conning her magic spell, when Thòrr, to requite her for the approaching cure, imparts the welcome news, that in coming from Iötunheim in the North he has carried her husband the bold Órvandill in a basket on his back, and he is sure to be home soon; he adds by way of token, that as Órvandil’s toe had stuck out of the basket and got frozen, he broke it off and flung it at the sky, and made a star of it, which is called Órvandils-tá. But Gróa in her joy at the tidings forgot her spell, so the stone in the god’s head never got loose, Sn. 110-1. Gróa, the growing, the grass-green, is equivalent to Breide, i.e., Bertha (p. 272) the bright, it is only another part of his history that is related here: Órvandill must have set out on his travels again, and on this second adventure forfeited the toe which Thòrr set in the sky, though what he had to do with the god we are not clearly told. Beyond a doubt, the name of the glittering star-group is referred to, when AS. glosses render ‘jubar’ by carendel, and a hymn to the virgin Mary in Cod. Exon: 7, 20 presents the following passage:

Eala Earendel, engla beorhtast,
ofer middangeard monnum sended,
and sōðfæsta sunnan leoma:
torht ofer tunglas, þu tida gehwane
of sylfum þe symle inlihtes!
i.e., O jubar, angelorum splendidissime, super orbem terrarum hominibus misse, radie vere solis, supra stellas lucide, qui omni tempore ex te ipso luces! Mary or Christ is here addressed under the heathen name of the constellation. I am only in doubt as to the right spelling and interpretation of the word; an OHG. õrentil implies AS. earendel, and the two would demand ON. aurvendill, eyrvendill; but if we start with ON. örvendill, then AS. carendel, OHG. ereutil would seem preferable. The latter part of the compound certainly contains entil = wentil.1 The first part should

1 Whence did Matthesius (in Frisch 2, 439") get his “Pan is the heathens’ Wendel and head bagpiper”? Can the word refer to the metamorphoses of the flute-playing demigod ? In trials of witches, Wendel is a name for the devil, Mones anz. 8, 124.
be either óra, cáre (auris), or else ON. ör, gen. örvar (sagitta). Now, as there occurs in a tale in Saxo Gram., p. 48, a Horvendilus filius Gervendili, and in OHG. a name Kërwentil (Schm. 2, 334) and Gérentil (Trad. fuld. 2, 106), and as geir (hasta) agrees better with ör than with eyra (auris), the second interpretation may command our assent;\(^1\) a sight of the complete legend would explain the reason of the name. I think Orentil’s father deserves attention too: Eigel is another old and obscure name, borne for instance by an abbot of Fulda who died in 822 (Pertz 1, 95. 356. 2, 366. Trad. fuld. 1, 77-8. 122). In the Rhine-Moselle country are the singular Eigelsteine, Weisth. 2, 744 (see Suppl.).\(^2\) In AS. we find the names Aegles burg (Aylesbury), Aegles ford (Aylesford), Aegles porp; but I shall come back to Eigel presently. Possibly Orentil was the thundergod’s companion in expeditions against giants. Can the story of Orentil’s wanderings possibly be so old amongst us, that in Orentil and Eigel of Trier we are to look for that Ulysses and Laertes whom Tacitus places on our Rhine (p. 365)? The names shew nothing in common.\(^3\)

Far-famed heroes were Wieland and Wittich,\(^4\) whose rich legend is second to none in age or celebrity. Vidigia (Vidugáuja) of whom the Goths already sang, OHG. Witugouwe as well as Witicho, MHG. Witegouwe and Witege, AS. Wudga, in either form silvicola, from the Goth. vidus, OHG. witu, AS. wudu (lignum, silva), leads us to suppose a being passing the bounds of human nature, a forest-god. Frau Wachilt, a mermaid, is his ancestress, with whom he takes refuge in her lake. At the head of the whole race is placed king Vilkinus, named after Vulcanus as the Latin termination shews, a god or demigod, who must have had another and German name, and who begets with the merwoman a gigantic son Vadi, AS. Wada (Cod. Exon. 323, 1), OHG. Wato, so named I suppose because, like another Christopher, he waded with his child on his shoulder through the Grénasund where it is nine yards

\(^1\) And so Uhland (On Thor, p. 47 seq.) expounds it; in Gróa he sees the growth of the crop, in Órvandill the sprouting of the blade. Even the tale in Saxo he brings in.

\(^2\) The false spelling Eichelstein (acorn-stone) has given rise to spurious legends, Mones anz. 7, 368.

\(^3\) I have hardly the face to mention, that some make the right shifty Ulysses father to Pan, our Wendel above.

\(^4\) The still unprinted M. Dutch poem, De kinderen van Limburg, likewise mentions Wilant, Weidege and Mimmine.
deep (between Zealand, Falster and Moen); the Danish hero Wate in Gudrun is identical with him; the AS. Wula is placed toward Helsingør. Old English poetry had much to tell of him, that is now lost: Chaucer names 'Wades boot Guingelot,' and a place in Northumberland is called Wade's gap; Wæthingestræt could only be brought into connexion with him, if such a spelling as Wædling could be made good.—Now, that son, whom Vadi carried through the sea to apprentice him to those cunning smiths the dwarfs, was Wielant, AS. Weland, Welond, ON. Völundr, but in the Vilk. saga Velint, master of all smiths, and wedded to a swanmaiden Hervör alvitr. The rightful owner of the boat, which English tradition ascribes to Wada, seems to have been Wieland; the Vilk. saga tells how he timbered a boat out of the trunk of a tree, and sailed over seas. Lamed in the sinews of his foot, he forged for himself a winged garment, and took his flight through the air. His skill is praised on all occasions, and his name coupled with every costly jewel, Vilk. saga cap. 24. Witche, the son he had by Baduhilt, bore a hammer and tongs in his scutcheon in honour of his father; during the Mid. Ages his memory lasted among smiths, whose workshops were styled Wieland's houses, and perhaps his likeness was set up or painted outside them; the ON. 'Völundar hús' translates the Latin labyrinth; a host of similar associations must in olden times have been generally diffused, as we learn from the names of places: Welantapes gruoba (pit), MB. 13, 59; Wielantes heim, MB. 28, 93 (an. 889); Wielant-tis dorf, MB. 29, 54 (an. 1246); Wielantes tanna (firs), MB. 28, 188. 471 (an. 1280); Wielandes brunne, MB. 31, 41 (an. 817). The multiplication of such names during long centuries does not admit of their being derived from human inhabitants. The Dan. Velandsturt (-wort), Icel. Velantsurt, is the valerian, and according to Stald. 2, 450 Wielandbeere the daphne cneorum. Tradition would doubtless extend Wieland's dexterity to Wittich and to Wate, who also gets the credit of the boat, and in the Gudrun-lay of the healing art. In Sæm. 270, 'beckur ofnar völundom' are stragula artificioso contexta, and any artist might be called a völundr or wielant. A gorgeous coat of mail (hregel, OHG. hregil) is in Beow. 904 Welandes geweore. Ælfred in Boëth. 2, 7 translates fidelis

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1 Juxta domum Welandi fabri, Ch. ad ann. 1262 in Lang’s reg. 3, 181: conf. Haupts zeitschr. 2, 248. I find also Vitigo faber, MB. 7, 122.
ossa Fabricii 'hees wisan goldsmiðes bán Welondes' (metrically: Welandes bán); evidently the idea of faber which lay in Fabricius brought to his mind the similar meaning of the Teutonic name, Welant being a cunning smith in general. For the name itself appears to contain the ON. vél = viel (ars, ῥέχυη, OHG. list), Gramm. 1, 462, and smiðvēlar meant artes fabriles; the AS. form is wil, or better wil, Engl. wile, Fr. guile; the OHG. wiöl, wiöl (with broken vowel) is no longer to be found. But further, we must presuppose a verb wielan, AS. wēlan (fabrefacere), whose pres. part. wielant, wēland, exactly forms our proper name, on a par with wigant, werdant, druoant, &c.; Graff 2, 234 commits the error of citing Wielant under the root lant, with which it has no more to do than healant (healer, saviour). The OFr. Galans (Heldens. 42) seems to favour the ON. form Völundr [root val] since Veland would rather have led to a Fr. Guilans; possibly even the ON. vala (nympha) is a kindred word? An OHG. name Wieldrud seems the very thing for a wise-woman.—This development of an intrinsic significance in the hero’s name finds an unexpected confirmation in the striking similarity of the Greek fables of Hephaestus, Erichthonius and Dædalus. As Weland offers violence to Beadohild (Völundr to Bōðvildr), so Hephaestus lays a snare for Athene, when she comes to order weapons of him; both Hephaestus and Völundr are punished with lameness, Erichthonius too is lame, and therefore invents the four-horse chariot, as Völundr does the boat and wings. One with Erichthonius are the later Fræthheus and his descendant Dædalus, who invented various arts, a ring-dance, building, &c., and on whose wings his son Icarus was soaring when he fell from the clouds. But Δαιδάλος is δαιδάλος, δαιδάλεος, cunningly wrought, δαιδαλμα (like ἀγαλμα) a work of art, and δαιδάλλειν the same as our lost wian. As our list [like the Engl. cunning and craft] has degenerated from its original sense of scientia to that of calliditas and frans, and vél has both meanings, it is not surprising that from the skill-endowed god and hero has proceeded a deformed deceitful devil (p. 241). The whole group of Wate, Wielant, Wittich are heroes, but also ghostly beings and demigods (see Suppl.).

The Vilkinasaga brings before us yet another smith, Mimir, by

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1 A reduplication like παίπαλος, παίπαλεις tortus, arduus, παίπαλλειν tortuere; conf. λαῖλαψ, μαιμάξ, &c.
whom not only is Velint instructed in his art, but Sigfrith is brought up—another smith’s-apprentice. He is occasionally mentioned in the later poem of Biterolf, as Mîme the old (Heldensage, pp. 146–8); an OHG. Mîmi must have grown even more deeply into our language as well as legend: it has formed a diminutive Mîmilo (MB. 28, 87–9, annis 983–5), and Mîmô, Mîmidrât, Mîmikilt are women’s names (Trad. fuld. 489. Cod. lauresh. 211); the old name of Mînster in Westphalia was Mîmigardiford, Mîmigerneford (Indices to Pertz 1. 2), conf. Mîmigerdeford in Richthofen 335; the Westphalian Minden was originally Mîmidun (Pertz 1, 368), and Memleben on the Unstrut Mîmileba. The great number of these proper names indicates a mythic being, to which Memerolt (Morolt 111) may also be related.—The elder Norse tradition names him just as often, and in several different connexions. In one place, Saxo, p. 40,¹ interweaves a Mîmingus, a ‘silvarum satyrus’ and possessor of a sword and jewels, into the myth of Balder and Hother, and this, to my thinking, throws fresh light on the vidugáija (wood-god) above. The Edda however gives a higher position to its Mîmir: he has a fountain, in which wisdom and understanding lie hidden; drinking of it every morning, he is the wisest, most intelligent of men, and this again reminds us of ‘Wielandes brunne’. To Mîmisbrunnr came Oôinn and desired a drink, but did not receive it till he had given one of his eyes in pledge, and hidden it in the fountain (Sæm. 4ª. Sn. 17); this accounts for Oôinn being one-eyed (p. 146). In the Yngl. saga cap. 4, the Ases send Mîmir, their wisest man, to the Vanir, who cut his head off and send it back to the Ases. But Oôinn spake his spells over the head, that it decayed not, nor ceased to utter speech; and Oôinn holds conversation with it, whenever he needs advice, conf. Yngl. saga cap. 7, and Sæm. 8ª 195ᵇ. I do not exactly know whom the Vôluspâ means by Mîmis synir (sons), Sæm. 8ª; Mîmameidr 109ᵃ implies a nom. Mîmi gen. Mîma, and may be distinct from Mîmir (conf. Bragr and Bragi, p. 235).—Mîmir is no As, but an exalted being with whom the Ases hold converse, of whom they make use, the sum-total of wisdom, possibly an older nature-god; later fables degraded him into a wood-sprite or clever smith. His oneness with heroes tends to throw a divine splendour

¹ P. E. Müller’s ed., p. 114, following which I have set aside the reading Mimringus, in spite of the Danish song of Minering tand.
on them. Swedish folk-song has not yet forgotten *Mimes å* (Arvidsson 2, 316-7), and in Konga härad and Tingås socken in Småland there lies a *Mimes sjö*, inhabited according to the legend by neckar (nixies), ibid. p. 319. Perhaps some of the forms quoted have by rights a short i, as have indisputably the AS. mimor, meomor, gemimor (memoriter notus), mimerian (memoria tenere), our Low German mimeren (day-dreaming), Brem. wtb. 3, 161, and the Memerolt, Memleben above; so that we might assume a verb meima, maim, mimum. Then the analogy of the Latin membr and Gr. μμέομαι allows us to bring in the giant and centaur *Mimæ*, *i.e.*, the wood-sprite again (see Suppl.).

According to the Edda (Sæm. 133), Völundr had two brothers Slagfiðr and Egill, all three ‘synir Finnakönûngs,’ sons of a Finnish king, whereas the saga transplanted to the North from Germany makes its Vilkinus a king of Vilkinaland. Or can Finna be taken as the gen. of *Finni*, and identified with that Finn Folcwaldansunu on p. 219? Slagfiðr might seem = Slagfinnr, but is better explained as Slagfiðr (flap-wing, see ch. XVI, Walachurian). All three brothers married valkyrs, and *Egil*, the one that chiefly concerns us here, took Ölrûn (Aliorûna). The Valk. saga, cap. 27, likewise calls Velint’s younger brother *Eigill*: ‘*ok þenna kalla menn Ölrûnar Eigil,*’1 but the bride is not otherwise alluded to; this form Eigill agrees with the OHG. Eigil on p. 376, not with the ON. Egill, dat. Agli, for the dat. of Eigill would have been Eigli. Well, this Eigill was a famous archer; at Nidung’s command he shot an apple off the head of his own little son, and when the king asked him what the other two arrows were for, replied that they were intended for him, in case the first had hit the child. The tale of this daring shot must have been extremely rife in our remotest antiquity, it turns up in so many places, and always with features of its own. As the Vilkinasaga was imported into Scandinavia in the 13th century, the story of Eigill was certainly diffused in Lower Germany before that date. But Saxo Grammaticus in Denmark knew it in the 12th century, as told of *Toko* and king Harald Gormsson, with the addition, wanting in Eigill, that Toko

1 Peringskiöld translates ‘*Egillus sagittarius,*’ and Rafn ‘*Egil den träffende,*’ but this was merely guessed from the incidents of the story. Arrow is not öl, but ör; Orentil on the contrary, *Eigil’s son,* does seem to have been named from the arrow.
after the shot behaved like a hero in the sea-storm. The Icelanders too, particularly the Iomsvikinga saga, relate the deeds of this Pálinátökí, but not the shot from the bow, though they agree with Saxo in making Harald fall at last by Tóki’s shaft. The king’s death by the marksman’s hand is historical (A.D. 992), the shot at the apple mythical, having gathered round the narrative out of an older tradition, which we must presume to have been in existence in the 10-11th centuries. To the Norwegian saga of Olaf the Saint (†1030), it has attached itself another way: Olaf wishing to convert a heathen man, Eindriði, essayed his skill against him in athletic arts, first swimming, then shooting; after a few successful shots, the king required that Eindriði’s boy should be placed at the butts, and a writing-tablet be shot off his head without hurting the child. Eindriði declared himself willing, but also ready to avenge any injury. Olaf sped the first shaft, and narrowly missed the tablet, when Eindriði, at his mother’s and sister’s prayer, declined the shot (Fornm. sög. 2, 272). Just so King Haraldr Sigurðarson (Harðráða, †1066) measured himself against an archer Hemingr, and bade him shoot a hazelnut off his Björn’s head, and Hemingr accomplished the feat (Müller’s sagabibl. 3, 359. Tháttr af Hemingi cap. 6, ed. Reykjavik p. 55). Long afterwards, the legend was transferred to a Hemming Wolf, or von Wulfen, of Wewelsflet in the Wilstermarsch of Holstein, where the Elbe empties itself into the sea. Hemming Wolf had sided with count Gerhard in 1472, and was banished by king Christian. The folk-tale makes the king do the same as Harald, and Hemming as Tóki; an old painting of Wewelsflet church represents the archer on a meadow with bow unbent, in the distance a boy with the apple on his head, the arrow passes through the middle of the apple, but the archer has a second between his teeth, and betwixt him and the boy stands a wolf, perhaps to express that Hemming after his bold answer was declared a wolf’s head. Most appropriately did the mythus rear its head on the emancipated soil of Switzerland: In 1307, it is said, Wilhelm Tell, compelled by Gessler, achieved the same old master-shot, and made the courageous speech; but the evidence of chroniclers does not begin till toward the 16th century.

2 I suspect the genuineness of the verses, alleged to be by Heinrich von
shortly before the first printed edition of Saxo, 1514. Of the unhistorical character of the event there cannot be the slightest doubt. The mythic substratum of the Tell fable shews itself in an Upper Rhine legend of the 15th century (in Mallens malef. pars 2 cap. 16, de sagittariis maleficis) which immediately preceded the first written record of that of Tell: Fertur de ipso (Punchero), quod quidam de optimatibus, cum artis sue experimentiam capere voluisset, eidem proprium filium parvulum ad metam posuit, et pro signo super birretum pueri denarium, sibique mandavit, ut denarium sine birreto per sagittam amorearet. Cum autem maleficus id se facturum sed cum difficultate assereret, libertius abstinere, ne per diabolum seduceretur in sui interitum; verbis tamen principis inductus, sagittam unam collari suo circa collum immisit, et alteram balistae supponens denarium a birreto pueri sine omni nocemento excusisset. Quo viso, dum ille maleficum interrogasset, ‘cur sagittam collari imposuisset?’ respondit, ‘si deceptus per diabolum puerum occidissem, cum me mori necesse fuisset, subito cum sagitta altera vos transfaxissem, ut vel sic mortem meam vindicassem.’ This shot must have taken place somewhere about 1420, and the story have got about in the middle part of the 15th century.—Beside the above-mentioned narratives, Norse and German, we have also an Old English one to shew in the Northumbrian ballad of the three merry men, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesle; this last, whose christian name, like the surname of the first, reminds one of Tell, offers in the king’s presence to set an apple on the head of his son, seven years old, and shoot it off at 120 paces. The arrow sped from the bow, and cleft the apple. I suppose that Aegel’s skill in archery would be known to the Anglo-Saxons; and if we may push Wada, Weland and Wudga far up into our heathen time, Aegel seems to have an equal claim. The whole myth shows signs of having deep and widely extended

Hünenberg of 1315, which Carl Zay has made known in his book on Goldau, Zurich 1807, p. 41:

Dum pater in puerum telum crudele coruscat
Tellius ex jissu, saeve tyranno, tuo,
pomum, non natum, figit fatalis arundo:
altera mox ultrix te, periture, petet.

H. von Hünenberg is the same who, before the battle of Morgarten, shot a warning billet over to the Swiss on his arrow (Joh. Müller 2, 37), he was therefore a bowman himself. Justinger and Johann von Winterthur are silent about Tell; Melchior Russ († 1490) and Petermann Etterlin (completed 1507) were the first who committed the story to writing.
roots. It partly agrees even with what Eustathius on Il. 12, 292 tells us, that Sarpedon, a hero of the blood of Zeus, was made when a child to stand up and have a ring shot off his breast without injury to him, an action which entailed the acquisition of the Lycian kingdom (see Suppl.).

With these specimens of particular heroes—crumbs from the richly furnished table of our antiquities—I will content myself, as there are still some reflections of a more general kind to be made.

I started with saying, that in the heroic is contained an exalting and refining of human nature into divine, originally however founded on the affinity of some god with the human race. Now as procreation is a repetition, and the son is a copy of the father (for which reason our language with a profound meaning has avarā for image and avaro for child); so in every hero we may assume to a certain extent an incarnation of the god, and a revival of at least some of the qualities that distinguish the god. In this sense the hero appears as a sublimate of man in general, who, created after the image of God, cannot but be like him. But since the gods, even amongst one another, reproduce themselves, *i.e.*, their plurality has radiated out of the primary force of a single One (p. 164), it follows, that the origin of heroes must be very similar to that of polytheism altogether, and it must be a difficult matter in any particular case to distinguish between the full-bred divinity and the half-blood. If heroes, viewed on one side, are deified men, they may on the other hand be also regarded as humanized gods; and it comes to the same thing, whether we say that the son or grandson begotten by the god has attained a semi-divine nature, or that the god born again in him retains but a part of his pristine power. We are entitled to see in individual heroes a *precipitate of former gods*, and a mere continued extension, in a wider circle, of the same divine essence which had already branched out into a number of gods (see Suppl.).

This proposition can the more readily be demonstrated from the popular faiths of Greece and Germany, which commit themselves to no systematic doctrine of emanation and avatāra, as in these

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1 Similar legends seem to live in the East. In a MS. of the Cassel library containing a journey in Turkey, I saw the representation of an archer taking aim at a child with an apple on its head.
religions the full-blooded animalism of herohood developed itself the more richly for that very reason. While the Indian heroes are in the end reabsorbed into the god, *e.g.*, Krishna becomes Vishnu, there remains in Greek and German heroes an irreducible dross of humanism, which brings them more into harmony with the historical ingredients of their story. Our hero-legend has this long while had no consciousness remaining of such a thing as incarnation, but has very largely that of an apotheosis of human though god-descended virtue.

Herakles can never become one with Zeus, yet his deeds remind us of those of his divine sire. Some traits in Theseus allow of his being compared to Herakles, others to Apollo. Hermes was the son of Zeus by Maia, Amphion by Antiope, and the two brothers, the full and the half-bred, have something in common.

In Teutonic hero-legend, I think, echoes of the divine nature can be distinguished still more frequently; the Greek gods stood unshaken to the last, and heroes could be developed by the side of them. But when once the Teutonic deities encountered christianity, there remained only one of two ways open to the fading figures of the heathen faith, either to pass into evil diabolic beings, or dwindle into good ones conceived as human. The Greek heroes all belong to the flowering time of paganism; of the Teutonic a part at least might well seem a poverty-stricken attenuation and fainter reproduction of the former gods, such as could still dare to shew its face after the downfall of the heathen system. Christian opinion in the Mid. Ages guided matters into this channel; unable to credit the gods any longer with godhood, where it did not transform them into devils, it did into demigods. In the Edda the Æsir are still veritable gods; Jornandes too, when he says, cap. 6: 'mortuum (Taumasem regem) Gothi *inter numina populi sui* coluerunt'—be this Taunasis Gothic or Getic—assumes that there were Gothic gods, but the anses he regards as only victorious heroes exalted into demigods; and in Saxo, following the same line of thought, we find that Balder (who exhibits some Heraklean features, *v. supra* p. 226-7), and Hother, and Othin himself, have sunk into mere heroes. This capitis deminutio of the gods brought

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1 In the AS. Ethelwerd p. 833 we read: 'Hengest et Horsa, hi nepotes fuere *Woddw* regis barbarorum, quem post infanda dignitate *ut deum honorantes*, sacrificium obtulerunt pagani victoriae causa sive virtutis, ut humanitas saepe credit hoc quod videt'. Wm. of Malmsbury's similar words were quoted
them nearer to heroes, while the heroes were cut off from absolute deification; how much the two must have got mixed up in the mist of legend! Yet in every case where bodily descent from the gods is alleged of a hero, his herohood is the more ancient, and really of heathen origin.

Among the heroes themselves there occur second births, of which a fuller account will be given further on, and which shew a certain resemblance to the incarnations of gods. As a god renews himself in a hero, so does an elder hero in a younger.

Beings of the giant brood, uniting themselves now to gods and now to heroes, bring about various approximations between these two.

We have seen how in the genealogy of Inguio, first Óðinn, then Niðódr and Freyr interweave themselves: Niðódr and Hadding seem identical, as do Heimdall and Rigr, but in Niðódr and Heimdall the god is made prominent, in Hadding and Rigr the hero. Irmin appears connected with Wotan and Zio, just as Ares and Herakles approach each other, and Odysseus resembles Hermes. Baldr is conceived of as divine, Bælgæ as heroic. In Siegfried is above, p. 128; he also says 'deum esse delirantes'. Albericus tr. font. 1, 23 (after A.D. 274) expresses himself thus: 'In hac generatione decima ab incarnatone Domini regnavisse inventur quidam Mercurius in Gotlandia insula, quae est inter Dacian et Russian extra Romanum imperium, a quo Mercurio, qui Woden dictus est, descendit genealogia Anglorum et multorum aliorum'. Much in the same way Snorri in the Yngl. saga and Form. 13. 14 represents Óðinn as a höfðingi and hermaðr come from Asia, who by policy secured the worship of the nations; and Saxo p. 12 professes a like opinion: 'ea temperrata cum Othinus quidam, Europa tota, falsa divinitatis titulo censeretur,' &c. conf. what he says p. 45. What other idea could orthodox christians at that time form of the false god of their forefathers? To idolatry they could not but impute willful deceit or presumption, being unable to comprehend that something very different from falsified history lies at the bottom of heathenism. As little did there ever exist a real man and king Óðinn (let alone two or three), as a real Jupiter or Mercury.—But the affinity of the hero nature with the divine is clearly distinct from a deification arising out of human pride and deceit. Those heathen, who trusted mainly their inner strength (p. 6), like the Homeric heroes πεποθοιτες βοηθοι (Il. 12, 256), were yet far from setting themselves up for gods. Similar to the stories of Nebuchadnezar (er wolte selbe sin ein got, wolde himselfe be god, Parz. 102, 7. Barl. 60, 35), of Kosroes (Massmann on Eracl. p. 502), of the Greek Salomonens (conf. N. Cap. 146), and the Byzantine Eraclius, was our Mid. Age story of Ímelót aus wüester Dabilone, 'der wolde selve wesent got' (Rother 2568) = Niblót ze Barise 'der machet himele gudlin, selber wolft er got sin' (Bt. 299), just as Salomonens imitated the lightning and thunder of Zeus. Ímelót and Niblót here seem to mean the same thing, as do elsewhere Ímelunge and Nibelunge (Heldens. 162); I do not know what allusion there might be in it to a Nibelune or Amelune (see Suppl.).
an echo of Baldr and Freyr, perhaps of Oðinn, in Dietrich of Thôr and Freyr. Ecke oscillates between the giant and the hero. Even Charles and Roland are in some of their features to be regarded as new.births of Wuotan and Donar, or of Siegfried and Dietrich. As for Geát, Sceáf, Seeldwa, for lack of their legends, it is difficult to separate their divine nature from their heroic.

One badge of distinction I find in this, that the names of gods are in themselves descriptive, i.e., indicating from the first their inmost nature;¹ to the names of half-gods and heroes this significance will often be wanting, even when the human original has carried his name over with him. Then, as a rule, the names of gods are simple, those of heroes often compound or visibly derived. Donar therefore is a god from the first, not a deified man: his appellation expresses also his character. The same reason is decisive against that notion of Wuotan having made his way out of the ranks of men into those of the gods.

Demigods have the advantage of a certain familiarness to the people: bred in the midst of us, admitted to our fellowship, it is they to whom reverence, prayers and oaths prefer to address themselves: they procure and facilitate intercourse with the higher-standing god. As it came natural to a Roman to swear 'mecaster! mecaster! edepol!' the christians even in the Mid. Ages swore more habitually by particular saints than by God himself.

We are badly off for information as to the points in which the Hero-worship of our forefathers shaped itself differently from divine worship proper; even the Norse authorities have nothing on the subject. The Grecian sacrifices to heroes differed from those offered to gods: a god had only the viscera and fat of the beast presented to him, and was content with the mounting odour; a deified hero must have the very flesh and blood to consume. Thus the einherjar admitted into Valhöll feast on the boiled flesh of the boar Schrimmir, and drink with the Ases; it is never said that the Ases shared in the food, Sàem. 36. 42. Sn. 42; conf. supra, p. 317. Are we to infer from this a difference in the sacrifices offered to gods and to demigods?

Else, in the other conditions of their existence, we can perceive many resemblances to that of the gods.

Thus, their stature is enormous. As Ares covered seven roods,

¹ Something like the names of the characters in the Beast-apologue.
Herakles has also a body of gigantic mould. When the godlike Sigurnarf strode through the full-grown field of corn, the dew-shoe of his seven-span sword was even with the upright ears (Völs. saga cap. 22. Vilk. saga cap. 166); a hair out of his horse’s tail was seven yards long (Nornag. saga cap. 8).—One thing hardly to be found in Teutonic gods, many-handedness, does occur in an ancient hero. Wudga and Hâma, Witege and Heime, are always named together. This Heimo is said to have been by rights called Studas, like his father (whom some traditions however name Adelger, Madelger); not till he had slain the worm Heima, did he adopt its name (Vilk. saga cap. 17). To him are expressly attributed three hands and four elbows, or else two hands with three elbows (Heldens. 257. Roseng. p. xx, conf. lxxxiv); the extra limbs are no exaggeration (Heldens. 391), rather their omission is a toning down, of the original story. And Asprian comes out with four hands (Roseng. p. xii). Starkad, a famous godlike hero of the North, has three pairs of arms, and Thor cuts four of his hands off (Saxo Gram., p. 103); the Hervararsaga (Rafn p. 412, 513) bestows eight hands on him, and the ability to fight with four swords at once: atta handa, Fornald. sög. 1, 412. 3, 37. In the Swedish folk-song of Alf, originally heathen, there is a hero Torgnejer (roaring like thunder?), 'han hade atta händer (Arvidss. 1, 12). Such cumulation of limbs is also a mark of the giant race, and some of the heroes mentioned do overlap these; in the Servian songs I find a three headed hero Balatchko (Vuk 2, no. 6, line 608); Pégam too in the Carniolan lay has three heads (tri glave).—Deficiency of members is to be found in heroes as well as gods: Óðinn is one-eyed, Þýr one-handed, Loki (=Hephaestus?) lame, Höðr blind, and Viðar dumb.

1 Döggskör, Sw. Doppsko, the heel of the sword’s sheath, which usually brushes the dew; so the Alamanns called a lame foot, that dragged through the dewy grass, tondregil. This ride through the corn has something in it highly mythic and suggestive of a god.

2 Heimo appears to mean worm originally, though used elsewhere of the cricket or cicada (Reinh. cxxv), for which our present heimchen (little worm) is better suited. A renowned Karling hero was also named Heimo (Reinh. eciv). We find again, that Madelger is in Morolt 3921 a dwarf, son of a mermaid, and in Rol. 58, 17 a smith.

3 In the prophecies of the North Frisian Hertje (A.D. 1400) the tradition of such monstrosities is applied to the future: ‘Wehe den minschen, de den leven, wen de lude 4 arme kriegen und 2 par schò über de vête dragen und 2 hôde up den kop hebben!’ Heimreichs chron., Tondern 1819; 2, 341. It may however refer merely to costume.

4 Goth. háihs, hanfs, halts, blinds, dumbes.
so is Hagano one-eyed, Walthari one-handed, Gunthari and Wiclant lame, of blind and dumb heroes there are plenty.

One thing seems peculiar to heroes, that their early years should be clouded by some defect, and that out of this darkness the bright revelation, the reserved force as it were, should suddenly break forth. Under this head we may even place the blind birth of the Welfs, and the vulgar belief about Hessians and Swabians (p. 373). In Saxo Gram., p. 63, $Uffo$ is dumb, and his father Vermund blind; to him corresponds the double Offa in the line of Mercia, and both of these Offas are lame and dumb and blind. According to the 'vita Offae primi, Varmundi filii,' he was of handsome figure, but continued blind till his seventh year, and dumb till his thirtieth; when the aged Varmund was threatened with war, all at once in the assembly Offa began to speak. The 'vita Offae secundi' says,¹ the hero was at first called Vinered (so we must emend Pineredus), and was blind, lame and deaf, but when he came into possession of all his senses, he was named Offa secundus. Exactly so, in Sæm. 142a, Hjörvarðr and Sigurlinn have a tall handsome son, but 'hann var þögull, ecki nafn festiz við hann.' Only after a valkyrja has greeted him by the name of Helgi, does he begin to speak, and is content to answer to that name. Starkard too was þögull in his youth (Fornald. sög. 3, 36), and Halfdan was reckoned stupid (Saxo, p. 134); just as slow was the heroism of Dietleib in unfolding itself (Vilk. saga cap. 91), and that of Riya in the Russian tales. Our nursery-tales take up the character as ascherling, aschenbrodel, askefis (cinderel): the hero-youth lives inactive and despised by the kitchen-hearth or in the cattle-stall, out of whose squalor he emerges when the right time comes. I do not recollect any instance in Greek mythology of this exceedingly favourite feature of our folk-lore.

Unborn children, namely those that have been cut out of the womb, usually grow up heroes. Such was the famous Persian Rustem in Ferdusi, as well as Tristan according to the old story in Eilhart, or the Russian hero Dobrună Nikititch, and the Scotch Macduff. But Völsungr concerns us more, who spoke and made vows while yet unborn, who, after being cut out, had time to kiss his mother before she died (Völsungsas. cap. 2. 5). An obscure

¹ These remarkable vitae Offae primi et secundi are printed after Watts's Matth. Paris, pp. 8, 9.
passage in Fænismál (Sæm. 187a) seems to designate Sigurðr also an óðorninn; and in one as difficult (Beow. 92), may not the ‘umbor-wesende’ which I took in a different sense on p. 370, stand for unbor-wesende, to intimate that Sceálf passed for an unborn? The Landnámabók 4, 4 has an Uni hinn óðorni (m.), and 1, 10 an Úlfurrn in óðorna (f.); for wise-women, prophetesses, also come into the world the same way. Our Mid. Ages tell of an unborn hero Hoyer (Benecke’s Wigalois, p. 452); in Hesse, Reinhart of Dalwig was known as the unborn, being, after the caesarian operation, brought to maturity in the stomachs of newly slaughtered swine. As early as the tenth century, Eckhart of St. Gall informs us: Infans excisus et arvinae porci recens erutae, ubi incutesceret, involutus, bonae indolis cum in brevi apparuisset, baptizatur et Purchardus nominatur (Pertz 2, 120); this is the Burchardus ingenitus, afterwards abbot of St Gall. One Gebehardus, ex de-functae matris Dietpurgae utero excisus, is mentioned in the Chron. Petershus. p. 302, with the remark: De talibus excisis literae testantur quod, si vita comes fuerit, felices in mundo habeantur. To such the common standard cannot be applied, their extraordinary manner of coming into the world gives presage of a higher and mysterious destiny. Not unlike is the Greek myth of Metis and Tritogeneia: the virgin goddess springs out of the forehead of Zeus. The phrase about ‘Hlóðr being born with helmet, sword and horse’ (above, p. 76), is explained by the Hervararsaga, p. 490, to mean, that the arms and animals which accompany the hero were forged and born at the time of his birth. Schröter’s Finnish Runes speak of a child that was born armed: this reminds us of the superstition about lucky children being born with hood and helmet (see ch. XXVIII).

It was noticed about the gods (p. 321), that Balder’s brother, when scarcely born, when but one night old, rushed to vengeance, unwashed and uncombed. This is like the children born of liten Kerstin after long gestation: the newborn son gets up directly and combs his hair, the new born daughter knows at once how to sew silk. Another version makes her give birth to two sons, one of whom combs his yellow locks, the other draws his sword, both equipped for swift revenge (Svenska fornsängar 2, 254-6). Here

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1 Heimreich’s Nordfries. chr. 2, 341.
2 Zeitschrift für Hess. gesch. 1, 97.
combing and not combing seem to be the same characteristic. A new born child speaks; Norske eventyr 1, 139.

As the birth of beloved kings is announced to their people by joyful phenomena, and their death by terrible, the same holds good of heroes. Their generosity founds peace and prosperity in the land. Fróði's reign in Denmark was a period of bliss; in the year of Håkon's election the birds bred twice, and trees bore twice, about which beautiful songs may be gleaned out of his saga, cap. 24. On the night that Helgi was born, eagles cried, and holy waters streamed from the mountains, Sæm. 149a.

Sigurð's walk and manner of appearing was impetuous, like that of a god; when he first approached the burg of Brynhildr, 'iörð dúsóði ok opphimin,' earth shook and heaven, Sæm. 241b; and of Brynhild's laughing, as of that of the gods (p. 324), we are told: 'hló, beir allr dundi,' she laughed and all the castle dinned, Sæm. 208a. A divine strength reveals itself in many deeds and movements of heroes. Dietrich's fiery breath may be suggestive of Donar, or perhaps only of a dragon: 'ob sin átem gæbe fiur als eines wilden trachen,' (Parz. 137, 18).

A widely prevalent mark of the hero race is their being suckled by beasts, or fed by birds. A hind offers her milk to Sigurðr when exposed, Vilk. saga 142; a she-wolf gives suck to the infant Dietrich (like Romulus and Remus) together with her four blind whelps, hence his name of Wolfdietrich. The same fellowship with whelps seems imputed to the beginnings of the Goths and Swabians, as to those of the Romans (p. 373); but the woodpecker also, that Bee-wolf, brought food to the sons of Mars, and we have come to know the Swabians as special devotees of Zio (p. 199). The Servian hero Milosh Kobilitch was suckled by a marc (kobila), Vuk 2, 101; does that throw light on the OHG. term of abuse merihânsun, zâgânsun (RA. 643)? A like offensive meaning lurked in the Latin lupa. But it is not only to sucklings that the god-sent animals appear; in distress and danger also, swans, ravens, wolves, stags, bears, lions will join the heroes, to render them assistance; and that is how animal figures in the scutcheons and helmet-insignia of heroes are in many cases to be accounted for, though they may arise from other causes too, e.g., the ability of certain heroes to transform themselves at will into wolf or swan.

1 Fils de truie; Garin 2, 229.
The *swan's wing*, the swan's coat, betokens another supernatural quality which heroes share with the gods (p. 326), the power of flying. As Wieland ties on his swan-wings, the Greek Perseus has *winged shoes*, talaria, Ov. met: 4, 667. 729, and the Servian Relia is called *krilat* (winged), being in possession of *krilo* and *okrilie* (wing and wing-cover), Vuk 2, 88. 90. 100. A piece of the wing remaining, or in women a swan’s foot, will at times betray the higher nature.

The superhuman quality of heroes shines out of their eyes (luminum vibratus, oculorum micatus, Saxo Gram. 23): *ormr i auya*. The *golden teeth* of gods and heroes have been spoken of, p. 234. In the *märchen* sons are born with a *star* on the forehead, Kinderm. 96. Straparola 4, 3; or a golden star falls on the forehead, Pentam. 3, 10. The Dioscuri had a star or flame shining on their heads and helmets: this may have reference to the rays encircling the head (p. 323), or to constellations being set in the sky. In some cases the heroic form is disfigured by animal peculiarities, as Siegfried’s by his horny skin, and others by a scaly; the *märchen* have heroes with *hedgehog spikes*. The legend of the *Merovings*, imperfectly handed down to us, must be founded on something of the kind. When Clodio the son of Faramund with his queen went down to the shore, to cool themselves from the sultry summer heat, there came up a monster (sea-hog?) out of the waves, which seized and overpowered the bathing queen. She then bore a son of singular appearance, who was therefore named Merovig, and his descendants, who inherited the peculiarity, Merovings. Theophanes expressly declares, that the Merovings were called *κριστάται* and *τριχοραχάται*, because all the kings of that house had bristles down the backbone (*φάχις*), like swine. We still find in Rol. 273, 29, where it is true they are enumerated among heathens,

\[
\begin{align*}
di \text{ helde von } & \text{Meres;} \\
vil \text{ gewis sit ir des,} \\
daz \text{ niht kuoners mac sin:} \\
an \text{ dem rueke tragent si borsten sam swin.}
\end{align*}
\]

The derivation of the name is altogether unknown. Can it possibly have some connexion with the boar-worship of Fró, which may

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1 Fredegar's epitome (Bouquet 2, 396), and Conradus Ursperg., Arg. 1608, p. 92. Per contra, Mülleuohoff in Haupt's zeitschr. 6, 432.
have been especially prevalent among the Franks? Lampr. Alex. 5368 also has: sin hût was ime bevangen al mit *swines bursten* (see Suppl.).

One principal mark to know heroes by, is their possessing *intelligent horses*, and conversing with them. A succeeding chapter will shew more fully, how heathendom saw something sacred and divine in horses, and often endowed them with consciousness and sympathy with the destiny of men. But to heroes they were indispensable for riding or driving, and a necessary intimacy sprang up between the two, as appears by the mere fact of the horses having proper names given them. The touching conversation of Achilles with his *Xanthos* and *Balios* (II. 19, 400—421) finds a complete parallel in the beautiful Karling legend of *Bayard*; compare also Wilhelm's dialogue with *Puzzdt* (58, 21—59, 8), in the French original with *Baucent* (Garin 2, 230-1), and Begon's with the same *Baucent* (p. 230). In the *Edda* we have *Skirnir* talking with his horse (Sæm. 82); and *Goðrún*, after Sigurð's murder, with *Grani* (231):

\[\text{Imipnaði Grani þá, drap í gras höfði.}\]

Well might Grani mourn, for the hero had bestridden him ever since he led him out of Hjalprek's stable (180), had ridden him through the flames (202a), and carried off the great treasure. Swedish and Danish folk-songs bring in a sagacious steed *Black*, with whom conversation is carried on (Sv. vis. 2, 194. Sv. forns. 2, 257. Danske vis. 1, 323). In the poems on Artus the horses are less attractively painted; but how naively in the Servian, when Mila shoes the steed (Vuk 1, 5), or Marko before his death talks with his faithful *Sharats* (2, 243 seq. Danitza 1, 109). In Mod. Greek songs there is a dialogue of Liakos with his horse (Fauriel 1, 138), and similar ones in the Lithuanian *dainos* (Ihesa p. 224). The Persian Rustem's fairy steed is well-known (see Suppl.).

If many heroes are carried off in the bloom of life, like Achilles or Siegfried, others attain a *great age*, beyond the limit of the human. Our native legend allows Hildebrand the years of Nestor

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1 A Mongolian warrior's dying song has:

My poor cream-coloured trotter, you will get home alive.
Then tell my mother, pray: 'full fifteen wounds had he'.
And tell my father, pray: 'shot through the back was he,' &c.—Trans.
with undiminished strength, and to the Scandinavian Starkadhr is measured out a life that runs through several generations; the divinely honoured Geðmundr is said to have numbered near five hundred years, Fornald. sög. 1, 411. 442. In the genealogies that have come down to us, great length of life is given to the first ancestors, as it is in the Bible also. Snaerr kinn gamli, sprung from Kāri and Jökull, is said to have attained 300 years, and Hálfdan gamli as many, Fornald. sög. 2, 8. The MHG. poem of Dietrich’s ancestors (1869—2506) gives Dietwart and Sigeher 400 years of life each, Wolfdieterich 503, Hugdieterich 450, and Dietmar 340; Dietrich of Bern is the first that reaches only the ordinary limit, Otut the son of Sigeher was killed when young. 1 The Servian Marko was three hundred years old, almost like the giants of old. On the other hand, the life of heroes is enfeebled by union with goddesses and superhuman females. Examples will be given, when the valkyrs are discussed; the belief of the Greeks is expressed in a remarkable passage of the Hymn to Venus 190, where Anchises, after he has embraced Aphrodite, fears that he shall lead a stricken life (ἀμεθηνός) among men:

ἐτει οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνήρ
γίγνεται, ὡστε θεᾶς εὑνάζεται ὑθανάτης.

The goddess does not conceal, that age will come on him apace, and that Zeus’s thunderbolt will maim him if he boast of her favours. The story of Staufenberger and the sea-fairy is founded on similar notions.

Another thing in which the condition of heroes resembles that of gods is, that particular local haunts and dwellings are assigned them. Such abodes seem by preference to bear the name of stone, as Gibichenstein, Brunhildenstein, Kriemhildenstein, Eigelstein, Waskenstein; which points to sacred rocks uninhabited by men,

1 These are undoubtedly genuine myths, that lose themselves in the deeps of time, however distorted and misplaced they may be. Sigeher (OHG. Siguhari) is plainly the ON. Sigarr, from whom the Siglingar or Siklingar take their name; Sigeher’s daughter is called Sigelinta, Sigar’s daughter Signý, but the two are identical. Hugdieterich, who in woman’s clothing woos Hildeburg, is one with Hugbardyr (Sw. Habor, Dan. Hafbur), who likewise succeeds in his suit for Signý (Sw. Signil, Dan. Signild), though here the story has a tragic end, and the names disagree; but hug and hag, both from one root, support each other. Sigemünne too, the wife of Wolfdieterich, who in the Heldenbuch is the son of Hugdieterich, comes near to Signý. The part about Hugdieterich in the Heldenbuch is throughout uncommonly sweet, and certainly very ancient.
and a primeval, firmly rooted worship. More rarely we find castle or hall connected with a hero (Irtinges bure, Orendelsal), a few times ea and burn, oftener way or street; now, as the notion of a highway lies close to that of a conspicuous column to which the roads led up, we may well connect the 'Herculis columnae,' the Irmenansuli, with the Roland-pillars, which we come upon just in those northern parts of Germany where heathenism prevailed latest. As king Charles occupies Wuotan's place in certain legends, especially that of the 'furious host,' Roland, the noblest hero of his court, who is to him almost exactly what Donar is to Wuotan, seems to replace the divine vanisher of giants. Æthelstên-pillars have been mentioned, p. 119. It is worthy of note, that, while Scandinavia offers nothing else that can be likened to the Irmen-pillars, yet at Skeningen, a town of Östergötland, there stood erected in the marketplace, just where Roland-pillars do stand, the figure of a giant or hero, which the people called Thore lång (Thuro longus), and at which idolatry was practised in former times. This figure appears far more likely to belong to the heathen god than to any hero or king; and probably the column in the market place of Bavais in Hainault, from which seven roads branched off, and which is said to have been reared in honour of a king Bavo, had a similar meaning (see Suppl.).

According to a widely accepted popular belief, examined more minutely in ch. XXXII on Spiriting away, certain heroes have sunk from the rocks and fortresses they once inhabited, into clefts and caverns of the mountains, or into subterranean springs, and are there held wrapt in a seldom interrupted slumber, from which they issue in times of need, and bring deliverance to the land. That here again, not only Wuotan, Arminius, Dieterich and Siegfried, but such modern heroes as Charles, Frederick Barbarossa and even Tell are named, may assure us of the mystic light of myth which has settled on them. It was a Norse custom, for aged heroes, dead to the world and dissatisfied with the new order of things, to shut themselves up in a hill: thus Herlaugr with twelve others goes into the haugr (Egilss. p. 7), and in like manner Etoicho the Welf, accompanied by twelve nobles, retires into a mountain in the Scherenzerwald, where no one could find him again (Deutsche

sagen, no. 518). Siegfried, Charles and Frederick, like King Arthur of the Britons, abide in mountains with their host.

Be it be remarked lastly, that the heroic legend, like the divine, is fond of running into triads. Hence, as Oðin, Vili, Ve, or Hár, Iafnhár and Thriði stand together, there appear times without number three heroic brothers together, and then also it commonly happens, that to the third one is ascribed the greatest faculty of success. So in the Scythian story of the three brothers Leipoxais, Arpoxais and Kolaxais (Herod. 4, 5): a golden plough, yoke and sword having fallen from heaven, when the eldest son and the second tried to seize them, the gold burned, but the third carried them off. The same thing occurs in many märchen.
The relation of women to the gods is very different from that of men, because men alone can found famous houses, while a woman's family dies with her. The tale of ancestry contains the names of heroes only; king's daughters are either not named in it at all, or disappear again as soon as they have been introduced as brides. For the same reason we hear of deified sons, but not of deified daughters; nay, the marriage of mortals with immortals issues almost always in the birth of sons. There are therefore no women to be placed by the side of the heroes, whom in the preceding chapter we have regarded as a mixture of the heavenly and earthly natures: the distaff establishes no claim to immortality, like the sword. To the woman and the bondman, idle in battle, busy in the house, the Anglo-Saxons very expressively assigned the occupation of weaving peace: heroic labours suited men.

But that which women forfeit here, is amply made up to them in another sphere. In lieu of that distinct individuality of parts given to heroes, which often falls without effect in the story, they have general duties assigned them of momentous and lasting influence. A long range of charming or awful half-goddesses mediates between men and deity: their authority is manifestly greater, their worship more impressive, than any reverence paid to heroes. There are not, strictly speaking, any heroines, but whatever among women answers to heroes appears more elevated and spiritual. Brunhild towers above Siegfried, and the swan-maid above the hero to whom she unites herself (see Suppl.).

In other mythologies also it is observable, that in the second rank of deities female beings predominate, while the first is reserved almost exclusively for the male, but the divine heroes we have spoken of come only in the third rank. I have on p. 250 partly accounted for the longer duration of the tradition of several goddesses
by its having left more abiding, because more endearing, impressions on the mind of the people.

There is no harder problem in these investigations, than to distinguish between goddesses and half-goddesses. Every god's wife must ipso facto pass for a real goddess; but then there are unmarried goddesses; e.g., Hel. One who cannot be shown to be either wife or daughter of a god, and who stands in a dependent relation to higher divinities, is a half-goddess. Yet such a test will not always serve, where a mythology has been imperfectly preserved; for the very reason that half-goddesses stand higher than half-gods, the boundary-line between them and the class of great gods is harder to hit. The line may be disturbed, by particular races promoting divine beings of lower rank, whose worship got the upper hand among them, to a higher; it is true the same thing seems to occur in hero-worship, but not so often.

The mission and functions of half-goddesses then may be roughly defined thus: to the upper gods they are handmaids, to men revealers.

It is a significant feature in our heathenism, that women, not men, are selected for this office. Here the Jewish and christian view presents a contrast: prophets foretell, angels or saints from heaven announce and execute the commands of God; but Greek and Teutonic gods employ both male and female messengers. To the German way of thinking, the decrees of destiny assume a greater sacredness in the mouth of woman, soothsaying and sorcery in a good as well as bad sense is peculiarly a women's gift, and it may even be a part of the same thing, that our language personifies virtues and vices as females. If human nature in general shews a tendency to pay a higher respect and deference to the female sex, this has always been specially characteristic of Teutonic nations. Men earn deification by their deeds, women by their wisdom: 'Fatidicae, augescente superstitione deae,' p. 95 (see Suppl.).

This Germanic reverence for woman, already emphasized by Tacitus, is markedly expressed in our old systems of law, especially the Alanannian and Bavarian, by doubling the composition for injury (RA. 404): the defenceless one thereby receives protection and consecration, nay, she is to forfeit the privilege the moment she takes up man's weapons. And not only does a worship of woman shew itself in the minne-songs of our Mid. Ages, but in a
remarkable formula of chivalry occurring both in folk-songs and in court-poems: ‘durch aller frouwen ére,’ by all women’s honour, Wolf diet. 104. Morolt 855. 888. 2834. Morolf 1542. Ecke 105. 117. 174. Roseng. 2037. MsH. 3, 200; ‘durch reiner (pure) frouwen ére,’ Ecke 112; ‘durch willen (for the sake) aller frouwen,’ thus one hero cries to another ‘nu beite (stay), durch willen aller meide!’ Rab. 922-4; ‘durch willen schöner wibe,’ Ecke 61; ‘durch ander maget (other maids’) ére,’ Gudr. 4863; ‘durch elliu wip,’ in the name of all women, Parz. 13, 16; ‘ére an mir elliu wip,’ respect in me all women, Erée 957; ‘ére an mir elliu wip!’ says a woman in Parz. 88, 27, to ensure attention to her prayer; ‘allen meiden tuot ez ze éren (do it in honour of),’ Gudr. 1214, 3; ‘ére und minne elliu wip!’ is the injunction on giving a sword, Trist. 5032; ‘tuon allez daz frouwen wille st,’ do all that may be woman’s will, Bit. 7132; ‘als liep in alle frouwen sin,’ as all women are dear to you, Laurin 984. Their worship was placed on a par with that of God: ‘éret Got und diu wip,’ Iw. 6054; ‘durch Got und durch der wibe lôn (guerdon)’ Wh. 381, 21; ‘wart só mit riterschaft getân, dès Got sol danken und diu wip,’ may God and the ladies requisite it, Wh. 370, 5; ‘dienen Got und alle frouwen éren,’ Ms. 2,99; of Parzivál it is even said: ‘er getrûwete wiben baz (better) dan Gote,’ Parz. 370, 18. These modes of speech, this faith, can be traced up to a much earlier age, as in O. i. 5, 13: ‘dó sprah er értiecho ubaral, só man zi frowân skal’; and v. 8, 58: ‘ni sit irbolgan wibe,’ ye shall not bully a woman, Etzels hofhalt. 92-3; ‘sprich wiben ûbel mit nihte’ says the po. of the Stete ampten 286. The very word frau is the name of a goddess, conf. p. 299 on the meanings of frau and weib (see Suppl.).

But more than that, when the hero in stress of battle looked upon his love (OHG. trütin, trütinja, MHG. triutinne), thought of her, named her name, he increased thereby his strength, and was sure of the victory. We might even bring under this head the declaration of Tacitus: memoriae proditur, quasdam acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum. From the poems of the 13th century I will quote the principal passages only:

und als er dar zuo an sâch (on-saw, looked at)
die schoenen frouwen Eniten,
daz half (holp) im vaste striten (fight hard).    Er. 933.

swenne mich der muot iwer ermant (the thought of you mans),
sō ist sigesælic (victorious) min haut:
wand (for) iwer guote minne
die sterke stemme sinne (nerve my senses),
daz niht mir den vil langen tac (all the long day)
iuht wider gewesen mac (nought can vex). Er. 8367.
diu dā gegenwurṭe susz (who there present sat),
diu gehafl ir manne baz (she holp her man better).
ob im dehein zwivel (if ever a doubt) geschach,
swenn (whenever) er si danne wider (again) an sach,
ir scheine gap im niwe kraft (strength),
sō daz er unzagehaft (undismayed)
sine sterke wider gewan (his strength regained)
und vaht (fought) als ein geruowet (rested) man. Er. 9171.
der gedane (thinking) an sin scheine wip
der kreftigete im den lip (life, body). Er. 9229.
swenne im dū muoze (opportunity) geschach
daz er die maget (maid) reht ersach,
daz gap ir gesellen (to her fellow, lover)
nu sach er daz si umb in was in sorgen (in fear for him),
alrēst er niuwe kraft enpfant (felt). Lohengr. p. 54-5.
den Heiden minne nie verdrōz (never wearied),
des (therefore) was sin herze in strite grōz. Parz. 740, 7.
erne welle (if he do not) an minne denken,
wes siūmest (wherefore delayest) du dich, Parzivāl,
daz du an die kinschen lichtgemāl (pure-one so bright)
niht denkst, ich mein din wip,
wiltu behalten (save) hie den lip? Parz. 742, 27.
der getoufte nam (the christian gained) an kreften zuo,
er dāht (thought), des was im niht ze fruo (none too soon),
an sin wip die küniginne
unt an ir werden (worthy) minne. Parz. 743, 23.
swā ich sider (after) kom in nōt (difficulty),
ze hant só ich (the moment I) an si dāhte,
ir minne helfen brāhte. Parz. 768, 27.
mūede was ir bēder lip (weary were both their bodies),
niwan daz sie (had they not) dāhten an diu wip
sie waren bēdesamt gelegen (both together fallen). Alt.bl. 1,340.
In the Carmen de Phyllide et Flora it is said 31, 4: ‘Ille me com-
memorat inter ipsas caedes,’ my beloved in the battle breathes my
name, to issue therefrom victorious.¹ This sounds altogether
heathen, for the gods too were at your side the moment you uttered
their names. Snorri, in Yngl. saga cap. 2, says of Oðinn: ‘svâ var
oc um hans menm, lvar sem þeir urðu í naðum staddir, á siá eða
á landi, þá köllaðu þeir á nafn hans, oc þóttiz iafnan fâ af því frô,’
só was it also with his men, wherever they were in trouble, on sea
or on land, then called they on his name, and immediately were
gladdened by it. When Hrûngnir became intolerable to the Ases,
‘þá nefna þeir Thôr, því næst kom Thôrr í höllina,’ Sn. 108. Kraka,
a semi-divine being, admonished Erich: si suprema necessitatis
violentia postularet, nominis sui nuncupatione remedium celerius
esse quaecumque, affirmans se divina partim virtute subnixam et
quasi consortem coelitus insitam numeris gestare potentiam, Saxo
Gram., p. 72. So the valkyrja comes to the rescue of her chosen
hero, when he calls out her name; she is become his guardian, as if
sent by the gods to bring him aid (see Suppl.).

The mission of such women then is to announce and prepare
good or ill, victory or death to mortal men; and we have seen that
the popular faith retained longest its connexion with fighting and
victory. Their own being itself, like that of the heroes, rests on
human nature, they seem for the most part to have sprung from
kingly and heroic families, and probably an admixture of divine
ancestors is to be presumed in their case too. But to perform their
office, they must have wisdom and supernatural powers at their
command: their wisdom spies out, nay, guides and arranges com-
plications in our destiny, warns of danger, advises in difficulty.
At the birth of man they shew themselves predicting and endowing,
in perils of war giving help and granting victory. Therefore they
are called wise women, ON. spákonor (conf. spákr, OHG. spâhi,
prudens), Scot. spae wife, MHG. wisiu wip, Nib. 1473. 3. 1483, 4
(see Suppl.).

¹ Philander of Sittewald 2,727, Soldatenl. p. 241, still mentions the practice
in time of danger ‘of commending oneself to the loved one’s grace and
favour’. 

1. ITIS, IDES (DĪS).

But I will first take an older word, which appears to me to yield
exactly the meaning we have just unravelled, and in its generalness to comprehend all the particular beings to be studied more minutely by and by. The OHG. *itis* pl. itisi, OS. ides, pl. idisi, AS. ides, pl. idesa, denotes femina in general, and can be used of maids or matrons, rich or poor.\(^1\) Yet, like the Greek νυμφη, it seems even in the earliest times to have been specially applied to superhuman beings, who, being considered lower than goddesses and higher than earthly women, occupy precisely that middle rank which is here in question. Tacitus informs us, that a famous battle-field on the Weser was called by the Cheruscans *Idisiaviso* (so I emend Idistaviso), *i.e.*, nympharum pratum, women's meadow; it matters not whether the spot bore that name before the fight with the Romans, or only acquired it afterwards (v. Haupt's zeitschr. 9, 248). There at one time or another a victory was won under the lead of these exalted dames. The Merseburg poem sets the *idist* before us in full action:

$$\text{sumâ hapt hepidun, sumâ heri lezidun, sumâ clübódun umbi cuniowidi;}
$$

Some put a check (on the fighting), as we read in Renner 20132:

 dez muoz (therefore must) ich *hefen* einen *haft*
 an dirre materie ân minen dane (against my will),
 wan ich fûrhte (for I fear) sie werde ze lace.

Others letted the host (hinder, make late, Goth. hari latidêdun); others again grasped (clawed) at chains or wreaths, *i.e.*, withs and twigs with which to twist shackles, or to twine garlands for the victor. Here then their business was to bind and check, which is also demanded by the very object of the conjuring-spell; in striking harmony with this are the names of two Norse valkyrs, mentioned together in Sæm. 45\(^a\), *Hlöek* = OHG. Hlanche, *i.e.*, catena, and *Hérfiötr* = OHG. Herifezzara, exercitum vincens. But it must have been as much in their power to set free and help on, as to shackles and hamper. Compounded with itis we have the female names *Itispurue* (Meichelb. no. 162), Itisburg (Trad. fuld. Schannat 181), Idisburg (Lacombl. no. 87), and *Itislan* (Graff 1, 159); which, like Hiltipure, Sigipure, Sigilant (MB. 14, 362), are proper to such women of our olden time (see Suppl.).\(^2\)

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\(^{1}\) Freolica meowlē = ides, Cod. exon. 479, 2. ‘Weras and idesa,’ or ‘corlas and idesa’ are contrasted, ibid. 176, 5. 432, 2.

\(^{2}\) Here the local meaning coincides with the personal; we may therefore
But we obtain much fuller information as to their nature from the Norse authorities. It has been overlooked hitherto, that the OHG. *itis*, AS. *ides*, is the same as the ON. *dis* pl. *disir*; similar instances of aphaeresis are the Rigr for *Iring* on p. 234, and *Sangrim*, *Singrim* for *Isangrim*, *Isingrim* (Reinh. ceviii). Any remaining doubt disappears on comparing the Eddic *dis Skjöldunga*, Sæm. 169a 209a with the AS. *ides Scildinga*, Beow. 2337. The Norse *disir* likewise are sometimes kind protecting beings, sometimes hostile and hindering, Sæm. 185a 195a 254b 273a. An instance of the latter sort is found in the story of Thjórandi, whom *disir* destroyed, ‘thann er sagt at *disir* vaegi,’ quem deas interfecisse dicunt (Nialss. cap. 97), though the full narrative (Formm. sog. 2, 195) calls them simply *konur*, women; so *Spædisir*, nymphae vaticinantes, Völs. saga cap. 19, means just the same as *späkonur*; and the phrase ‘ecki eru allar *disir* dauðar enn’ in Alfí's saga cap. 15, means in the most general sense, all good spirits are not dead yet; ‘yðr munu dauðar *disir* allar,’ to you all spirits are dead, Fornald. sog. 2, 47. But the Norse people worshipped them, and offered them sacrifice: the mention of *disablót* is very frequent, Egilss. cap. 44 p. 205; Vigagn. saga cap. 6 p. 30; ‘blót a kumla *disir*,’ deabus tumulatis sacrificare, Egilss. p. 207. This passage implies a connexion between *disir* and ghosts, departed spirits, whose reappearance portends something: ‘*konor hugðak dauðar koma í nøtt,’ dead women, *i.e.*, *disir*, come at night, Sæm. 254a. Herjans *dis* (Sæm. 213b) is nympha Odini, a maiden dwelling at Valhöll in the service of Oðinn; *dis Skjöldunga* (Sæm. 169a 209b), divine maid sprung from the Skjöldung stock, is an epithet both of Sigrún and of Brynhild, conf. AS. *ides Seyldinga, ídes Helminga*, Beow. 1234. But Freyja herself is called *Vanadís*, nympha Vanorum, Sn. 37; and another goddess, *Skadí öndurdis* (walking in wooden shoes), Sn. 28, which is equivalent to *öndurjóð*. Several proper names of women are compounded with *dis*: Thórdis, Hiördis, Asdis, Vigdis, Halldis, Freydis (to which might have corresponded an OHG. Donaritis, &c.): they prove the pretty high antiquity of the monosyllabic form *dis*, which even in the Edda invariably alliterates with D. With the orginal form *idis* the compare Magadaburg with *Idisaburg*, Idisoburg, and *Island* with *Itislan*, *Itisolan*. The Frankish *Disparagum* on the contrary seems not to be *Idisberg*, but *Tiesberg*, fanum Martis (Herm. Müller, Salic law, p. 33-4).
name of the goddess Idunn may possibly be connected (see Suppl.).


If, as I suppose, the generic term idis was already current in the time of Tacitus, he gives us other more specific appellations as mere proper names, though still a certain general meaning seems to belong to them too. His statements about Veleda, Ganna, and Aurinia I have already quoted in ch. V, where the connexion between prophetesses and the priestly office was pointed out. Veleda appears to be almost an appellative, and akin to the Norse Vala, Völva (p. 97-8), or even to the masc. Völundr (p. 378), perhaps also to the name valkyrja. She lives on a tower, like Jetha (p. 96) and Brynhildr (Völs. saga cap. 24). Treaties were ratified in her presence; she not only prophesied, but had to settle disputes among the people, and carry out plans. In Sæm. 4b 5a the Vala, after whom the famous lay Völuspá is named, is also called Heiðr and Gullveig; and as our female names Adalheid, Alpheid, &c., are formed with -heid, Finn Magnusen p. 416 would derive Veleda from a supposed Valaheid, which however is nowhere found (see Suppl.). The description given of her is an attractive one: wherever in the land this vala velspa (fatidica) came, she worked witchery, she was believed to travel about and make visitations to houses. This ‘til hûsa koma’ reminds us of the ‘drepa à vett sem völur,’ pulsare aedes sicut fatidicae, Sæm. 63a, as in other cases also prophesying, inspiring and boon-bestowing women were always supposed to pass through the country, knocking at the houses of those whom they would bless.

Ganna (p. 95-6) could be explained with more certainty, if the real meaning of its root ginnan were disclosed to us: a MHG. ginnen is secare, the ON. ginna allicere, seducere; and in Sæm. 21a we are warned not to trust the wheedling words of valas, ‘völo vilmaeli trúi engi maðr’; we shall see presently, how the AS. poets use similar expressions about Wyrd.

When Drusus had crossed the Weser and was nearing the Elbe,

1 I find Waladericus in Trad. corb. p. 364, § 213; a wild woman is called in Wolflieterich 514 ‘die wilde valdin,’ and 735 ‘dù übel walledin’; but this seems a corruption of vålandinne, she-devil.
there met him in the land of the Chernscans a superhuman female, γυνή τις μείζου ἣ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν, who forbade his farther advance, and foretold his approaching end (Dio Cass. 55, 1). Species barbarae mulieris, humana amplior, victorem tendere ultra, sermone Latino, prohibuit (Sueton, in Claudio 1). There may have been German folk-tales about this, which became known to the Romans. Wise-women of the fatherland, as well as heroes, rose up in their country's need, and by their appearance terrified the foe.

Aurinia is said (p. 95) to have been famous in Germany before Veleda; copyists may easily have corrupted ali into 'au,' and runa into 'rinia': we should then have Aliruna, though it would be still more handy if Tacitus had written Alioruna. But anyhow we cannot fail to recognise the agreement (which many have noted) with Jornandes cap. 24, who, in accounting for the origin of the Huns, relates of the Gothic king Filimer: 'Repperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone aliorunmas (al. alyrumnnas, aliorunas, aliurruucas) is ipse cognominat, easque habens suspectas de medio sui proturbat, longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas in solitudine coegit errare. Quas silvestres homines, quos faunos ficarios vocant, per eremum vagantes dum vidisset, et earum se complexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc feroxissimum edidere.' Many names of women are formed with -rân, -râna (Gramm. 2, 517), and OHG. documents even offer, though sparingly, Alarân Alerâna, MB. 3, 416 (an. 1140); 'Gosprecht der Alraunyn sun,' MB. 27, 80 (an. 1309). I have never seen Elirûn, the form we should expect from ali.- But it is significant, that the ON. name Ödrân, Sax. 133-4, belongs precisely to a wise-woman; and alrâna (Graff 2, 523), now alraun, from its old sense of a prophetic and diabolic spirit, has at length passed into that of the root (mandragora,

1 A similar tale about Alexander Severus: Mutier Drwias eunti exclanavit Gallico sermone, 'vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec te miliiti tuo credas!' Ael. Lampridius in Alex. Sev. cap. 60. And Attila at the passage of the Lech is said to have been scared away by a rune-maiden calling out three times 'back, Attila!' Paul of Stetten's Erl. aus der gesch. Augsburgs, p. 25. Of still more weight is the agreement of an ON. tradition in Saxo Gram. p. 15: 'Hadingum (our mythic Harding) obeia femina hac voce compellat:

Seu pede rura ternus, seu ponto carbasa tendas,
infestos patiere deos, totumque per orbem
propositis inimica tuis elementa videbis.

2 It throws some light on the meaning of -rûn, that in AS. also burgrâna or burgrânan stands for parcae and furiae (Lye sub v., and Gl. épinal. 617).
mandrake) out of which he is cut. We now turn to some other names, about which the fountain of tradition flows more freely (see Suppl.).

3. Norni (Fatae).

The three Fates are the subject of an independent and profound myth in the Edda. Collectively they are called the nornir, and singly, Urðr, Verðandi, Skuld, Sæm. 4. Sn. 18. The term norn (parca) has not been discovered hitherto in any other dialect,\(^1\) though undoubtedly it belongs to a genuine Teutonic root, and is formed like thorn, corn, horn, &c., and would have been in OHG. norn, pl. norni; but even Swedish and Danish know it no longer (see Suppl.). In the three proper names it is impossible to mistake the forms of verbal nouns or adjectives: Urðr is taken from the pret. pl. of varða (varð, urðum), to become, Verðandi is the pres. part. of the same word, and Skuld the past part. of skula, shall, the auxiliary by which the future tense is formed. Hence we have what was, what is, and what shall be, or the past, present and future, very aptly designated, and a Fate presiding over each.\(^2\) At the same time the very names prove that the doctrine of norns was originally not foreign to any of the Teutonic nations. A Gothic Vaurþës, Vaurðandei, Skulds, an OHG. Wurt, Werdandi, Scult, and so on, must have been known once as personal beings; in the OS.

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\(^1\) Nürnberg (mons Noricus) has nothing to do with it, it is no very old town either (in Böhmers regest. first in 1050, no. 1607; conf. MB. 29, 102). In the fields at Dauernheim near Nidda is a well called Nürnberg, Norborn, and its spring is said to flow only when there is war. But I should like to see the name authenticated by an old document. The AS. gen. pl. neorxena, which only occurs in ‘neorxena wong’ = paradisus, has been proposed, but the abbreviation would be something unheard of, and even the nom. sing. neorxe or neorxu at variance with norn;\(^3\) besides, the Parcae are nowhere found connected with paradise. May we trace norn to niosan (sternutare), whose past part. is in OHG. noran, MHG. norn, because of the prophetic virtue there is in sneezing (ch. XXXV)? But the special meaning in this verb [conn. with nose] seems older than any such general meaning, and its ON. form hiosan stands opposed.

\(^2\) Fatum dicunt esse quicquid dii effantur. Fatum igitur dictum a fando, i.e., loquendo. Tria autem fata finguntur in colo, in fuso, digitisque fila ex lana torquentibus, propter trina tempora: praeteritum, quod in fuso jam netum atque involutum est, praensens, quod inter digitos nentis trahitur, futurum in lana quae colo implicata est, et quod adhuc per digitos nentis ad fusum tanquam praesens ad praeteritum trajiciendum est,\(^4\) Isidori etym. 8, 11 § 92, a passage pretty extensively circulated in the Mid. Ages (v. Gl. Jun. 398), yet no proof of the Teutonic notion being borrowed from the classical. In § 93 Isidore adds: ‘quas (parcas) tres esse voluerunt, unam quae vitam hominis ordiatur, alteram quae contextat, tertiam quae rumpat’. 

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\(^3\) See Yngvesson.

\(^4\) See Isidore's etymology, 8, 11 § 92.
and AS. poetry we are able to lay our finger on the personality of the first form: 'thiu Wurðh is at handun' says the Heliand 146, 2, just as 'dôd is at hendi,' 92, 2: the Fate, or death, stands so near, that she can grasp with her hand 1 the man who is fallen due to her; we should say just as concretely 'is at hand, is at the door'. Again: 'thiu Wurth nãhida thuo,' drew nigh then, Hel. 163, 16. 'Wurth ina benam,' the death-goddess took him away 66, 18, 111, 4. Not so living is the term as used in the Hildebr. lied 48, 'wêwurt skihit,' or perhaps separately 'wê! wurt skihit,' because 'geschehen' to happen is used more of abstract inanimate things. An OHG. gloss also has wurt for fatum (Graff 1, 992). Far more vivid are the AS. phrases: 'me þæt Wyrd gewâf,' parca hoc milhi texuit, Cod. exon. 355; 'Wyrd oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deáh,' parca saepâ servat virum, donec virtus ejus viget (ellan taoc, Hildebr.), Beow. 1139; 'him wæs Wyrd ungemete neah, un þone gomelan grêtan seeolde, seecean sawlæhord, sundur gedælan lif wið lice,' 4836 (so, 'deáð ungemete neah' 5453); 'swâ him Wyrd ne gescrâf,' ita ei fatum non ordinavit, decrèvit, Beow. 5145. El. 1047. conf. Boeth. ed. Rawl. p. 151; 'ealle Wyrd forsweop,' 3 swept all away, Beow. 5624; 'hie seo Wyrd beswåe, forålce and forlæerde, cos parca decepit, allexit, seduxit, Andr. 613; 'us seo Wyrd sceðed,' nos fatum laedit, Andr. 1561. The instances in Cædmon are less concrete, yet in 61, 12 the Wyrd is called 'wâlgrim,' bloodthirsty.—Of the Wyrd then are predicated: grêtan (excitare, OHG. cruczan), scrîfan (ordinare, OHG. scripan), 4 wefan (texere, OHG. wepan), beswican (decipere, OHG. pisuichan), forlæcan (fallere, OHG. farleichan), forlæran (seducere, male informare), sceðan (nocere). She is painted powerful, but often cruel and warlike (see Suppl.). We cannot in the same way point out a personal application of the other two names, though the


2 With D, not Th., because the pret. of weordan is wærð, pl. wurdon, which supports the derivation I proposed; so the OHG. Wurt, because warden has pret. pl. wurtum.

3 So I read for the 'forsweof' of the editions, conf. forswâpen, Cædm. 25, 9.

4 Conf. note to Elene p. 161, on a similar use of the MHG. schriben, and Klausen in Zeitscrh. für altherr. 1840 p. 226 on the Roman notion of the Parcae keeping a written record. N. Cap. 50, 55 renders parca by brievâra, the recorder. Tertullian, De anima cap. 39, informs us that on the last day of the first week of a child's life they used to pray to the fata Scribunda. Fleming 479 calls the three Fates 'des verhângnis schreiberinnen'.
third, Skuld, OHG. Scult, AS. Scyld, continued in constant use as an abstract fem. skuld, scult, scyld, in the sense of debitum, delictum.¹ When christianity had banished the heathen notions, one name alone was found sufficient, and soon even that died out, giving place to new fangled terms such as schicksal, verhängnis (destiny) and the like, far more cumbrous and unwieldy than the old simple words. The English and especially the Scotch dialect seems to have harboured the old word longest: we all know the weird-sisters in Macbeth, which Shakspeare took from Hollinshead; they are also in Douglas's Virgil 80, 48, and the Complaynt of Scotland (written 1548) mentions, among other fabulous stories, that 'of the three weirdsisters,' (Leyden's ed. Edinb. 1801, p. 99); in Warner's Albions England (first printed 1616) we have 'the weirdelves,' probably meaning the Parcae of the ancients. More native apparently is 'the weird lady of the woods,' who, when asked for advice, prophesies out of her cave, Percy's Reliques 3, 220-2.²

Even in the North, Urðr must have been of more consequence than the other two, for the fountain by the sacred ash is named after her, Urðarbrunnr,³ and beside it stands the hall from which the three norns issue; it is also 'Urðar orð,' word (Sæm. 112a) that is chiefly spoken of, and once 'grimmar urðir,' dira fata, is used impersonally, Sæm. 216.⁴—These three virgins allot to every man his term of life, 'skapa mönnnum aldr; sköp í árdaga (year-days),' Sn. 18. Sæm. 181a. I have elsewhere (RA. 750) shown the technical pertinence of the term skapa to the judicial office of the norns,⁵ to whom for the same reason are ascribed dómur and

¹ Fornald. sóg. 1, 32 Skuld, daughter of an álflóki; also in Saxo Gram. p. 31, Sculda, n. prop.

² Conf. Jamieson sub v. weird (weird, weard). Chaucer already substitutes fatale sustrin for weirdsisters (Troil. 3, 733. Leg. of gd wom. 2619). In Engl. dictionaries we find wayward sisters explained by parcae and furiae; wardsisters would create no difficulty, but wayward means capricious, and was once way-warden, in which the warden suggests the Dan. vorren, vorn (Gramm. 2, 675). What AS. form can there be at the bottom of it? [wā = woe is the usual etym.]

³ This brunnar deserves attention, for the wayfaring wives and fays of the Mid. Ages also appear habitually at fountains, as the muses and goddesses of song haunt the same, and particular goddesses, esp. Holda, loved wells and springs (p. 268). Altogether it is hard often to tell which dame Holda resembles more, an ancient goddess or a wise-woman.

⁴ Conf. AS. wyryda gesceapft, Cedm. 224, 6. wyryda gesceapfu, Cod. exon. 420, 25. OS. wyrð hospescapa (decreta fati), Hel. 113, 7; and the OHG. term seep- hentd, MHG. schepef (Ottoc. 119) and schepfer; the poet, also a vates, was in
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qvíðr, Sæm. 273b; ‘liotar nornir skópo oss lánga þrá,’ dirae parcae creaverunt nobis longum moerorem 217a; ‘nornir heita þær er nauð skapu, Skáldskaparmál p. 212.a In the same sense ‘nornir visa,’ Sæm. 88b, they give us to wit judgment, and are wise. Hence to them, as to judges, a seat is given: ‘á norna stóli sat ek niu daga’ 127a. They approach every new born child, and utter his doom; at Helgi’s birth, it is said in Sæm. 149:

nóttr var í bœ, nornir qvámó,
þær er öölingi aldr um skópo:
þann báðo fylki frægstan verða,
ok Buðlinga beztan þyckja.
snero þær af afli örlögbátto,
þá er borgir braut í Brálundi:
þær um greiddo gullinsímo,
ok und mánasal miðjan festo,
þær austr ok vestr enda fálo,
þar átti loftðungr land á milli:
brá nipt Nera á norðövega
einni festi. ey báð hon halda.

This important passage tells us, that norns entering the castle at night spun for the hero the threads of his fate, and stretched the golden cord (þátr = dáht, docht, = sömi) in the midst of heaven; one norn hid an end of the thread eastward, another westward, a third fastened it northward; this third one is called ‘sister of Neri’.1 Their number, though not expressly stated, is to be gathered from the threefold action. All the region between the eastern and western ends of the line was to fall to the young hero’s lot; did the third norn diminish this gift, when she flung a band northward, and bade it hold for aye? (see Suppl.).

It seems the regular thing in tales of norns and fays, for the advantages promised in preceding benefactions to be partly neutralized by a succeeding one.

The Nornagestssaga cap. 11 says: There travelled about in the

OHG. scuof, OS. scóp, from the same root. The AS. word metten I connect with metod (creator, see p. 22). In Beðth. p. 101 (Rawlinson) a varia lectio has ‘þá graman mettena,’ the unkind fates; the ‘metodo giscapu’ in Hel. 66, 19. 67, 11 answer to those ‘wyrdā gesceapu,’ and the gen. plurals ‘metodo, wyrdā’ imply that not one creator, but several are spoken of. Vintler calls them ‘diernen, die dem menschen erteilen,’ maids that dole out to man.

1 Conf. nipt Nara, Egílssaga p. 440.
land 'völur,' who are called 'spákonur,' who foretold to men their fate, 'spáðu mönnum aldr' or 'örlög.' People invited them to their houses, gave them good cheer and gifts. One day they came to Nornagest's father, the babe lay in the cradle, and two tapers were burning over him. When the first two women had gifted him, and assured him of happiness beyond all others of his race, the third or youngest norn, 'hin yngsta nornir,' who in the crowd had been pushed off her seat and fallen to the ground, rose up in anger, and cried 'I cause that the child shall only live till the lighted taper beside him has burnt out.' The eldest völva quickly seized the taper, put it out, and gave it to the mother with the warning not to kindle it again till the last day of her son's life, who received from this the name of Norn's-guest. Here völva, spákonæ and norn are perfectly synonymous; as we saw before (p. 403) that the völur passed through the land and knocked at the houses;¹ the nornir do the very same. A kind disposition is attributed to the first two norns, an evil one to the third. This third, consequently Skuld, is called 'the youngest,' they were of different ages therefore, Urdr being considered the oldest. Such tales of travelling gifting sorceresses were much in vogue all through the Mid. Ages (see Suppl.).²

¹ I have elsewhere shown in detail, that the journeying house-visiting Muse dame Aventiure is an inspiring and prophetic norn, and agrees to a feature with the ancient conception; see my Kleine schriften 1, 102.
² Nigellus Wirekere, in his Speculum stultorum (comp. about 1200), relates a fable (exemplum):

Ibant tres hominum curas relevare sorores,
quas nos fatales dicimus esse deas.
They travel through the land, to remedy the oversights of nature. Two of the sisters, soft-hearted and impulsive, want to rush in and help at the first appearance of distress, but are restrained by the third and more intelligent one, whom they address as domina, and revere as a higher power. First they fall in with a beautiful noble maiden, who has all good things at her command, and yet complains; she is not helped, for she can help herself. Then they find in the forest a modest maid laid up in bed, because sore feet and hips hinder her from walking; she too obtains no help from the goddesses; excellently endowed in mind and body, she must bear her misfortune patiently. At last in the neighbourhood of a town the sisters come upon a poor rough peasant lass:

Exiit in bivium ventrem purgare puella
rustica, nil reverens inverecunda dear,
vestibus clatis retro nimiumque rejectis,
poplite defflexo crure resedit humi,
uma manus foenum, panis tenet altera frustum;
this one, at the suggestion of the third sister, when the first two have turned away, is heaped with the gifts of fortune by the goddesses:
Haece mea multotiens genitrix narrare solebat,
cujus me certe non meninisse pudet.
The Edda expressly teaches that there are good and bad norns (gōðar ok illar, grimmar, liotar), and though it names only three, that there are more of them: some are descended from gods, others from elves, others from dwarfs, Sn. 18. 19. Sæm. 187-8. Why should the norns be furnished with dogs? grey norna, Sæm. 273a.

We see, throughout this Eddic description, things and persons are kept clearly apart. Destiny itself is called örlög, or else nauðr (necessitas), aldr (aevum); the norns have to manage it, espy it, decree it, pronounce it (see Suppl.). And the other dialects too had possessed the same term: OHG. urlac, AS. orlæg, MHG. urlouc (Gramm. 2, 7. 87. 789. 790), OS. orlag, orlegi, aldarlagu (Hel. 103, 8. 113, 11. 125, 15);¹ it was only when the heathen goddesses had been cast off, that the meanings of the words came to be confounded, and the old flesh-and-blood wurt, wurd, wyrd to pale into a mere impersonal urlac.

In the same relation as norn to örlög, stands parca to futum (from fari, like qvidr from qveða qvað, quoth), and also aīsa, μοῖρα to ἀνάγκη (nauðr) or εἴμαρμένη. But when once the parcae had vanished from the people's imagination, the Romance language (by a process the reverse of that just noticed amongst us) formed out of the abstract noun a new and personal one, out of futum an Ital. fata, Span. hada, Prov. fada (Rayn. sub v.), Fr. fée.² I do not know if this was prompted by a faint remembrance of some female beings in the Celtic faith, or the influence of the Germanic norns. But these fays, so called at first from their announcing destiny, soon came to be ghostly wives in general, altogether the same as our idisi and völur.³ How very early the name was current in Italy, is proved by Ausonius, who in his Gryphus ternarii numeri brings forward the 'tres Charites, tria Fata,' and by Procopius, who

¹ From legan (to lay down, constituere), like the AS. lage, ON. lög (lex); therefore urlouc, fundamental law. The forms urloue, urluge have significantly been twisted round to the root ligan, loue (celare).

² Conf. nata, née; amata, aimée; lata, lée. Some MHG. poets say feie (Hartn. Wolfr.), sine feie, Haupt's zeitschr. 2, 182-3, others feine (Gotfr. Conr.).

³ Of. poems call them, in addition to fées, divesses (Marie de Fr. 2, 385), duesses (Méon 4, 158. 165), dusses and fée (Wolf, lais 51); pucelles bien enlevées (Méon 3, 418), franches pucelles senées (3, 419); sopandes (wise-women, from sapere?), Marie de Fr. 2, 885. Enchanting beauty is ascribed to them all: 'plus bela que fada,' Ferabras 2767; conf. 16434. A book of H. Schreiber (Die feen in Europa, Freib. 1842) throws much light on the antiquities of fay-worship. Houses, castles and hills of the fays remind us of the wise-women's towers, of the Venns-hill and Holla-hill, and of giant's houses. In Irish, siabrog, sighbrog, is first a fays' house, then the fay community.
mentions (De bello Goth. 1, 25, ed. Bonn. 2, 122) a building in the Roman Forum called τὰ τρία φάτα (supra p. 405, note) with the remark: οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μοῖρας νενομίκασι καλεῖν. At that time therefore still neuter; but everywhere the number three, in norns, moirai, parcae and fays (see Suppl.).

About the Romance fays there is a multitude of stories, and they coincide with the popular beliefs of Germany. Folquet de Romans sings:

Aissim fadero tres scors
   en aquella ora qu’ieu sui natz,
   que totz temps fos enamoratz.

Guilldei. Poitou:

Assi fuy de nueitz fadatz sobre’un puegau.
   (so was I gifted by night on a mount).

Marcabrus:

   Gentil fada
   vos adastret, quan fas nada
   d’una beutat esmerada.

Tre fate go past, laughing, and give good gifts, Pentam. 1, 10. 4, 4; the first fate bestow blessings, the last one curses 2, 8; Pervonto builds a bower for three sleeping fate, and is then gifted 1, 3; tre fate live down in a rocky hollow, and dower the children who descend 2, 3. 3, 10; fate appear at the birth of children, and lay them on their breast 5, 5; Cervantes names ‘los siete castillos de las siete fadas,’ Don Quix. 4, 50; ‘siete fadas me fadaron en brazos de una ama mia,’ Rom. de la infantina; there are seven fays in the land, they are asked to stand godmothers, and seats of honour are prepared at the table: six take their places, but the seventh was forgotten, she now appears, and while the others endow with good things, she murmurs her malison (La belle au bois dormant); in the German kindermärchen (Dornröschens) it is twelve wise women, the thirteenth had been overlooked. So in the famed forest of

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1 Accordingly I do not derive fata from φάτος (speech), or φάτος spoken, though the Latin verb is of course the same word as φομι. Conf. Ducange sub v. Fadus, and Lobeck’s Aghaoph. 816. Fatuus and fatua are also connected.

2 Lersch in the Bonner Jb. 1843. 2,129—131 separates the three parcae from the three fata, because in sculptures they have different adjuncts: the Roman parcae are represented writing (p. 406), the Grecian moirai weaving, the tria fata simply as women with horns of plenty. But almost everything in the doctrine of fays points to a common nature with our idises and norns, and works of art fall into the background before the fulness of literature.
Brezeliane, by the fontaine de Barendon, dames faées in white apparel shew themselves, and begift a child, but one is spiteful and bestows calamity (San Marte, Leg. of Arthur p. 157-8. 160). At Olger's birth six wise women appear, and endow; the last is named Morgue. In the Children of Limburg (Mones anzeiger 1835, 169), when Ectrites fall asleep in a meadow beside a fountain and a lime-tree, three wayfaring wives approach, and foretell the future. The OFr. romance of Guillame au court nez describes how Renoart falls asleep in a boat, and three fays come and carry him off. In Burchard of Worms they are still spoken of as three sisters or parcees, for whom the people of the house spread the table with three plates and three knives; conf. the 'praepare mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis in domo'. In the watches of the night the fatuæ come to children, wash them and lay them down by the fire (see Suppl.). In most of the tales there appear three fays, as well as three norns and three parcees; occasionally seven and thirteen; but they also come singly, like that 'weirdlady of the wood,' and with proper names of their own.¹ French

¹ La fata in Guerino meschino p. m. 223. 234—8; Morganda fatata, fata Morgana, Morgue la fee (Nouv. Renart 4810); 'diu frouwe de la rosshe bise (black rock), die gesach nieman, er schieden dan vrò, riche unde wise,' whom none saw but he went away glad, rich and wise, Ben. 144. MsH. 1, 118. Monnier's Cuit des esprits dans la Séquanie tells of a fée Arie in Franche-comté, who appears at country (esp. harvest) feasts, and rewards diligent spinners; she makes the fruit fall off the trees for good children, and distributes nuts and cakes to them at Christmas, just like Holda and Bertha. I believe her to be identical with the Welsh Arianrod, daughter of Don and sister of Gwydion (Woden), in Croker 3, 195; her name contains arian (argentum), so that she is a shining one, and it is also used of the milky way. A jet composed in the latter half of the 13th century by Adam de la Halle of Arras (publ. in Théâtre franz. au moyen âge, Paris 1839, p. 55 seq.) gives a pretty full account of dame Morgue et sa compaignie. They are beautiful women (beles dames parées), who at a fixed time of the year seek a night's lodging at a house, where dishes are set on the table for them; men that look on must not speak a word. Beside Morgue la sage there appear (p. 76-7) two other fays, Arsile and Maglore, and the last, on sitting down, notices that no knife has been laid for her, while the others praise the beauty of theirs. Maglore cries out in anger: 'Suive lì pire? peu me prisa qui estavili, ni avisà que toute seule à contel faillè'. Arsile tries to pacify her, and says, it is fitting that we give a present to those who have arranged this place so prettily. Morgue endows one with riches, Arsile with the poetic art, but Maglore says:

De mi certes naron il nient;
biên dovent falir à don bel,
puisque jai fali à contel
homi soi qui rïens leur donra!

Morgue however insisting on a gift, Maglore bestows on one fellow a bald head, and on the other a calamitous journey:
tradition brings to light a close connexion between fays and our giant-maidens: the fays carry enormous blocks of stone on their heads or in their aprons, while the free hand plies the spindle; when the fay who was doing the building part had finished her task, she called out to her sisters not to bring any more, and these, though two miles off, heard the cry and dropped their stones, which buried themselves deep in the ground; when the fays were not spinning, they carried four stones at once. They were good-natured, and took special care of the children whose fates they foretold. They went in and out of the neighbours' houses by the chimney, so that one day the most careless one among them burnt herself, and uttered a loud wail, at which all the fays of the neighbourhood came running up. You never could deceive them: once, when a man put his wife's clothes on and nursed the baby, the fay walked in and said directly: 'non, tu n'es point la belle d'hier au soir, tu ne files, ni ne vougés, ni ton fuseau n'enveloppes'. To punish him, she contented herself with making the apples that were baking on the hearth shrink into peas.

Of such stories there are plenty; but nowhere in Romance or German folk-tales do we meet, as far as I know, with the Norse conception of twining and fastening the cord, or the Greek one of spinning and cutting the thread of life. Only one poet of the Mid. Ages, Marner, has it 2, 173:

*zwö schepfer flähten mir ein seil,
  dà bì diu dritte saz (the third sat by);
  diu zerbrachz (broke it): daz was min unheil.

But this seems borrowed from the Roman view of breaking off the thread (rumpat, p. 406, note). Ottokar makes the *schepfen

ains comperront chier le coutel
  qu'il ouvlierent chi à metre.

Then before daybreak the fays depart to a meadow, their place of meeting, for they shun to meet the eyes of men by day. Here we see plainly enough the close resemblance of these three fays to the three norns. The French editor wrongly understands coutel of a cloth spread for the fay; the passage in Burchard of Worms removes all doubt. If Maglore be a corruption of Mandaglore, Mandagloire, as the mandragora is elsewhere called, a close connexion may be established with Alrûne, Ólfrún. Morgue is shortened from Morgan, which is the Breton for merwoman (from mor, the sea, and gwen, splendens femina). One might be tempted to connect Morgan with that inexplicable 'norn,' as the ON. morni stands for morgni; but the norn has nothing to do with the morning or the sea (see Suppl.).

1 H. Schreiber, Feen in Europa pp. 11, 12, 16, 17. Michelet 2, 17.
WISE WOMEN.

(created) impart all success in good or evil. The 'banun festan' in Hild. lied is hardly to be explained by the fastening of a thread of death.

If we compare the Norse mythus with the Greek, each has taken shape in its own independent way. In Homer it is the personified Αἰσά that spins the thread for the newborn:

\[\text{άσσα οἱ Αἰσά} \]
\[\text{γεινομένῳ ἐπένυσε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μῆτηρ.} \quad \text{Π. 20, 127;} \]

'what things Aisa span for him at birth with her thread.' But in Od. 7, 197 other spinners (two) are associated with her:

\[\text{άσσα οἱ Αἰσά Κατακλόθες πε βαρεῖαι} \]
\[\text{γεινομένῳ νίσσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μῆτηρ.} \]

'what Aisa and the Kataklothes unkind span'. Hesiod (άσπ. 258) makes three goddesses stand beside the combatants, Κλωθός, Λάξεσις, Ἀτροπός, the last small of stature, but eldest and most exalted of all. But in Theog. 218 he names them as

\[\text{Κλωθός τε λάξεσιν τε καλ ἀτροπόν}, αἳτε βροτοῖσιν} \]
\[\text{γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἄγαθόν τε κακόν τε.} \]

'who give to mortals at birth to have both good and ill;' and in almost the same words at 905. The most detailed description is given by Plato (De republ. 617 Steph. 508 Bekk.): The three μοῖραι are daughters of Ἄναγκη (necessity), on whose knees the spindle (ἀτρακτος) turns; they sit clothed in white and garlanded, singing the destiny, Lachēsis τὰ γεγονότα, Klotho τὰ ὄντα, Atropos τὰ μέλλοντα : just the same relation to past, present and future as the nons have, though the Greek proper names do not themselves express it. Κλωθός (formed like Ἀὐξῶ, Θαλλό, Λητῶ, Μορμῶ, Τοργῶ) spins (from κλωδῆ spin, twine), Lachesis allots (from λαχεῖν), Ἀτροπός, the unturnable, cuts the thread. It must not be overlooked, that Hesiod sets up the last, Atropos, as the mightiest, while with us Wurt the eldest produces the most powerful impression. Latin writers distribute the offices of the parcae somewhat differently, as Apuleius (De mundo p. 280): Clotho praeentis temporis habet curam, quia quod torquetur in digitis, momenti

\[1\] I think aίσα is the OHG. ēra, our ehre, for which we should expect a Gothic āiza, āsa (as āisàn is aestimare) : ēra = honor, decus, dignitas, what is fair and fitting, what is any one's due ; κατ' aίσαν, ex dignitate, to each his meed. If this etymology holds, we understand why frau Ėre was personified (see Suppl.).
praesentis indicat spatia; Atropos praeteriti fatum est, quia quod
in fuso perfectum est, praeteriti, temporis habet speciem; Lachesis
futuri, quod etiam illis quae futura sunt finem suum deus dederit
(see Suppl.). Isidore’s opinion was quoted on p. 405.1 The Nor-
nagestssaga bears a striking resemblance to that of Meleager, at
whose birth three moiirai tell his fortune: Atropos destines him
to live only till the billet then burning on the hearth be burnt out;
his mother Althaea plucks it out of the fire.2 Our modern tales
here exchange the norns or fates for death, Kinderm. no. 44.
Another tale, that of the three spinners (no. 14), depicts them as
ugly old women, who come to help, but no longer to predict; they
desire to be bidden to the marriage and to be called cousins.
Elsewhere three old women foretell, but do not spin.3 A folk-tale
(Deutsche sagen no. 9) introduces two maidens spinning in a cave
of the mountain, and under their table is the Evil one (I suppose
the third norn) chained up; again we are told of the roof-beam on
which a spinning wife sits at midnight.4 We must not forget the
AS. term which describes a norn as weaving, ‘Wyrd gewóf’
(p. 406); and when it is said in Beow. 1386: ‘ac him Dryhten
forgeaf wigspédæ gewiofu’ (ei Dominus largitus est successuum
bellicorum texturas), this is quite heathen phraseology, only
putting God in the place of Wyrd. Gottfried (Trist. 4698), in
describing Blicker of Steinach’s purity of mind, expresses himself
thus:

ich waene, daz in feinen
ze wunder haben gespunnen
und haben in ir brunnen
geliutert und gereinet;

‘I ween that fays spun him as a wonder, and cleansed him in their
fountain’.

Saxo Gram. p. 102 uses the Latin words parca, nympha, but
unmistakably he is describing norns: ‘Mos erat antiquis, super

1 The Hymn to Mercury 550-561 names individually some other μοῖραι,
still three in number, winged maidens dwelling on Parnassus, their heads
besprinkled with white meal, who prophesy when they have eaten fresh divine
food (ἡδείαν ἑώδυν) of honey. Otherwise they are called θραί.
2 Apollodorus i. 8, 2.
futuris liberorum eventibus parcarum oracula consultare. Quor
ritu Fridlevus Olavi filii fortunam exploraturus, nuncupatis
solenmitter votis, deorum aedes precabundus accedit, ubi introspecto
saecllo1 ternas sedes totidem nymphis occupari cognoscit. Quarum
prima indulgentioris animi liberalem pueru formam, uberemque
human favoris copiam erogabat. Eidem secunda beneficii loco
liberalitatis excellentiam condonavit. Tertia vero, protervioris
ingenii invidentiorisque studii femina, sororum indulgentiorem
aspernata consensum, ideoque earum donis officere euiiens, futuris
pueri moribus parsimoniae crimen affixit.' Here they are called
sisters, which I have found nowhere else in O.N. authorities; and
the third nymph is again the illnatured one, who lessens the boons
of the first two. The only difference is, that the norns do not
come to the infant, but the father seeks out their dwelling, their
temple (see Suppl.).2

The weaving of the norns and the spindle of the fays give us
to recognise domestic motherly divinities; and we have already
remarked, that their appearing suddenly, their haunting of wells
and springs accord with the notions of antiquity about frau Holda,
Berhta and the like goddesses, who devote themselves to spinning,
and bestow boons on babies and children.3 Among Celts especially,

1 They had a temple then, in which their oracle was consulted.
2 The Lettish Laima, at the birth of a child, lays the sheet under it, and
determines its fortune. And on other occasions in life they say, 'taip Laima
leme,' so Fate ordained it; no doubt Laima is closely connected with lemli
(ordnire, disponere). She runs barefooted over the hills (see ch. XVII,
Watersprites). There is also mentioned a Dekhla (nursing-mother, from debt
tsuckle). A trinity of parae, and their spinning a thread, are unknown to
310.—The Lithuanians do know a Werpeya (spinner). The Ausland for 1839,
no. 278 has a pretty Lithuanian legend: The dieves vallitoyes were seven
goddesses, the first one spun the lives of men out of a distaff given her by the
highest god, the second set up the warp, the third wove in the wool, the fourth
told tales to tempt the workers to leave off, for a cessation of labour spoilt the
web, the fifth exhorted them to industry, and added length to the life, the sixth
cut the threads, the seventh washed the garment and gave it to the most high
god, and it became the man's winding-sheet. Of the seven, only three spin or
weave.
3 Not a few times have Holda and Berhta passed into Mary; and in the
three Marys of a Swiss nursery-rhyme I think I can recognise the heathen norns
or idisi:

rite, ride rüsi,
rie Bade stot e schlössli,
zie Bade stot e gildli hus,
es lieged drei Maree drus.
die cint spinnt side,
the fatae seem apt to run into that sense of matres and matronae,\(^1\) which among Teutons we find attaching more to divine than to semi-divine beings. In this respect the fays have something higher in them than our idises and norns, who in lieu of it stand out more warlike.

4. Walachuriun (Valkyrjor).

Yet, as the fatae are closely bound up with fatum—the pronouncing of destiny, vaticination—the kinship of the fays to the norns asserts itself all the same. Now there was no sort of destiny that stirred the spirit of antiquity more strongly than the issue of battles and wars: it is significant, that the same urlae, urluc expresses both fatum and bellum also (Graff 2, 96. Gramm. 2, 790), and the idisi forward or hinder the fight. This their office we have to look into more narrowly.

From Caesar (De B. Gall. 1, 50) we already learn the practice of the Germani, 'ut matresfamilias corum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum prochium committi ex usu esset, necne'. Mistresses of families practised augury, perhaps women selected for the purpose, of superior and godlike repute like Veleda.

Let us bear in mind, which gods chiefly concerned themselves with the event of a battle: Oðinn and Freyja draw to themselves all those who fall in fight, and Oðinn admits them to his heavenly abode (pp. 133, 305). This hope, of becoming after death members of the divine community, pervades the religion of the heathen. Now the ON. valr, AS. weal, OHG. wal, denotes the carnage of the battle-field, the sum of the slain: to take possession of this val, to gather it in, was denominated kiosa, kiesen, to choose; this verb seems a general technical term for the acceptance of any sacrifice made to a higher being.\(^2\) But Oðinn, who has the siges kür (choosing

\begin{align*}
\text{die ander schnätzelt chride,} & \quad \text{the other cards \ldots ?} \\
\text{die drit schnit haberstrau,} & \quad \text{the third cuts oaten straw.} \\
\text{hület mer Gott mis chindli au!} & \quad \text{God keep my childie too!}
\end{align*}

Schnätzln is, I suppose, to wind? [snast = wick? snood?] In the märchen of the Goose-maid, schnatzen is apparently to comb. The seventh line sometimes runs: di dritte schnedt den faden (cuts the thread). Conf. Vonbun p. 66. Firmenich 2, 665\(^b\). Mannhardt pp. 388, 392. The nursery-song in the Wunderhorn p. 70-1 has three spinning tocken, i.e. nymphs, fays.

\(^1\) Lersch in the Bonn Annual 1843, pp. 124-7.

\(^2\) Chief passage, Sem. 141\(^a\). Conf. Gramm. 4, 608, and AS. wig curon, Cæd. 193, 9; MHG. sige kiesen, Iw. 7069, sig erkiesen, Wh. 355, 15. So, den töt kiesen.
of victory, p. 133, note), is served in Valhöll by maidens, and then he sends out into every battle, to choose the slain, Sn. 39; 'kiosa er liðnir ero,' Sæm. 164b; vildi þik kiosa, Sæm. 254a.

Hence such a maiden, half divine, is called valkyrja; and it is another most welcome coincidence, that the AS. language has retained the very same term vælcyrie (vælcyrge, vælcyrre) to English such Latin words as bellona, erinnys, Alecto, Tisiphone, and employs it even for parca and venefica. The Cott. MS. Vitell. A. 15 has a gloss 'vælcyrigean cágan, gorgones': this is translating the Greek idea into an AS. one; did the eyes of the vælcyrigean instil horror like the Gorgons' heads? I am quite safe in assuming an OHG. walachurió (walachurrâ); valakusjó would be the Gothic form. At the end of the Langobardian genealogy we find a man's name Walcausus.1

Another name of the valkyrjur is ON. valmeyjar (battle-maids), perhaps also the present Norw. valdøger, which Hallager 140b says is guardian-spirit. Again, they are called skialdmeyjar, hialmmeyjar, because they go forth armed, under shield and helmet (vera und hialmi, Sæm. 151a 192b); nonnor Herjaus, nuns of Öinn 4b. The Edda bestows on the valkyrja the epithets: hvít 168b, hvít und hialmi (alba sub galea) 145b, biört 174b, sólbiört, sunbright 167b, biartlittir 142a, hialmvitr 157a, gullvarð 167b, margullin mær 145a, alvitr 164a, all descriptive of beauty or helmet-ornaments. Helm and shield distinguish these helm and shield women as much as heroes, they ride on shield-service, under shield-roof, Sæm. 250b, and are called skialdmeyjar aldrstamar, or young shield-maidens of Atli's court. The legend of the Amazons (Herod. 4, 110—117. Jorn. cap. 6.7.8. Paul. Diac. 1, 15) seems to rest on similar yet different notions. A valkyr in Sæm. 167b is named suðroen (australis), apparently in the sense of biört, sólbiört? Again at 151b, disir suðrenerar (see Suppl.).2

1 Of valr, valt itself we might seek the root in velja, valjan (eliger), so that it should from the first have contained the notion of choosing, but being applied to strages, and its sense getting blurred, it had to be helped out by a second verb of the same meaning. Our Tit. 105, 4 has a striking juxtaposition: 'Sigún diu sigehaft úf dem val, da man velt magede kiusche und ir stíeze'. It is only in Dietr. 91b and Rab. 536, 635, 811, 850, 923 that welreke occurs; can it have any relationship to walküre?

2 Öinn has Frigg, the valkyrjur and the ravens in the waggon with him, Sn. 66. For valkyrja I also find the name skörðunge, derivable either from skar superbias, or skari agmen. Brynhildr is called in Völs. saga cap. 24 'mestr skörðunge' (see Suppl.).
One name is particularly attractive: *öskneyjar, wish-maidens* (Sæm. 212. Völs. saga cap. 2), given them, I think, because they are in Öðin’s service, and Öðinn is called *Oski, Wunse*. But there is something more: I find a confirmation of my opinion that Wotan bore the name of *Wunse* in his identity with *Mercury*, for Mercury carries the magic wand (caduceus), which is like our *wishing-rod*, OHG. *wunseiligesta* (-yerde, yard). The likeness will come out more distinctly from a closer inspection of the two rods, which is yet to come; but if Wotan and *Wunse*, Öðinn and *Oski* are one, we may suppose that the thorn, the sleeping-thorn, which Öðinn put into the dress of the valkyrja Brynhildr (Sæm. 192a), was likewise a *wishing-thorn*. It throws light on the nature of Brunhild and Chrimhild, that rocks are named after them, one called *spilstein*, Chriemhildespil (p. 370), which does not find a meaning so well from spil (ludus) as from spille (spindle, fusus). For other stones have the name *kunkel* (distaff), and in French fairy-tales *quenouille à la bonne dame*;¹ Dornröschen (thorn-rosekin) pricked her finger with the spindle and fell into a dead sleep, as Brunhild did with the wishing-thorn. Spindles are an essential characteristic of all the wise-women of antiquity among Teutons, Celts and Greeks.² The walkiùre is a *wunsch-kint, Wunsches kint*, pp. 139, 142 (see Suppl.).

The name *wünschelweib*, which lasted down to a late time, shall be produced hereafter; here I call up from the poem of the Staufenberger a being by whom the connexion of valkyrs with fays is placed beyond doubt. To the knight there shews herself a maiden in *white apparel* (the hvit and biört above), sitting on a stone (line 224); she has watched over him in danger and war from his youth up, she was about him unseen (332—364); now she becomes his love, and is with him whenever he wishes for her (swenne du einest wünschest nach mir, sò bin ich endelichen bi dir 474). By superhuman power she moves swiftly whither she lists (wär ich wil, dá bin ich, den wunsch hât mir Got gegeben 497). Staufenberger, after being united to her in love, may do anything except take a wedded wife, else he will die in three days.

‘er wünschte nach der frouwen sin,
bi im só war diu schoene fin.’

¹ II. Schreiber pp. 20, 21.

² I like also Schreiber’s derivation, pp. 65—67, of the name Nehava, Nehalennia (supra p. 257) from the root nere, neza to spin.
When he notwithstanding resolves on another marriage, she *drives her foot through the floor*, and he has to die (1016. 1066). According to this remarkable story, *wunschweib* or *wünschelweib* is one whose presence her lover can procure, by wishing it, whenever he longs for her, ‘names her name’ as it were (p. 398): this is, though not a false, yet a later meaning substituted for the original one, which had reference to the god of wishing, the divine Wish. Old Norse legend will unfold to us more precisely the nature of these women.

In Valhöll the occupation of the óskmeyjar or valkyrjur was to *hand the drinking-horn* to the gods and einherjar, and to furnish the table. Here comes out their peculiar relation to Freyja, who ‘chooses val’ like them, is called *Valfreyja* (p. 305), and pours out at the banquet of the Ases (at gildi Asa), Sn. 108. Exactly in the same way did Göndul, sitting on a stól i riðrínu (in the niiriiute, clearing), offer the comers *drink out of a horn* (Fornald. sög. 1, 398. 400); and with this agree the deep draughts of the modern folk-tale: a beautifully dressed and garlanded maiden from the Osenberg offers the count of Oldenburg a *draught* in a silver *horn*, while wishing predictions (Deutsche sagen, no. 541). Svend Fälling drank out of the horn handed him by elf-women, and in doing so, spilt some on his horse, as in the preceding story (Thiele 2, 67); I have touched (p. 372) on the identity of Svend Fälling with Siegfried, whose relation to the Valkyr Brunhild comes out clearly in the Danish story. In a Swedish folk-song in Arvidsson 2, 301, three mountainmaids hold out silver *tankards* in their *white hands*. Quite in harmony are some Norwegian traditions in Faye p. 26-8-9. 30; and additional Danish ones in Thiele 1, 49-5. 3,44 (see Suppl.).

Still more to the purpose is the office of the Valkyrs in war. Not only ‘kiosa val, kiosa feigð’ but ‘råða vigum’ or ‘sigri,’ therefore the deciding of battle and victory, is placed in their hands, Sn. 39. They are said to be ‘görvar (alert) at ríða grund,’ ‘görvar

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1 So, in a Faroese song, *Valfreyg* (Finn Magn. lex. p. 805).

2 The *taking possession of souls* at the moment of death by Óðinn and Freyja, or by their messengers the Valkyrs, appears to me so deep-rooted a feature of our heathenism, that we may well find it lingering even in Christian traditions. Of this sort is the scramble of *angels* and *devils* for the soul, described in the poem Muspilli, which Schmeller has hunted up, Georg 1233-44. 60-2—86, and Mön 1, 239. 4, 114-5; and a striking passage in the Morellet I shall quote in ch. XVII. Will any one think of tracing this idea to the Epistle of Jude 9, or the apocryphal Book of Enoch?
at ridia til godþiðgar,' Sæm. 4b. Rooted in their being is an irresistible longing for this warlike occupation; hence the Edda expresses their most characteristic passion by the verb 'þrâ' (desiderant), Sæm. 88b, 'þrâðo' (desiderabant) or 'fystoz' (cupiebant), 134a: it is their own longing, striving and wishing that has swung itself round into that wishing for them. Usually nine valkyrjur ride out together, Sæm. 142, 162; their lances, helmets and shields glitter 151a. This nineness is also found in the story of Thiórandi (see p. 402), to whom nine disir appear first in white raiment, then nine others in black. Sæm. 44-5, and after him Sn. 39, enumerate thirteen of them: Hrist, Mist, Skvogól, Skögul, Hildr, Thrúðr, Hlöck, Herfiðr, Goll, Geirahöð (al. Geiróðl), Randgríðr, Ráðgríðr, Reginleif; but Sæm. 4b only six: Skuld, Skögul, Gunnr, Hildr, Gondul, Geirstökgul.1 The prose of Sn. 39 distinguishes three as strictly val-choosers and mistresses of victory: Guðr, Rota and Skuld 'norn en þungzta'. The celebrated battle-weaving song of the Nialssaga names the following: Hildr, Hiórprimul, Sangríðr (l. Rangriðr), Seipul, Gunnr, Gondul; the Hákonarmál: Gondul, Skögul, Geirstökgul; the Krákumál (ed. Rafn, p. 121) only Hlöck and Hildr. Several of these names are of extraordinary and immediate value to our investigation, and not one of the remainder ought to be left out of sight in future study (see Suppl.).

Skuld, for instance: we gather from it the affinity of norns and valkyrs, and at the same time the distinction between them. A dis can be both norn and valkyr, but the functions are separate, and usually the persons. The norns have to pronounce the fatum, they sit on their chairs, or they roam through the country among mortals, fastening their threads. Nowhere is it said that they ride. The valkyrs ride to war, decide the issue of the fighting, and conduct the fallen to heaven; their riding is like that of heroes and gods (pp. 327, 392), mention is made of their horses: skálf Mistar marr (tremuit Mistac equus), Sæm. 156a; margullin mar (aureo equo vecta virgo), 145a; when the steeds of the valkyrs shake themselves, dew drips from their manes into the valleys, and fertilizing hail falls on trees 145a-b, with which compare the 'destillationes in comis et collis equorum' of the wise-women (p. 287); the name Mist, which elsewhere means mist, may have indicated

1 Unpublished passages in the skálds supply 29 or 30 names (Finn Magn. lex. p. 803).
a like phenomenon. Of the norns, none but Skuld the youngest (p. 405) can be a valkyrja too: were Urðr and Verdandi imagined as too aged or too dignified for the work of war? did the cutting, breaking, of the thread (if such an idea can be detected in the North) better become the maiden practised in arms?

Two other valkyrs, Hlókk and Herfjötr, have been claimed above (p. 401) as idisi, and interpreted as restrainers of the fight. In the Kormakssaga there also occurs Hlókk gen. Hlakkar, for bellona.

Hildr, Gunnr, Thrúðr deserve to be studied the more closely, because their personality turns up in other Teutonic tongues as well, and the presence there of some walachurium argues that of the whole sisterhood. Even in ONorse, Hildr and Gunnr (=Guðr) got generalized into hildr and gunnr (pugna, proelium); of bellona was made bellum: ‘hildr hefir þú oss verit,’ bellona nobis fuisti, Sæm. 164. Conversely, beside the AS. hild and guð we still find a personal Hild and Guð: gif mec Hild nime (if H. take me), Beow. 899. 2962; Guð nimeð 5069; Guð fornam (carried off) 2240; as elsewhere we have ‘gif mec deáð nimeð,’ Beow. 889, wig ealle fornam 2154, guðdeáð fornam 4494, Wyrd fornam 2411 (conf. OS. Wurd farnimid, Hel. 111, 11), swylt fornam 2872, Wyrd for-sweep (supra p. 406); conf. ‘Hilde gráp’ 5009. And as other beings that do us good or harm are by turns aroused and quieted, it is said picturesquely: Hildi vekja (bellonam excitare), Sæm. 160a 246a; elsewhere merely vig vekja (bellum excitare) 105a. The valkyrs, like Oðinn (p. 147), are accompanied by eagles and ravens, who alight on the battlefield, and the waging of war is poetically expressed as ala gōgl gunna systra (aves aërea sororum belli), Sæm. 160a. The forms in OHG. were Hiltia and Gundia (Guòdá), both found in the Hild. lied 6. 60, though already as mere common nouns; composite proper names have -hilt, -gunt. The legend of Hildr, who goes to the val at night, and by her magic wakes the fallen warriors into life again, is preserved both in the Edda (Sn. 164-5) and also in the OHG. poem of Gûdrún, where she is called Hilde. Lastly, Thrúðr, which likewise sinks into a mere appella-

2 The Trad. fuld., in Schannat no. 443, have preserved the name, well suited to a valkyr, of Themarhilt (from démar, crepusculum).
3 Deutsche heldensage p. 327 seq. Conf. supra p. 285, on Hilde and Hildburg.
tive prūdr virgo, and in OHG. occurs in a great many female names (e.g. Alpdrūd [Elfbrūð, Elffrida], Wol Chandrūd, Himildrūd, Pliddrūt, Plihdrūt = Plectrud, Kēdrūd = Gertrude, Mimildrūd, Sigildrūd, which naturally suggest ghostly beings), has assumed the general meaning of witch, sorceress, hobgoblin. Hans Sachs several times uses 'alte trute' for old witch, and noisy children are quieted with the words: 'hush, the drut will come!' so that here she exactly fills the place of frau Holla or Bertha, and can the more appropriately be the ancient valkyr. An AS. wood-maiden, named Dhryð, comes up in the Vita Offae secundi (supra, p. 388): she is from France, where she had been sentenced to death for her crimes, exposed in a ship, and cast on the shore of Mercia. Here Offa saw the maiden passing fair, and married her, but she soon committed new transgressions. She is called 9a Drida, 9b Petronilla, 15b Qvendrida (i.e., eðwén Thryð; conf. Kemble's preface to Beow. pp. xxxv. xxxvi, and Bäckström 1, 220 (see Suppl.).

Beside the valkyrs named, there must have been many others, and the second section of the Sæmundaredda names several as lovers or wives of heroes. Such are Sava, Sigrlinn, Kåra, Sigrún, Sigrdrīfa, who are expressly called valkyrjur, Sæm. 142b 145b 157, 169. 194. It also comes out, that they were of human origin, being daughters of kings, Sava of Eyli, Sigrlinn of Svafnir, Sigrún of Högni, Kåra of Hálfdan, Sigrdrīfa of Buðli; Sava was the lover of Helgi Hjörvarðsson, Sigrlinn of Hjörvarðr, Sigrún of Helgi Hundingsbani, Kåra of Helgi Haddingskaði, and Sigrdrīfa, who is no other than Brynhildr, of Sigurðr. Grimhildr (helmet-maiden, p. 238), and above all Brynhildr, Prunhilt, whose very name betokens the mail-clad Hildr, is superhuman: her inaccessible hall stands on a mountain, like those of Veleda and Jetha (pp. 95-6); it was a schildburg (skialdborg), where she herself, bound by the spell, slept under her shield, till Sigurð released her. Then she prophesied to him, Sæm. 194b, and before her death she prophesies again, 224. 226b. Her hall was encircled with flickering flame, 'oc var um sal hennar vafrlogi,' Sn. 139 (see Suppl.), as was also that of Menglōð (OHG. Maniklata, i.e., monili lactabunda), another valkyr: salr er slanginn er visom vafrloga (Sæm. 110a, conf.

1 Some people think Gerdrut, Gerdraut, an unchristian name. Frau Trude (Kinderm. 43).
2 Flögel, gesch. des groteskekom. p. 23.
107a,b). Before this Menglöð, nine virgins kneel, sit, and sing; sacrifice is offered to them all (111a); conf. ch. XXXVI. Then Veðrøg skialdmær appears in Fornald. sög. 1, 384. And vrô Babehilt, whom Dietrich finds at a fountain, asleep (as Sigurd found Brynhild), and who gives him healing salves, and foretells his fate (Ecke 151—160), must also be reckoned among norns or valkyrs. The valkyrs bestowed on their favourites, as Staufenberger's lover did on him (p. 419), victory and protection in battle (Sigrún hiliföi honom opt sidan í orrostom, Sæm. 142b); this relation is technically expressed by verja (tueri 134b); they hide their heroes' ships (Svava 145a,b, Sigrún 153b). The above-mentioned Hildr too, the daughter of king Högni (Hagene), was Heðinn's betrothed. The memory of these shield-maidens has filtered down even into modern folksongs: in Arvidsson 1, 189, Kerstin sköldmô with her 8000 maids redeems her betrothed from captivity; at other times it is a sister that rescues her brother, by which is not meant a sister by birth, but a valkyr again, for these higher beings are everywhere called sisters, and fraternize with their protégés (Arvidsson 2, 120-1-2. Nyerup 4, 38-9). Now those women in our medieval poetry, the sight of whom nerves to victory, whose name need only be uttered to bring them to one's side as quickly as a wish can be formed and accomplished, are evidently shield-women of this kind (see Suppl).

Úðin then admitted into his band of valkyrs mortal maidens of kingly race, deified women standing by the side of the deified heroes; yet I do not suppose that all valkyrs were of such lineage, but that the oldest and most famous were, like the norns, descended from gods or elves. It is also worth noting, that Úðar and her Helgi were looked upon as a second birth of Svava and the elder Helgi, Sæm. 148b 169. In the Völundarqviða three other valkyrs make their appearance together: Þláðguðr svanhvit, Hervör alvîr, and Öldrún, the first two being daughters of king Löðver, the third of Kiôr; they unite themselves to Slagðísðr, Völundr and Egill, live with them seven years, and then escape, 'at vitja viga,' to pursue their old trade of war again. On the whole, it seems the union of these half-goddesses with heroes turned out detrimentally to both parties: the heroes came to an early death or other harm, as Staufenberger's example teaches; and 'Sigrún varð skammlit,' she grew scant of life, Sæm. 169a. Perhaps we should be right in assuming that promotion to the valkyr's office took place under an
obligation of *virginity*,¹ which again reminds one of the Amazons. At all events, when Oðinn was angry with Sigdrífa for letting his favourite fall in battle,² he decreed that now she should be given in marriage, 'qvarð hana giptaz sceyldo,' Sæm. 194. Ḥlaðguðr, Hervör and Ölrún had been carried off by the men forcibly and against their will (see Suppl.).³ All these female names are descriptive. Ölrún was discussed on p. 404. Ḥlaðguðr is literally bellona stragis; Hervör, like the kindred Gunnvör, alludes to hosts and battles, the adj. *alvitr* to the gift of prophecy, and *svanhvit* to the swan-shape. Saxo Gram. 22-3 names another *Svanhvit*, who has likewise much of the valkyr, is a seer of spirits, and presents a sword to Regner to seal their covenant. As for Slagfiðr (see p. 380), I prefer to explain it not as Slagfiur, though he is called a son of the Finnakonûnger, but as *Slagfiðr = alatus, pennatus*, which goes better with Svanhvit his lover, and is supported by the OHG. word slagiféðara, penna.

How little we are entitled to separate the *norns* and *valkyrs* totally from one another, is taught by the tale of these three maidens also. Not to mention the prevalence among valkyrs as well as norns of the number three and sisterly companionship, nor Hervör’s having the epithet *alvitr* (omniscia), which better fits a nymph than a valkyr; it is said of all three, that they sat on the sea-beach spinning costly *flax*, nay, of the same *‘all-witting’* one (who is repeatedly called *ánga*, as Skuld is in other places), that she was about to *‘örlög drijjja’*, to dree a weird, Sæm. 133ᵃ 134ᵃ.

¹ Pompon. Mela 3, 8: ‘Oraculi numinis Gallici antistites, perpetua *virginitate sanctae*, numero novem esse traduntur. *Gallicenus* vocant, putatque ingens singularibus praeditas maria ac ventos concitare, seque in quae velinit animalia vèrtere, sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, *scire ventura et praedicare*, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent prophetas [*l. prophetis*?]. The similarity of these nine sooth-telling gallicenae is unmistakable. Some read Galli Cenas, others Barrigenas, conf. Tzschucke, Not. crit. pp. 159–163.

² N.B. against Oðin’s will, who could therefore be outwitted: destiny stood above the god.

³ On p. 406 we saw wise-women represented as acquainted with *writing*, and as actually writing; it will be for similar reasons that valkyrs *embroider* and *paint*. The Vols. saga cap. 24 says of Brynhildr: ‘*hun sat i eini skemnu við meyjar sinar, hun kunni meira hagleik enn aðrar konur, hun lagði sinn borda með gulli, ok saunaði á þau stórmernki, er Sigurð hafði gjört’*. And in this chamber Sigurð comes to her. I place beside this the opening lines of a Swedish song:

Sven Farling han rider till jungfruns gård,
*som stickade* på silket det hvita.

And this hero is identical with Sigurðr.
The award of battle is one part of destiny; not only norns, but valkyrs also were imagined *spinning* and *weaving*. This is placed in the clearest light by the fearfully exciting poem in cap. 158 of the Nialssaga. Through a crevice in the rock Dörruðr sees women sit singing over a *web*, at which human heads serve them for weights, entrails for warp and weft, swords for spools, and arrows for a comb: in their weird song they describe themselves as *valkyrjur*, and their web as intended for the spectator Dörruðr.¹ At length they tear up their work, mount their steeds, and *six* of them ride to the south, *six* to the north. Compare with this the *weaving* Wyrd of the AS. poet (p. 415). The parting of the maidens into two bands that ride in opposite directions, is like those nine in white and nine in black, who came riding up in succession (p. 421).

I have set norns and *μοῖραι* side by side; with equal aptness a comparison can be drawn between valkyrs and *κῆρες* (without any verbal affinity, for no doubt the likeness is only an apparent one): the *κῆρ* too might be seen on the battlefield in bloody garments, tending the wounded, dragging away the dead. A *κῆρ* is allotted to the child as soon as it is born; Achilles had two *κῆρες* between whom he might choose, and Zeus put two in the balance, to decide the death of Hector or Achilles.² Hesiod (scut. 249—254) makes the dingy white-toothed *κῆρες* contend *over the fallen warriors*, each throws her talons round the wounded man, eager to drink his blood, just as he ascribes talons and a thirst for blood to the moirai (p. 414): a fresh confirmation of the identity of norns and valkyrs. The claws of the moirai and kères, the wings of the thrais, point to their possession of a *bird’s shape*. The later view [Hesiod’s] brings into prominence the sinister side of the kères.

5. Swan-maidens.

But we have now to make out a new aspect of the valkyrs. We are told that they travel *through air and water*, ‘*riða lopt ok lög*’ Sæm. 142⁰ 159⁰; theirs is the power to fly and to swim, in other words, they can assume the body of a *swan*, they love to

¹ So at least we may understand ‘*vindum, vindum vef Darraðar,*’ even if the name and the whole story first arose out of a ‘*vef Darraðar,*’ web of the dart, conf. AS. *deoreð* (*jaculum*). We know that the Sturl-usersaga contains a very similar narrative.

² II. 8, 70. 9, 411. 18, 535—540. 22, 210. 23, 79. 24, 82.
linger on the sea-shore; and the swan was considered a bird of augury.\(^1\) The Völundarqviða relates: Three women sat on the shore, spinning flax, and had their álptarhamir (swan-shifts) by them, so that any moment they could fly away again as swans: 'meyjar flugo,' and 'settuz at hvilaz á sævarströnd'; one of them has even the surname of svanhvit (swanwhite), and wears swan's feathers (svanfiaðrar dró). In the Hrómundarsaga (Fornald. sög. 2, 375-6), the same Kára, who the Edda says was a second birth of Svava, appears as an enchantress in swan-shift, (fiolkýngiskona i álftarham), and hovers above the hero, singing.\(^2\) By her assistance Helgi had always conquered, but it happened in one fight, that he swung his sword too high in the air, and hewed off his lover's foot, she fell to the ground, and his luck was spent. In Saxo Gram., p. 100, Frídelvus hears up in the air at night 'sonum trium olorum superne clangentium,' who prophesy to him, and drop a girdle with runes on it. Brynhildr is 'like the swan on the wave' (Fornald. sög. 1, 186): the simile betrays at the same time, that she had really the power of changing into the bird. Many tales of swan-wives still live among the Norse people. A young man saw three swans alight on the shore, lay their white bird-shifts in the grass, turn into beautiful maidens, and bathe in the water, then take their shifts again, and fly away in the shape of swans. He lay in wait for them another time, and abstracted the garment of the youngest; she fell on her knees before him, and begged for it, but he took her home with him, and married her. When seven years were gone by, he shewed her the shift he had kept concealed; she no sooner had it in her hand, than she flew out as a swan through the open window, and the sorrowing husband died soon after. Afzelius 2, 143-5. On the other hand, the swan-hero forsakes his wife the moment she asks the forbidden question. A peasant had a field, in which whatever he set was trampled down every year on St. John's night. Two years in succession he set his two eldest sons to watch in the field; at midnight they heard a bustling in the air, which sent them into a deep sleep. The next year the third son watched, and he saw three maidens come flying,

\(^1\) Es schwant mir, it swans me = I have a boding. The reference to the bird seems undeniable, for we also say In the same sense: es wachsen (there grow) mir schwansenfeder'n\(^7\) (so already in Zesen's Simson). Conf. the Eddie 'svanfiaðrar dró (wore)\(^7\).

\(^2\) Rafn has chosen the reading Lara.
who laid their wings aside, and then danced up and down the field. He jumped up, fetched the wings away, and laid them under the stone on which he sat. When the maidens had danced till they were tired, they came to him, and asked for their wings; he declared, if one of them would stay and be his wife, the other two should have their wings back. From this point the story takes a turn, which is less within the province of the swan-wife myth; but it is worth noting, that one of the maidens offers her lover a drink of water out of a golden pitcher, exactly as elfins and wish-wives do elsewhere (pp. 420, 326). Molbech no. 49.

These lovely swan-maidens must have been long known to German tradition. When they bathe in the cooling flood, they lay down on the bank the swan-ring, the swan-shift; who takes it from them, has them in his power. Though we are not expressly told so, yet the three prophetic merwomen whose garments Hagene took away, are precisely such; it is said (Nib. 1476, 1) by way of simile again:

sie swebten sam die vogele uf der flut.

It is true, our epic names only two of them (the Danish story only one), the wisiu wip, Hadburc and Sigelint, but one of them begins to prophesy, and their garments are described as 'wunderlich,' 1478, 3. The myth of Völundr we meet with again in an OHG. poem, which puts doves in the place of swans: three doves fly to a fountain, but when they touch the ground they turn into maidens, Wielant removes their clothes, and will not give them up till one of them consents to take him for her husband. In other tales as widely diffused, young men throw the shift, ring or chain over them, which turns them into swans. When the resumption of human shape cannot be effected completely, the hero retains a swan-wing; evidence of the high antiquity of this detail lies in its connexion with the heroic legend of Scoup or Sceáf (p. 370); and it has found its way into modern pedigrees. Especially impor-

1 Museus, Volksmärchen vol. 3: The stolen veil.
2 There is a plant named, I suppose, from this Sigelint; Sumerl. 22, 28 (conf. 23, 19) has cigelinta fel draconis, and 53, 48 cigelinde; Graff 6, 145 has sigeline; see Sigel, Siglander in Schm. 3, 214.
4 Conf. Deutsche sagen no. 540: 'the Schwanrings of Plesse,' who carry a swan's wing and ring on their scutcheon. A doc. of 1441 (Wolf's Nörten no. 48) names a Johannes Swaneflügel, decetorum doctor, decanus ecclesiae majoris Hildesemensis. In a pamphlet of 1617 occurs the phrase: 'to tear the ring and mask off this pseudonym.'
tant, as placing in a clear light the exact relation of these swan-wives to the walkiiren, is a statement about them in Altd. bl. 1128: A nobleman hunting in a wild forest saw a maiden bathing in the river, he crept up and took away the gold chain on her hand, then she could not escape. There was peculiar virtue in this chain: ‘dor ümme (on account of it) werden sülche frowen wünschelwybere genant’. He married her, and she had seven children at a birth, they all had gold rings about their necks, i.e., like their mother, the power of assuming a swan-shape. Swan-children then are wish-children. In Gudrun, the prophetic angel comes over the sea-wave in the shape of a wild bird singing, i.e., of a swan, and in Lohengrin a talking swan escorts the hero in his ship; in AS. poetry swanrād (-road) passed current for the sea itself, and alpiz, elfet, álpt (cygnus) is akin to the name of the ghostly alp, elf (see Suppl.).

We hear tell of a swan that swims on the lake in a hollow mountain, holding a ring in his bill: if he lets it fall, the earth comes to an end.1 On the Urðarbrunnr itself two swans are maintained (Sn. 20); another story of a soothsaying swan is communicated by Kuhn, p. 67, from the Mittelmark. A young man metamorphosed into a swan is implied in the familiar Westphalian nursery-rhyme:

swane, swane, pek up de nesen,
\[\text{wannem}l\text{r bistu krieger wesen (wast a warrior)}?\]

Another, of Achen, says:

krune krane, wisse schwane,
we wel met noh Engeland fahre?

And the name Sæfugel in the AS. genealogies seems to indicate a swan-hero.

The spinner Berhta, the goose-footed2 queen, may fairly suggest swan-maidens (p. 280).3 If those prophetic ‘gallicenae’ were able

1 Gottschalk’s Sagen, Halle 1814, p. 227.
2 The pentagram was a Pythagorean symbol, but also a Druidic; as it goes by the name of elf’s foot, elf’s cross, goblin-foot, and resembles a pair of goose-feet or swan-feet, semi-divine and elvish beings are again brought together in this emblem; the valkyr Thrum is next door to a swan-maiden, and Stanfenberger’s lover likewise had such a foot.
3 The beautiful story of the Good Woman, publ. in Haupt’s zeitschr. 2, 350, is very acceptable as shewing yet another way in which this fairy being got linked with the hero-legend of the Karlings. The two children born on one day at paske fliourie, and brought up in mutual love (77—87), are clearly identical with Flore and Blanchefleur, for these also are not real names, but
to assume what animal shapes they pleased, why, then the Celts too seem to have known about swan-metamorphosis in very early times, so that in French fay-legends we may supply the omissions; e.g., in Méon 3, 412:

en la fontaine se baignoient

trois puceles preuz et sennées,

qui de biaute sembloient fées:

lor robes a tout lor chemises

orent desoz une arbre mises

du bout de la fontaine en haut.

puceles senées 3, 419. bien eurées 418. la plus mestre 413-5.

The shifts were stolen, and the maidens detained. In the Lai du Desiré the knight espies in the forest a swan-maiden without her wimple (sans guimple). The wimple of the white-robed fay answers to the swan-shift.


We have seen that the wish-wives appear on pools and lakes in the depth of the forest: it is because they are likewise wood-wives, and under this character they suggest further reflections. The old sacred forest seems their favourite abode: as the gods sat throned in the groves, on the trees, the wise-women of their train and escort would seek the same haunts. Did not the Gothic aliorunas dwell in the woodland among wood-sprites? Was not Veleda's tower placed on a rock, that is, in the woods? The Völundarqvíða opens with the words:

meyjar flugo sunnan Myrkvíð igúgnom,

invented in fairy-tale fashion, to suit the name of their daughter Berhta, the bright, white. Berhta marries Pepin, and gives birth to Charlemagne; in the Garin le Loherain, Pepin's wife is said to be Blanchefleur of Moriane, but in the story now in question she is the unnamed daughter of count Ruprecht of Barria (Robert of Berry), spoken of simply as din quote france (162. 1130), din quote (1573), la bone dame (3022), conf. bonadea, bonasocia, p. 283; her husband, who steps into the place of the childless last king (Merovingian), is Karelman (3020), and the only name that can suit herself is Berte, already contained in that of her father Ruodbert. The children of this pair are 'Pippin der kleine (little)' and 'Karle der mère (greater)'. The events in the middle part of the story are quite other (more fully unfolded, if not more pleasing) than those told of Flore and Blanchefleur; but we plainly perceive how on the new Karling race in the freshness of its bloom were grafted older heathen myths of the swan-wife, of the good wife (p. 253), of the mild woman (p. 280), of the bona socia (p. 283), and of the bonne dame (p. 287); Conf. Sommer's pref. to Flore xxvi, xxvii, xxxii.
maids flew from south through murky wood to the seashore, there they tarried seven years, till they grew homesick:

\[
\text{meyjar fýstoz à myrkvan vid,}
\]
they could resist no longer, and returned to the sombre wood. Almost all swan-maidens are met with in the forest. The seven years agree with those of the Swedish story on p. 427.\(^1\)

As Sigrån, Sigrdrífa, Sigrlínn are names of valkyrs, and our epic still calls one of the wise-women Sigelint, I believe that the OHG. *siguwip*, AS. *sigewif*, ON. *sigrvif*, was a general designation of all wise-women, for which I can produce an AS. spell communicated to me by Kemble:

\[
sitte ge sigewif, sigað to eorðan!
\]
\[
\text{næfre ge wilde (l. wille) to wuda fleogan!}
\]
\[
\text{beo ge swà gemyndige mines gödes,}
\]
\[
\text{swà bið manna-gehwyle metes and êðeles.}\(^2\)
\]

Like norns, they are invited to the house with promise of gifts.

On this point we will consider a passage in Saxo, where he is unmistakably speaking of valkyrs, though, as his manner is, he avoids the vernacular term. In his account of Hother and Balder, which altogether differs so much from that of the Edda, he says, p. 39: Hotherus inter venandum errore nebulae perductus in quoddam *silvestrium virinum conclave* incidit, a quibus proprio nomine salutatus, 'quaenam essent' perquirit. Illae suis ductihis et aiospiciisque maxime hellorum fortunam gubernari testantur: saepe enim se nemini conspicuas proeliis interesse, clandestinisque subsidiiis optatos amicis praebere successus: quippe conciliare prospera, adversa infligere posse pro libitu memorabant. After bestowing their advice on him, the maidens with their house (aedes, conclave) vanish before Hother’s eyes (see Suppl.). Further on, p. 42: At Hotherus extrema locorum devia pervagatus, insuetumque mortalibus nemus emensus, *ignotis forte virginibus* habitatum reperit: easdem esse constabat, quae cum insecabili veste quondam donaverant. They now give him more counsel, and are called *nymphae*.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) In the Wallachian *märchen* 201, three wood-wives bathing have their crowns taken from them.

\(^2\) *Sedete bellonae, descendite ad terram, nolite in silvam volare! Tam memores estote fortunae meae, quam est hominum quilibet cibi atque patriae.*

\(^3\) Three other *nymphae* appear directly after, and prepare enchanted food for Balder with the spittle of snakes, p. 43. A ‘*femina silvestris et immanis*’ is also mentioned by Saxo p. 125.
This seems no modern distorted view, to imagine the maids of war, that dwelt in Óðin's heavenly company, that traversed air and flood, as likewise haunting the woodland cave; therefore Saxo was right to call them silvestres, and to place their chamber, their cave, in the forest.

The older stages of our language supply some similar expressions, in which I recognise the idea of wise wood-wives, not of mere elvish wood-sprites. They are called wildiu wip, and the Trad. fuld., p. 544, speak of a place 'ad domum wildero wibo'. Burcard of Worms, p. 198, mentions 'agrestes feminas quas silvaticas vocant, et quando voluerint ostendunt se suis amatoribus, et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse, et item quando voluerint abscondunt se et evanescunt'. This 'quando voluerint' seems to express the notion of wish-life. Meister Alexander, a poet of the 13th century, sings (str. 139, p. 143): 'nû gënt si vir in (go they before him) über gras in wilder wibe waste (weeds)'. So: 'von einem wilden wibe ist Wate arzet,' is (i.e. has learnt to be) physician, Gudr. 2117; 'das wilde fröwvelin,' Ecke 189. In the Gl. monst. 335, wildaz wip stands for lamia, and 333 wildiu wip for ululae, funereal birds, death-boding wives, still called in later times klagefrauen, klagemütter, and resembling the prophetic Berhta (p. 280). In groves, on trees, there appeared dominæ, matronæ, pudlæ clothed in white (pp. 287-8), distinguishable from the more elvish tree-wife or dryad, whose life is bound up with that of the tree. The Vicentina Germans worship a wood-wife, chiefly between Christmas and Twelfth-day: the women spin flax from the distaff, and throw it in the fire to propitiate her:1 she is every bit like Holda and Berhta. As three bunches of corn are left standing at harvest-time for Wotan and Frau Gane, so to this day in the Frankenwald they leave three handfuls of flax lying on the field for the holzwiebel (wood-wives, Jul. Schmidt's Reichenfels, p. 147), a remnant of older higher worship. Between Leidhecken and Dauernheim in the Wetterau stands the high mountain, and on it a stone, der velle fra gestoil (the wild woman's chairs); there is an impression on the rock, as of the limbs of human sitters. The people say the wild folk lived there 'wei di schtan noch mell war,' while the stones were still soft; afterwards, being persecuted, the man ran away, the wife and child remained in custody at Dauernheim until they died. Folk-songs

1 Deutsche sagen no 150.
make the huntsman in the wood start a dark-brown maid, and hail her: 'whither away, wild beast?' (Wunderhorn 2, 154), but his mother did not take to the bride, just as in the tale of the swan-children. We find a more pleasing description in the Spanish ballad De la infantina (Silva p. 259): a huntsman stands under a lofty oak:

En una rama mas alta viera estar una infantina, cabellos de su cabeza todo aquel roble cobrian:
'siete fadas (7 fays) me fadaron en brazos de una ama mia, que andasse los siete años sola en esta montina'.

But the knight wants first to take his mother's opinion, and she refuses her consent. When Wolfdieterich sits by a fire in the forest at night, rauche Els comes up, the shaggy woman, and carries off the hero to her own country,^ where she is a queen and lives on a high rock: at length, bathing in the jungbrunnen, she lays aside her hairy covering, and is named Sigeminne, 'the fairest above all lands'.2—Synonymous with 'wildaz wip' the glosses have holzmuoja (lamia and ulula), she who wails or moos in the wood; holzfrowe (lamia) Altd. bl. 2, 195; holzruna (Gl. mons. 335. Doc. 219b) meaning the same, but suggestive of that Gothic aliorumna, AS. burgrune, and the ON. Sigrün (see Suppl.).

7. Menni, Merimanni.

One general name for such beings must from very early times have been menni, minni; it is connected with man (homo), and with the ON. man (virgo), but it occurs only in compounds: merimanni (neut.), pl. merimanniu, translates sirena or scylla (Reda umbe diu tier, in Hoffm. fundgr. 19, 18), meriminni, Gl. Doc. 225a mons. 333. In the 13th century poets, merminne is equivalent to merwip, merfrouwe, yet also to wildez wip: 'diu wise merminne,' Diut. I, 38. 'gottinne oder merminne, die sterben niht enmohten (could not die);' Eneit. 8860. In the Wigamür 112. 200. 227 seq.,

1 Called Troje, conf. Ecke 81; and Elsentroje, Deutsche heldensage 198. 211 (see Suppl.).

2 In the Wolfdieter. (Dresd. MS. 290—7), twelve goddesses go to a mountain, fetch the hero to them, and tend him; the loveliest wants him for a husband. These beings are more wise-women than elfins.

3 As the Xapistes (Graces) and fays spin and weave, so do the wild women also: 'mit wilder wibe henden geworht,' Ulr. Lanz. 4826; πέπλος ὑπὸ χάριτες κάμων αὐταί, II. 5, 338 (see Suppl.).
there appears a wildez wip, who dwells in a hollow rock of the sea, and is indifferently termed merwip 168. 338, merfrouwe 134, and merminne 350. AS. merwif, Beow. 3037. M. Dutch maerminne. Those three wisiu wip of the Nibelungen are also called merwip 1475, 1. 1479, 1; they foretell and forewarn; their having individual names would of itself put them on a par with the Norse valkyrs: Hadhure,Sigelint. The third, whose name the poem omits (p. 428), is addressed by Hagne as ‘aller wiseste wip!’ 1483, 4. Wittich’s ancestress (p. 376) is named frouwe Wëchilt, as if Wave-Hilde, she is a merminne, and says sooth to the hero, Rab. 964—974. Morolt also has an aunt a merminne who lives in mount Elsabé and rules over dwarfs; her name is not given, but that of her son is Madelgër, and she likewise gives wise advice to Morolt; Mor. 40b 41a. The merminne in Ulrich’s Lanzelet (lines 196 seq.) is said to be wis (5751. 6182), she has under her 10,000 unmarried women (dern keiniu bekande man noch mannes gezoe), they dwell on a mountain by the sea, in an ever-blooming land. In the Apollonius, a benevolent merminne is queen of the sea (lines 5160. 5294); here the poet had in his mind a siren in the classical sense, but the Germans must have had a merminne before they ever heard of sirens. The Danish name is maremind (Danske viser 1, 118. 125). Norse legend has preserved for us a precisely corresponding male being, the taciturn prophetic marmennill (al. marmendill, marbendill), who is fished up out of the sea, and requires to be let go into it again; Hälffsaga c. 7 (Fornald. sog. 2, 31—33), and Isl. sog. 1, 33 (Landn. 2, 5).1 From him coral is named marmennils smáði, he cunningly wrought it in the sea. At a later time the word merfei was used in Germany: that lover of Staufenberger, whom he found in the forest, and the Fair Melusina (possibly even a tradition of ancient Gaul), are precisely the fairy being that had previously been called merimenni.2 —But, similar to the merminne, there was also a waltminne, which word equally stands for lamia in old glosses (Diut. 3, 276). Sigeminne, whether the baptized Rauch-els, Wolfdieterich’s lover (p. 433), or the wife of Hugdieterich,3 may with perfect right be

1 Marmennill is extremely like the Greek Proteus, who is also reluctant at first to prophesy, Od. 4, 385 seq. There may have been Proteus-like stories current of our Baldander and Vilander, p. 172 (see Suppl.).
2 Yet merfeine occurs already in Diut. 1, 38; wasserfeine (Oberl. sub v.), and even merfén, MS. 2, 63a.
3 Deutsche heldensage pp. 185. 200-1.
regarded as a *waltminne* or *merminne*.¹ In the *Vilk.* saga cap. 17 I find *sakona* used of the woman whom Vilkinus found in the wood, and who bore him Vadi. Saxo Gram., p. 15, speaks of a tugurium silvestris immanisque feminae (see Suppl.).

By this array of authorities it is proved to satisfaction, that the *wildaz wip* or *menni, minni* was thought of as a higher, superhuman being, such as can be placed at the side of the Scandinavian *norn* and *valkyr*. But in the scanty remains of our tradition the names stand woefully bare, finer distinctions are inevitably lost, and in more than one place the boundary-lines between gods, demigods, elves and giants cross one another. Equally with norns and valkyrs (pp. 413-9. 425), we have goddesses spinning and weaving, as Holda, Berhta, Freyja, and even giantesses, as we shall see by and by.

Among the figures in the Greek and Teutonic mythologies, we have placed side by side the *νύμφαι* and idisi, the *μοῖραι* and nornir, the *κηρές* and valkyrior. But several isolated names might be compared in the same way, as for instance, *Νίκη* or *Victoria* with some Sigrún or Sigrdrífa, "*Ερις* and 'Ενυώ or Bellona with a Hildr and Gunnr. Eris, like Iris, is sent forth on an errand by Zeus (II. 11, 3), as Skögul or Göndul by Óðinn. I often find these Grecian figures in attendance on individual gods: in II. 5, 333 *πτολίπορθος* 'Ενυώ goes with Athenæ; in 5, 592 πτόντι 'Ενυώ with

¹ A Leyden parchm. MS. of the 13th century contains the following legend of Charles the Great: *Aquisgranii* dicitur Ays (Aix), et dicitur eo quod Karolus tenebat ibi quanquam mulierem fatatum, sive quanquam fatam, que alio nomine *nimpha* vel *dea* vel adriasdes (l. *dryas*) appellatur, et ad hanc consuetudinem habebat et cam cognoscebat, et ita erat, quod ipso accedente ad eam vivebat ipsa, ipso Karolo recedente moriebatur. Contigit, dum quadan vice ad ipsam accessisset et cum ea delectaretur, radia solis intravit os ejs, et tunc Karolus vidit *granum auris* linguae ejus affixum, quod fecit abscondi, et contingenti (l. in continenti) mortua est, nec postea revixit. The grain of gold, on which the spell hung, is evidently to explain the name of the city: later tradition (Petrarcha epist. fam. 1, 3. Arctini's legend of Charlem. p. 89) has instead of it a ring, which archbishop Turpin removes from the mouth of the corpse, and throws into a lake near Aachen; this lake then attracts the king, and that is why he made the town his favourite residence. There is no further mention of the maiden's fairy existence. It was a popular belief (applied to the Frankish king and gradually distorted) about the union of a wild-woman or mermaid with a Christian hero. Not very differently was Charles's ancestress Bertha, as we saw above (p. 430), made into a 'good woman,' i.e. a fay. [The similarity of names in the heroic line: Pepin of Herstal, Charles Martel, Pepin the Little, Charles the Great, seems to have made it doubtful whether Bertha was Charlemagne's mother or his great-grandmother.]
Ares; in 4, 440 and 5, 518 "Ερις ἄμοτος μεμανία with Ares, who is also followed by Δείμος and Φόβος (p. 207-8). And lastly, the Charites are nearly allied; and there was supposed to be a special Charis of victory. Still nearer to our wood-wives stand particular classes of nymphs, especially those whom Theocritus 5, 17 names τὰς λυμώδας νύμφας, or those called νύμφαι ἀκολυμητοί, δειναὶ θεαὶ ἄγροιωταις 13, 44. The graceful myth of swan-wives appears indeed to be unknown to the Greeks and Romans, while we Teutons have it in common with the Celts; yet a trace of it remains in the story of Zeus and Leda (p. 338), and in the swan’s prophetic song, as in the Indian Nalus too the gold-bedizened swan (hansa = anser, goose) finds human speech (Bopp’s ed. pp. 6. 7).

The Slavs have not developed any idea of goddesses of fate.1 The beautiful fiction of the vila is peculiar to Servian mythology: she is a being half fay, half elf, whose name even resembles that of the vala. The relation of valkyrs to christian heroes is suggested by the fraternal bond between the vila and Marko (Vuk 2, 98, 232. Danitza for 1826, p. 108), as also by the vilas appearing singly, having proper names, and prophesying. In some things they come nearer the German elfins of our next chapter: they live on hills, love the song and the round dance (Ir. elfenm. lxxxii), they mount up in the air and discharge fatal arrows at men: ‘ustriélila ga vila,’ the vila has shot him with her shaft. Their cry in the wood is like the sound of the woodpecker hacking, and is expressed by the word ‘kliktati’. The vila has a right to the child whom his mother in heedless language (diavo ye odniyi!) has consigned to the devil (Vuk no. 394), as in similar cases the wolf or bear fetches him away. Vile te odnele! (vilae te auferant) is a curse (Vuks sprichw. p. 36); ‘kad dot’u vile k otchim’ (quando vilae ante oculos veniunt) signifies the moment of extreme distress and danger (ibid. 117). The vila rides a seven-year old stag, and bridles him with snakes, like the Norse enchantresses (see Suppl.)2

1 The Bohem, sudice translates parca, but it simply means judge (fem.): the Russians even adopt the word parka. We must at least notice the lichoplezi in Hanka’s Glosses 21, who are said to be three, like the sirens and mermaids.
2 The Bulgarian samodiva or samovila corresponds to the Servian vila. When the wounded Pomák cries to his ‘sister’ samodiva, she comes and cures him. The samodivy carry off children; and mischief wrought by the
elements, by storms, &c., is ascribed to them. Like the Fates, they begift the newborn: three samodivy visit the infant Jesus, one sews him a shirt, another knits him a band, and the third trims a cap for him. Some stories about them closely resemble those of the swan-maids. Stoyán finds three samodivy bathing, removes their clothes, restores those of the two eldest, but takes the youngest (Maríyka) home, and marries her. St. John christens her first child, and asks her to dance as do the samodivy. But she cannot without her ‘samodívski drékhí,’ Stoyán produces them, she flies away, bathes in the móminski fountain, and recovers her móminstvo (virginity).—Trans.

End of Vol. I.